

# Notes

## INTRODUCTION: DESIGN AS CULTURAL HISTORY

1. Michel Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," in *Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 79.
2. For more current histories, see Ronn Smith's "American Theatre Design since 1945," in *The Cambridge History of American Theatre, Vol. 3: Post World War II to the 1990s*, eds. Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 514. Also see Mary Henderson's "Scenography, Stagecraft, and Architecture," in *The Cambridge History of American Theatre, Vol. 2: 1870–1945*, eds. Don B. Wilmeth and Christopher Bigsby (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 504–5; and Orville K. Larson's *Scene Design in the American Theatre from 1915–1960* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1989).
3. Foucault, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History," 79.
4. In addition to the histories mentioned above, I am particularly indebted to the work of scholars like Arnold Aronson, Mary Henderson, Ann Fletcher, Marlis Schweitzer, and Christopher Innes (all cited in subsequent chapters) who have published important studies on American design and designers.
5. Critic Sheldon Cheney repeatedly uses the term "design" to distinguish the New Stagecraft approach in *The New Movement in the Theatre* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914). He writes that New Stagecraft artists create stage settings "by suggestion rather than by naturalistic delineation, by simple *design* rather than multiplicity and intricacy of detail" (124, my emphasis). For contemporary definitions of scenography, see Pamela Howard's *What is Scenography?* (London: Routledge, 2002; 2009) and Joslin McKinney and Philip Butterworth's *Cambridge Introduction to Scenography* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Although the profession also recognizes sound as another design specialty, this study limits itself to visual components of design.
6. Arnold Aronson, *Looking into the Abyss: Essays on Scenography* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 7.
7. Jo Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre: A Memoir and a Portfolio* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), 9.

8. Appia and Craig's application of stage modernism was limited to few productions, but their publications on modern design influenced many Continental and American artists. During the early years of the New Stagecraft, Americans were more familiar with Craig's theories than Appia. Appia published his theories earlier than Craig, such as his *Music and the Art of Theatre* (1899), but Craig's publications reached American artists earlier due to lack of English translations of Appia's work; specifically, they studied Craig's journal *The Mask* (beginning in 1908) and his books *On the Art of Theatre* (Chicago: Browne, 1911) and *Towards a New Theatre* (London: J. M. Dent, 1913). See *The Mask, a Quarterly Journal on the Art of Theatre* (New York: Kraus, 1967) for a complete reprint of Craig's journal.
9. Matthew Baigell, "American Art and National Identity: The 1920s," *Arts Magazine* 61 (February 1987): 48.
10. Aronson, *Looking into the Abyss*, 14–17.
11. See Marlis Schweitzer's *When Broadway was the Runway: Theater, Fashion, and American Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009) for a detailed history of costuming in the American theatre before the advent of modern design.
12. Bernstein entered the profession assisting male designers like Bel Geddes and Simonson, in addition to her work at the Neighborhood Playhouse. See chapter 3 for a further discussion of her career path.
13. Cultural historian Raymond Williams traced the etymology of the term "modern" from its early usage in the sixteenth century, but marks the nineteenth century as the era when it took on its characteristic "progressive ring" in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists*, ed. Tony Pinkney (London: Verso, 1989), 31–32.
14. Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), 3.
15. Wanda Corn, *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915–1935* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999), xvi.
16. See chapter 3 for a discussion of Jones's early days in Greenwich Village, including his collaboration with The Paterson Strike Pageant, Washington Square Players, and Provincetown Players. Simonson also got his start in Greenwich Village working with the Washington Square Players.  
Also see Williams's discussion of the connection between modern arts communities and the development of the modern metropolis in *The Politics of Modernism*, 37–51.
17. Mary Callahan Boone, "Architecture in the Air: Light Producing Meaning Within the Mise En Scène," PhD diss., Bowling Green State University, 1996, 6.
18. Kathy A. Perkins has recovered the work of some African American designers and backstage workers. See "The Genius of Meta Warrick Fuller," *Black American Literature Forum* 24, no. 1 (1990): 65–72, and "Black Backstage Workers, 1900–1969," *Black American Literature Forum* 16, no. 4 (1982): 160–63.

## 1. THE DESIGNER AS AUTHOR

1. Ralph Pendleton, ed. *The Theatre of Robert Edmond Jones* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1958).
2. Robert Edmond Jones, "Lecture #2," MS Thr 201.12, Folder 33, Robert Edmond Jones Papers, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.
3. Robert Edmond Jones, *The Dramatic Imagination* (New York: Theatre Arts, 1941), 91.
4. *Theatre Arts Magazine* was retitled *Theatre Arts Monthly* in 1923, then *Theatre Arts* in 1939.
5. The designations "art theatre" and "little theatre" are sometimes used interchangeably in contemporary publications and histories of the twentieth-century American theatre. Both generally indicate a noncommercial theatre organization dedicated to producing intellectually stimulating and socially edifying performances in smaller venues outside the neighborhood mainstream commercial theatre. But the "art theatre" designation typically assumes smaller theatres in cities with established commercial venues, mostly New York City but also Chicago and Los Angeles. "Little theatres" are more commonly regarded as noncommercial theatres in smaller cities that may or may not have a commercial touring house. Since my study examines designers who based their career in New York, I distinguish between these terms by location, with "art theatre" referencing New York organizations like the Provincetown Players and Neighborhood Playhouse and "little theatre" referencing organizations outside of New York.
6. Thomas Alan Bloom, *Kenneth Macgowan and the Aesthetic Paradigm for the New Stagecraft in America* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 68–74. Baker's influence in the American theatre was documented in *Theatre Arts Monthly* when Stanley Russell McCandless published a US map plotting the locations of Harvard and Radcliffe students working in professional or little theatres. Jones is listed as a working designer in New York City. "The Baker Map," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 9, no. 2 (1925): 106.
7. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway designate publication as a "handmaid of nationalization and professionalization" during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century as the United States "expanded geographically and consolidated economically." *A History of the Book in America, Vol. V: Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 8.
8. In a 1923 publication, Oliver Saylor describes Jones as the most important native designer working in the American theatre and lists Simonson and Bel Geddes as Jones's "chief rivals." He not only hints at a friendly competition between the three designers, but also notes that they "work in a spirit of cooperation and mutual respect." *Our American Theatre* (New York: Brentano's, 1923), 153.

9. Michel Foucault, "What is an Author," in *The Essential Foucault*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: New Press, 1994), 377. Foucault's essay ultimately challenges the status given to authors, arguing that an analysis of the "author function" gives insight into the power structures that govern economic systems of knowledge.
10. John Rouse, "Textuality and Authority in Theater and Drama: Some Contemporary Possibilities," in *Critical Theory and Performance*, eds. Janelle G. Reinelt and Joseph R. Roach (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 147
11. Jones, *Dramatic Imagination*, 27.
12. Jo Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre: A Memoir and a Portfolio* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), 9.
13. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, *History of the Book*, 19.
14. Howard Bay, *Stage Design* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1974), 8.
15. Clifford Eugene Hamar, "College and University Theatre Instruction in the Early Twentieth Century," in *A History of Speech Education in America: Background Studies*, ed. Karl Richard Wallace (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1954), 572–94. Also see Kenneth Macgowan's chapter, "The University Theatre," in *Footlights across America: Towards a National Theater* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929), 107–31; and, more recently, Shannon Jackson's discussion of early twentieth-century university theatre programs in *Professing Performance: Theatre in the Academy from Philology to Performativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
16. Mark S. Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 3; 9.
17. Kaestle and Radway, *History of the Book*, 10. Also, see Richard Ohmann's *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996).
18. James L. W. West, *American Authors and the Literary Marketplace since 1900* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 24.
19. Kaestle and Radway, *History of the Book*, 16; 21.
20. Orville K. Larson, *Scene Design in the American Theatre from 1915 to 1960* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 46. Hume's exhibit traveled from Boston to New York, Detroit, Chicago, and Cleveland. Although the majority of pieces displayed were from European artists, Hume included a few pieces from Jones, Urban, and his own models that he based on Craig's concepts.
21. Dorothy Chansky, *Composing Ourselves: The Little Theatre Movement and the American Audience* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 2004), 82. In 1923, the journal changed its name to *Theatre Arts Monthly* and then again in 1939 when it became known as *Theatre Arts*.
22. *Ibid.*, 88. Circulation would peak in 1957 at seventy-seven thousand.

23. Olga Taxidou, *Mask: A Periodical Performance by Edward Gordon Craig* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1998), 3. Taxidou notes that Craig assumed as many as 65 pseudonyms, the most prominent being John Semar, credited as editor of *The Mask* (176).
24. Sheldon Cheney, "The Most Important Thing in the Theatre," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 4 (1917): 171.
25. *Ibid.*, 170.
26. DeAnna M. Toten Beard, *Sheldon Cheney's Theatre Arts Magazine: Promoting a Modern American Theatre, 1916–1921* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 4.
27. Peter Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwriting, and Performance 1890–1914* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 2.
28. The Arts and Crafts movement dominated England's cultural scene during the late nineteenth century, a style that emphasized craftsmanship and distinctive artistry over industrial mass production. Taxidou, *Mask*, 3.
29. Megan Benton, "Machines, Modernity, and the Printed Page," in *History of the Book*, eds. Kaestle and Radway, 167.
30. "Note on the Illustrations," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1916): 20.
31. Sheldon Cheney, "The Stage Designs of A. A. Andries," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1916): 23. Andries was associated with Hume and Cheney, having designed for the Detroit Arts and Crafts Theatre.
32. "The Theatre Bookshelf," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1916): 43.
33. Sheldon Cheney, "Cloyd Head's *Grotesques*," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 1 (1916): 15.
34. Hiram Kelly Moderwell, "The Art of Robert Edmond Jones," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 2 (1917): 50–61.
35. *Ibid.*, 51.
36. *Ibid.*, 56.
37. Hiram Kelly Moderwell, "A Note about Lee Simonson," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 2, no. 1 (1917): 15.
38. Lee Simonson, "The Painter and the Stage," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 2, no. 1 (1917): 6.
39. Moderwell, "A Note," 17.
40. *Ibid.*, 16.
41. Simonson, "The Painter," 10.
42. Sheldon Cheney, "The Exhibition of American Stage Designs at the Bourgeois Galleries," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1919): 81.
43. Rollo Peters, "The Newest Art," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 2, no. 3 (1918): 120.
44. Herman Rosse, "Artificiality and Reality in the Future Theatre," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1919): 97.
45. Rollo Peters, "If I Must," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1919): 98.
46. Raymond Johnson, "The New Stage Designing," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1919): 122.

47. Norman Bel Geddes, "The Theatre of the Future," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 2 (1919): 123.
48. Bruce Bliven, "Norman-Bel Geddes: His Art and Ideas," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 3, no. 3 (1919): 179–90.
49. Norman Bel Geddes, *A Project for a Theatrical Presentation of The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri* (New York: Theatre Arts, 1924), 7. The pageant was originally intended for the six-hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante in 1921. Kenneth Macgowan, "The Next Theatre," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 5, no. 4 (1921): 310.
50. Bel Geddes was introduced to Craig's theories through Moderwell's *The Theatre of To-day* (London: John Lane, 1914). Jennifer Davis Roberts, *Norman Bel Geddes: An Exhibition of Theatrical and Industrial Designs* (Austin, TX: Michener Galleries, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, 1979), 8.
51. Norman Bel Geddes, *Miracle in the Evening*, ed. William Kelley (New York: Doubleday, 1960), 248.
52. Macgowan, "The Next Theatre," 310.
53. Norman Bel Geddes, *Horizons* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1932), 156.
54. Bel Geddes, *Miracle*, 249–51. Fredrick J. Hunter also describes Bel Geddes's working process in "Norman Bel Geddes' Conception of Dante's 'Divine Comedy,'" *Educational Theatre Journal* 18, no. 3 (1966): 238–46.
55. Martin Puchner, "Manifesto = Theatre," *Theatre Journal* 54, no. 3 (2002): 451.
56. Macgowan, "The Next Theatre," 300.
57. Roberts, *Norman Bel Geddes*, 17.
58. Bel Geddes, *Project*, 13.
59. Sheldon Cheney, "The International Exhibition in Amsterdam," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 6, no. 2 (1922): 140.
60. Bel Geddes, *Miracle*, 252.
61. Bel Geddes, *Project*, n.p.
62. *Ibid.*, 22.
63. Bel Geddes, *Miracle*, 252.
64. Christopher Innes, *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 30. Innes cites a series of publications that ran images of Bel Geddes's *Divine Comedy Design*, including the journals *Theatre Arts* (1921), *Century* (1922), *New Republic* (1923; 1924; 1929), *The Architectural Record* (1924), *American Architect* (1924), *Commonweal* (1926), *The Dial* (1926), *Theatre Arts Monthly* (1926), and the *Illustrated London News* (1928).
65. Dana Sue McDermott, "The Apprenticeship of Robert Edmond Jones," *Theatre Survey* 29, no. 2 (1988): 195; Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 57–58.
66. Horace Liveright had joined with the Boni brothers, Charles and Albert, in 1917. They would also sign Eugene O'Neill. James L. W. West, *American Authors*, 24–25.

67. Kenneth Macgowan, *The Theatre of Tomorrow* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921), 13.
68. Kenneth Macgowan and Robert Edmond Jones, *Continental Stagecraft* (New York: Harcourt, 1922), ix.
69. *Ibid.*, viii–ix.
70. *Ibid.*, 26.
71. *Ibid.*, xi.
72. *Ibid.*, 138.
73. Bay, *Stage Design*, 8.
74. Lee Simonson, *The Stage Is Set* (New York: Theatre Arts, 1963), 17–18.
75. *Ibid.*, 4–5.
76. *Ibid.*, 25.
77. *Ibid.*, 9.
78. *Ibid.*, 131.
79. *Ibid.*, 13–14.
80. *Ibid.*, 317–18.
81. Lee Simonson, “Settings and Costumes in the United States,” in *Settings and Costumes of the Modern Stage*, with Theodore Komisarjevsky (London: Studio Limited, 1933), 95.
82. Lee Simonson, *Part of a Lifetime: Drawings and Designs 1919–1940* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1943), 67.
83. Raynette Halvorsen Smith, “Where Are the American Women Scene Designers?” *Theatre Design and Technology* 24, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 54.
84. A series of letters between Bernstein and Blanche Knopf, wife of Alfred A. Knopf, discuss Bernstein’s attempt to get her “costume opus” published, with Blanche trying to broker an arrangement with *Ladies Home Journal* and *McCalls* after Knopf rejected it. An undated letter (ca. June–November 1941) suggests that Bernstein received a Rockefeller Fellowship to work exclusively on the book. File 685.11 (Knopf, Blanche W. B.). In another letter stamped November 25, 1941, Bernstein laments her inability to find a suitable publisher; while she does not regret “the two years I put in on the book. I only regret that the two years were spent on a book that I hoped would be of some use to other workers.” File 700.10 (Author Files—Bernstein, Aline), Alfred A. Knopf, Inc Collection, University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
85. Virgil Johnson recognizes Bernstein alongside her early assistant Irene Sharaff and Lucinda Ballard as the group of “superbly talented women” who “broke the all-boy mold” and in the late 1930s pushed the US Artists’ recognition of Costume Design as a separate professional category. “Memoirs of an ‘Iconic Costume Maestro,’” *Triquarterly* 134 (2009): 209.
86. Aline Bernstein, *Three Blue Suits* (New York: Equinox Cooperative Press, 1933), 10.
87. *Ibid.*, 29–30.
88. *Ibid.*, 54.

89. Aline Bernstein, "Scissors and Sense," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 9, no. 8 (1925): 515–16.
90. Richard Kennedy, "Forward," in *My Other Loneliness: Letters of Thomas Wolfe and Aline Bernstein*, ed. Suzanne Stutman (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), xix.
91. West, *American Authors*, 25.
92. Letter from Aline Bernstein to Alfred A. Knopf, File 700.10 (Author Files—Bernstein, Aline), Alfred A. Knopf, Inc Collection, University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
93. Bernstein's *An Actor's Daughter* had sold over 2,700 copies. Notecard with book sales and royalties, File 685.11 (Knopf, Blanche W. B.) and unsigned letter to Aline Bernstein, File 82.2 (General Correspondence 1951—Bembey), Alfred A. Knopf, Inc Collection, University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
94. Aline Bernstein, *The Journey Down* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1938), 130.
95. *Ibid.*, 134.
96. *Ibid.*, 133.
97. Aline Bernstein, *The Martha Washington Doll Book* (New York: Howell, Soskin, 1945), n.p.
98. *Ibid.*

## 2. THE DESIGNER AS CULTURAL CRITIC

1. Robert Edmond Jones, miscellaneous notes, MS Thr 201.12, Folder 33, Robert Edmond Jones Papers, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.
2. Robert Edmond Jones, "Thirty Years Behind: A Veteran Scenic Artist Calls for More Imagination in the Theatre," *New York Times*, August 6, 1944. Robert Edmond Jones Papers, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.
3. Sheldon Cheney, *The New Movement in the Theatre* (New York: Mitchell Kennerly, 1914), 152.
4. Kenneth Macgowan, *The Theatre of Tomorrow* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1921), 20. Macgowan cites Arthur Hopkins's *How's Your Second Act?* (New York: Philip Goodman, 1918).
5. Orville K. Larson, for example, sets up a visual contrast between Belasco's realism and Jones's modernism, using the differences between their aesthetics to mark the origin of American design. See, *Scene Design in the American Theatre from 1915 to 1960* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 50. Arthur Feinsod also uses *The Governor's Lady* to exemplify the type of extreme realism that prompted the New Stagecraft's partiality toward simple stages and subjective expressions in *The Simple Stage: Its Origins in the Modern*



- American Theatre* (New York: Greenwood, 1992), 41–42. Also see Thomas Alan Bloom's discussion of these productions in *Kenneth Macgowan and the Aesthetic Paradigm for the New Stagecraft in America* (New York: Peter Lang, 1996), 29; 37. General theatre histories like Oscar Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy's *History of the Theatre* also feature images of *The Governor's Lady* and *Dumb Wife* to anchor their discussions of Belasco's theatrical realism and the New Stagecraft. See Oscar Brockett and Franklin J. Hildy, 10th ed. (Boston: Pearson, 2008), 386; 440.
6. Sharon Zukin, *The Culture of Cities* (Cambridge, UK : Blackwell, 1995), 1.
  7. Portions of this chapter's analysis of Belasco's and Jones's design images were originally published in Christin Essin's essay "Designing American Modernity: David Belasco's *The Governor's Lady* and Robert Edmond Jones's *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife*," *Theatre History Studies* 29 (2009): 32–51. Portions are integrated and reprinted here by permission of the editor, Rhona Justice-Malloy.
  8. William W. Demastes, *Beyond Naturalism: A New Realism in American Theatre* (New York: Greenwood, 1988), 16.
  9. William W. Demastes, ed. *Realism and the American Dramatic Tradition* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1996), x.
  10. J. Ellen Gainor, "The Provincetown Players' Experiments with Realism," in *Realism and the American Dramatic Tradition*, ed. William W. Demastes (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996), 61.
  11. Brenda Murphy, *American Realism and American Drama, 1880–1940* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 31.
  12. Susan Harris Smith, *American Drama: The Bastard Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 16; 24.
  13. Demastes, *Realism and the American Dramatic Tradition*, x.
  14. Gainor, "Provincetown Players," 61.
  15. *Ibid.*, 55. Gainor selects quotations from Jill Dolan's *The Feminist Spectator as Critic* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1988), as well as Sue Ellen Case's *Feminism and Theatre* (New York: Methuen, 1988), and Elin Diamond's essay "Brechtian Theory / Feminist Theory: Toward a Gestic Feminist Criticism," *TDR* 32, no. 1 (1988): 82–94.
  16. Also see Amy Kaplan's *The Social Construction of American Realism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).
  17. Stuart Hall, "Encoding, Decoding," in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993), 93.
  18. Although Alice Bradley is given credit as author of the play, Belasco historian William Winter, also a theatre critic for the *New York Tribune*, notes that the play received extensive rewrites by Belasco. At the opening of the New York performance, the lead actor made a speech on behalf of Bradley, making it known that she "disclaimed credit for anything more than the 'central idea' of the play." William Winter, *The Life of David Belasco* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1918), 377–79.

19. The Republic Theatre was located at 207 West, Forty-Second Street. Wendell Phillips Dodge's article, "Staging a Popular Restaurant," suggests that Childs was located "around the corner of Seventh Avenue" in Times Square. *Theatre Magazine* 16, no. 140 (1912):104.
20. Although the Childs setting generated public interest, inspiring an article in the October issue of the popular *Theatre Magazine*, the performance only ran for 135 performances, closing in January, 1913.
21. Feinsod, *The Simple Stage*, 28–29. Feinsod notes that critical attacks on "Belascoism" started in 1912 with Clayton Hamilton, theatre critic for *The Bookman*, and continued with Sheldon Cheney and Walter Prichard Eaton's subsequent critiques. These attacks prompted Belasco to respond with his own criticism of the art theatres in 1917, calling the movement a "fad" and its practitioners "incompetent."
22. Childs incorporated in 1902, and by 1925, they had 107 restaurants in 33 cities across the United States. Virginia Kurshan, "(Former) Childs Restaurant Building" (New York: Landmarks Preservation Commission, 2003): 1–2. <http://www.nyc.gov/html/lpc/downloads/pdf/reports/childs.pdf>.
23. Richard Pillsbury, *From Boarding House to Bistro: The American Restaurant Then and Now* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 61.
24. *Ibid.*, 61.
25. *The Governor's Lady* used three additional settings including the Slades' drawing room, Senator Strickland's library, and a room in the small cottage where Mary lived during her separation from her husband. Each demonstrated Belasco's photographic "fidelity to life." "The Story of *The Governor's Lady* Told in Pictures," souvenir program, Production Photograph Collection, Box 13:53, The Theatre Arts Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
26. Lise-Lone Marker, *David Belasco: Naturalism in the American Theatre* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 61. Also Craig Timberlake, *The Bishop of Broadway: The Life and Work of David Belasco* (New York: Library Publishers, 1954), 319.
27. Alice Bradley, "The Play of the Month: *The Governor's Lady*," condensed version published by *Hearst Magazine* 22, no. 3 (1912): 113.
28. *Ibid.*, 128.
29. Dodge, "Staging," 104. According to James Traub, the lobster palaces in Times Square catered to a wealthy New York crowd. Unlike Childs cafeterias, lobster palaces were upscale restaurants where those who wanted to be seen could purchase lobster themidor served on gilded platters. *The Devil's Playground: A Century of Pleasure and Profit in Times Square* (New York: Random House, 2004), 27; 35.
30. Belasco's decision to showcase a Childs cafeteria on stage would presumably prove advantageous for the Childs Restaurant Company; however, I was unable locate any specific arrangement between Belasco and Childs beyond the director's negotiations to purchase restaurant equipment.

31. Dodge, "Staging," 104.
32. George Ritzer, *The McDonaldization of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge, 1993), 9–10. Ritzer categorizes McDonaldization as a largely suburban phenomenon of the 1940s and 1950s but acknowledges urban enterprises like lunch counters, diners, and cafeterias as ancestors of these processes (36).
33. "Barker's Season Happily Launched," *New York Times*, January 28, 1915, sec. 9, 3.
34. Jones left for Europe after his design for the Paterson Strike Pageant, accompanying Mabel Dodge, John Reed, and Carl Van Vechten. While in Florence, Jones was unsuccessful in his attempt to meet Edward Gordon Craig. Orville K. Larson, "Robert Edmond Jones, Gordon Craig, and Mabel Dodge," *Theatre Research International* 3, no. 2 (1978): 125–33. In addition to his time in Berlin at Max Reinhardt's theatre, Jones also visited Hellerau where he saw Adolphe Appia's "rhythmic space" designs at Jacque Delacroze's school of eurhythmics. Arthur B. Feinsod, "Stage Designs of a Single Gesture: The Early Work of Robert Edmond Jones," *The Drama Review* 28, no. 2 (1984): 104.
35. Ruth Gotthold, "New Scenic Art of the Theatre," *Theatre Magazine* 21 (May 1915): 248.
36. "Granville Barker May Head the New Theatre Here," *Theatre Magazine* 21 (February 1915): 63.
37. Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 1997), 9.
38. Curtis Hidden Page, "Introduction," in *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife* by Anatole France (New York: John Lane, 1915), 7. Anatole France originally wrote the play for a meeting of the Society of Rabelaisian Studies.
39. *Ibid.*, 90.
40. Francis Hackett, "Granville Barker in New York," *The New Republic*, January 30, 1915, 25.
41. Dorothy Chansky recognizes how the tension between professionalism and amateurism provoked significant debates among the members of art theatres like the Provincetown Players. *Composing Ourselves: The Little Theatre Movement and the American Audience* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2004), 46. Also see Brenda Murphy's *The Provincetown Players and the Culture of Modernity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
42. Edith J. R. Isaacs describes Kingsley's play as a "pretty obvious story" and Joseph Wood Krutch calls it "very high-grade hokum." A reviewer from *Time* directly references Elmer Rice's earlier work, referring to the play as "Street Scene without a plot." Isaacs, "See American First: Broadway in Review," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 19, no. 12 (1935): 891. Krutch, "Drama: Sure Fire," *The Nation*, November 13, 1935, 576. "The Theatre," *Time*, November 11, 1935, Job 338, Oversized Box 19, Folder i3, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
43. Stark Young, "Dead End I," *The New Republic*, November 13, 1935, 21.

44. George Jean Nathan, "The Theatre of George Jean Nathan," *Life Magazine*, December 9, 1935, 18.
45. Young, "Dead End I," 21.
46. Richard Watts, "The Theaters," *New York Herald Tribune*, January 18, 1938, 14.
47. Howard Bay, interview by John O'Connor, February 21, 1976, revised April 7, 1978, transcript, Folder Bay: 1. Works Progress Administration Oral Histories, George Mason University Special Collections, Fairfax, VA.
48. "One-Third of a Nation" advertisement, *New York Post*, January 19, 1938, 19.
49. Matthew Baigell, *The American Scene: American Painting of the 1930s* (New York: Praeger, 1974), 58. Baigell notes that a 1935 exhibition of work by leftist painter Joe Jones was a visible watermark for the movement of social realism.
50. A more detailed examination of the Depression-era documentary aesthetic follows in chapter 3's exploration of Bay's FTP Living Newspaper scenography and its connection to labor politics.
51. Keith Gandal, *The Virtues of the Vicious: Jacob Riis, Stephen Crane, and the Spectacle of the Slum* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 14.
52. Andrew Dokkart, *Biography of a Tenement House in New York City: An Architectural History of 97 Orchard Street* (Sante Fe: Center of American Places, 2006), 79.
53. Jared N. Day, *Urban Castles: Tenement Housing and Landlord Activism in New York City, 1890–1943* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 174–79; 186.
54. Mielziner's *Street Scene* design was his first Broadway success. He convinced the producer to let them install actual concrete sidewalks so that the sound of a child's rollerskates would be authentic. Jo Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre: A Memoir and a Portfolio* (New York: Antheneum, 1965), 8.
55. Brooks Atkinson, "Affairs on the West Side," *New York Times*, January 20, 1929, sec. 8, 1.
56. Stark Young, "Dead End II," *The New Republic*, November 20, 1935, 49. Bel Geddes's production book includes notes to Kingsley on the play and his direction. Job 338, Box 38, Folder g2, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
57. See previous reviews by Isaacs, Krutch, and Young.
58. Isaacs, "See American," 890–91.
59. *Ibid.*, 891.
60. Many of the child actors later reprised their roles in the film version of *Dead End* (1937), adapted by Lillian Helman and produced by Metro Goldwyn Mayer, or in one of the following sequels. Humphrey Bogart famously played Baby Face Martin in the 1937 film.
61. Sidney Kingsley, *Dead End*, in *Sidney Kingsley: Five Prizewinning Plays*, ed. Nena Couch (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1995), 107–8.
62. Murphy, *American Realism*, 147.

63. Ruth Woodbury Sedgwick, "Social Tide-Rip," *Stage*, n.d. Job 338, Oversized Box 19, Folder i3, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
64. "Source Material," Job 338, Box 43, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
65. "Sound specifications memo," September 17, 1935, Job 338, Box 44, Folder s2, Norman Bel Geddes Collection. Bel Geddes innovations in sound recording and amplification was reported by *Scientific American* in their March 1932 issue. Oversized Box 19, Folder i11, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
66. Wilella Waldorf, "Recorded Sounds Adds a Dimension in the Theatre," n.d., Job 338, Box 39, Folder g5, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
67. Bernard Sobel, "The Set of 'Dead End' as the Audience Doesn't See It," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 29, 1935, Job 338, Box 44, Folder s2, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
68. Isaacs, "See American," 892.
69. Hallie Flanagan, "Introduction," in *Federal Theatre Plays*, ed. Pierre de Rohan (New York: Random House, 1938), xi.
70. Susan Quinn, *Furious Improvisation: How the WPA and a Cast of Thousands Mad High Art out of Desperate Times* (New York: Walker, 2008), 226.
71. Bay, interview 1.
72. John E. Vacha, "The Federal Theatre's Living Newspapers: New York's Docudramas of the Thirties," *New York History* 67, no. 1 (1986): 72.
73. Hallie Flanagan, *Arena: The History of the Federal Theatre* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1940), 211.
74. Arthur Arent, *One-Third of a Nation*, in *Federal Theatre Plays*, ed. Pierre de Rohan (New York: Random House, 1938), 13.
75. *Ibid.*, 15. Also "Pin Rail Cue Sheet" and "Light Cues," Box 1051, Folder "Production Notes, *One-Third of a Nation*, Prod. Notes, NY, NY," Federal Theatre Project Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
76. Jerry Leon Davis, "Howard Bay, Scene Designer," PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1968, 61.
77. Loren Kruger, *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 173.
78. Walter Ralston, "The Federal Theatre Treats Slum-Clearance," *New Masses*, February 1, 1938, 28.
79. John Mason Brown, "One-Third of a Nation," *New York Post*, January 21, 1938, 8.
80. Burns Mantle, "One-Third of a Nation," *Daily News*, January 18, 1938..

81. Bay, interview, 1.
82. *Ibid.*, 9.
83. *Ibid.*, 1.
84. Brooks Atkinson, "Saga of the Slums," *New York Times*, January 30, 1938, 151.
85. Arent, *One-Third*, 67.
86. Davis, "Howard Bay," 60.
87. Day, *Urban Castles*, 169.
88. Brooks Atkinson, "The Play in Review," *New York Times*, January 30, 1947, 21. And Joseph Wood Krutch, "Drama," *The Nation*, February 15, 1947, 191.
89. Brooks Atkinson, "At the Theatre," *New York Time*, February 11, 1949.
90. Mary C. Henderson, *Mielziner: Master of the Modern Stage* (New York: Backstage Books, 2000), 303.
91. *Ibid.*, 172.
92. Anne Fletcher, *Rediscovering Mordecai Gorelik* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009), 2–3.
93. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic, 1988), 3.
94. *Ibid.*, 164.
95. Bruce McConachie, *American Theatre in the Culture of the Cold War* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003), 53.
96. *Ibid.*, 47.
97. Arthur Miller, "Introduction," in *Arthur Miller's Collected Plays* (New York: Viking, 1957), 22.
98. Steven R. Centola, "All My Sons," in *Cambridge Companion to Arthur Miller*, ed. Christopher Bigsby (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 53. Also see Brenda Murphy, ed. *Critical Insights: Arthur Miller* (Pasadena, CA: Salem Press, 2011).
99. Arthur Miller, *Timebends* (New York: Penguin, 1987), 133.
100. *Ibid.*, 230.
101. McConachie, *American Theatre*, 131.
102. Mordecai Gorelik, "The Scenic Imagination," unpublished manuscript, property of author, courtesy of Anne Fletcher, Southern Illinois University, 131–32. While no date is specified on the manuscript, its relationship to Gorelik's other published articles (cited in the manuscript) places it after 1969.
103. *Ibid.*, 131–32
104. *Ibid.*, 120; 125.
105. *Ibid.*, 132.
106. Miller, *Timebends*, 274.
107. Arthur Miller, *All My Sons* (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947), 68–69.
108. Barry Gross, "All My Sons and the Larger Context," *Modern Drama* 18, no. 1 (1975): 16.

109. Alice Louchheim "Script to Stage: Case History of a Set," *New York Times Magazine*, December 19, 1951, 24. In a short article Mielziner wrote for the *New York Times* in 1939, he referred to his design style as "concentrated realism." Jo Mielziner, "Scenery in This Play?," *New York Times*, October 22, 1939, Art sec. 1. Ronn Smith and Arnold Aronson have described Mielziner's style as "theatrical" or "poetic realism," phrases also used to express the lyricism of Miller and Williams' dramas during this period. Ronn Smith, "American Theatre Design since 1945," in *The Cambridge History of American Theatre, Vol. 3: Post-World War II to the 1990s*, eds. Don B. Wilmet and Christopher Bigsby (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 516; Arnold Aronson, "American Theatre in Context: 1945-Present," in *The Cambridge History of American Theatre, Vol. 3: Post-World War II to the 1990s*, eds. Don B. Wilmet and Christopher Bigsby (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 96.
110. Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre*, 216. Mielziner had apprenticed in Joseph Urban's scenic studio in 1922, learning scenic techniques for opera and musical comedies; he was one of the first designers to build a career that successfully bridged musicals and straight plays.
111. Mary C. Henderson, "Post Mielzinerism, or What If," *Theatre Design and Technology* 37, no. 3 (2001): 19.
111. Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre*, 216.
112. Miller, "Introduction," 23.
113. *Ibid.*, 26.
114. Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre*, 25–26.
115. Arthur Miller, *Death of a Salesman* (New York: Viking Press, 1981), 11. Kazan wrote that the design also significantly shaped his directorial vision. Elia Kazan, *A Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988), 361.
116. Arthur Miller, Letter to Jo Mielziner, February 22, 1949, Box 31, Folder 1, Joseph Mielziner Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
117. May, *Homeward Bound*, 3.
118. Linda Kintz, "The Sociosymbolic Work of Family in *Death of a Salesman*," *Approaches to Teaching Miller's Death of a Salesman*, ed. Matthew C. Roudané (New York: MLA, 1995), 103–4.
119. Quoted by Christopher Bigsby, "Introduction," in *The Cambridge Companion to Arthur Miller*, ed. Christopher Bigsby (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3.
120. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States 1492-Present*, revised and updated ed. (New York: Harper, 1995), 421.
121. In a letter dated December 8, 1948, Mielziner received a photograph of the 1934 single door refrigerator from the publicity department of General Electric. Box 31, Folder 1, Joseph Mielziner Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
122. Miller, *Death of a Salesman*, 138.

123. Brooks Atkinson, "'Death of a Salesman,' a New Drama by Arthur Miller, Has Premiere at the Morosco," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1949.

### 3. THE DESIGNER AS ACTIVIST

1. Sloan was a prominent Village artist and part of a group who exhibited under the name "The Eight." Critics dubbed them the "Ashcan" school due to their willingness to show the seedier side of the American urban landscape. Sloan served as the unofficial art editor for *The Masses*, a leftist Village publication, contributing over 50 drawings. His "Ludlow Massacre" drawing appeared on the cover of the June 1914 edition. Patricia Hills, *Modern Art in the USA: Issues and Controversies of the 20th Century* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 2001), 4–5.
2. Jacqueline Jones, *A Social History of the Laboring Classes: From Colonial Times to the Present* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1999), 175.
3. Henry Kinnard (Brown), interview, n.d., Folder Kinnard, Henry: 3; 20, Works Progress Administration Oral Histories, George Mason University Special Collections, Fairfax, VA. The USAA is now known as the USA, United Scenic Artists.
4. See Anne Fletcher's discussion of Mordecai Gorelik's contributions to the workers' theatre movement in *Rediscovering Mordecai Gorelik: Scene Design and the American Theatre* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2009). Many designers who contributed to workers' theatres were lesser known because they were not as likely to be hired by Broadway producers, such as Alexander Chertoff, whose only Broadway credit was Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty*, and Sointu Syrjala, who designed *Stevedore* (1934) for the Theatre Union and *Pins and Needles* (1937) for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU).
5. Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (London: Verso, 1996), xix–xx. Although Denning's history focuses on Popular Front cultural products during the Depression, he remarks on the activism of the Village artists during the 1910s that "signaled a more sustained connection between the arts communities and the left, between the bohemia of Greenwich Village and the movement cultures of the Debsian Socialist Party and the Wobblies." He references the Paterson Strike Pageant as a "harbinger" of the cultural products that will emerge from Popular Front artists (3–4).
6. *Ibid.*, xvi.
7. Jill Dolan, "Raising Consciousness: Affectively Effective for Feminist Theatre," paper presented in the seminar "(How) Does Activist Performance Work" at the conference for the American Society for Theatre Research, Phoenix, AZ, November 2007.
8. Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Local Acts: Community-Based Performance in the United States* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 1–2. Cohen-Cruz's newer



- publication *Engaging Performance* uses the phrase “engaged performance” as a more inclusive designation for practices of community-based and applied theatre. She writes that the “term ‘engaged’ foregrounds the *relationships* at the heart of making art with such aspirations, and dependence on a genuine exchange between artists and community such that the one is changed by the other” (New York: Routledge, 2010), 3.
9. Orville K. Larson, for example, writes that the communist John Reed “conscripted” his friend Bobby after finding him sleeping on a park bench, insinuating that the former took advantage of Jones’s poverty and political naïveté. “Robert Edmond Jones, Gordon Craig, and Mabel Dodge,” *Theatre Research International* 3, no. 2 (1978): 126. Dana Sue McDermott notes that the designer “was never known to be involved in political activity at any other time,” characterizing his contribution as merely a favor to his friends Reed and Dodge. “The Apprenticeship of Robert Edmond Jones,” *Theatre Survey* 29, no. 2 (1988): 201.
  10. See Arthur Feinsod’s discussion of Jones’s contributions to the Washington Square Players and Provincetown Players in *The Simple Stage: Its Origins in the Modern American Theatre* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1992), 143–44. Historians of these Village producing organizations might briefly acknowledge Jones’s participation in productions, but they tend to focus on how dramatic texts reflect the group’s political activism and intellectual discourse. Writers like Susan Glaspell, John Reed, and Eugene O’Neill, for example, are the principal figures in studies about the Provincetown Players. See Brenda Murphy’s *The Provincetown Players and the Culture of Modernity* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), or Robert Karoly Sarlos’s *Jig Cook and the Provincetown Players* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982).
  11. Granville Hicks, *John Reed: The Making of a Revolutionary* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 40.
  12. Percy MacKaye, *The Civic Theatre* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912), 15.
  13. Hicks, *John Reed*, 82.
  14. Christine Stansell, *American Moderns: Bohemian New York and the Creation of a New Century* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2000), 41. George Chauncey writes that the neighborhood was called the “Ninth Ward” by the Italian immigrants who inhabited it at the turn of the century and only became known as the Village after the “self-styled bohemian ‘Villagers’ who moved there.” *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of a Gay Male World 1890–1940* (New York: Basic, 1994), 228.
  15. Joyce L. Kornbluh, ed., *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1964), 199.
  16. Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Intimate Memories: The Autobiography of Mabel Dodge Luhan*, ed. Lois Palken Rudnick (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 188.
  17. Linda Nochlin, “The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913,” in *Theatre for Working Class Audiences in the United States, 1830–1980*, eds. Bruce A. McConachie and Daniel Friedman (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1985), 88.

18. Anne Hurber Tripp, *The IWW and the Paterson Silk Strike of 1913* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 141.
19. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices*, 201.
20. Linda Nochlin, "The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913," *Art in America* 62 (May/June 1974): 64.
21. Hicks, *John Reed*, 100.
22. Martin Green, *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant* (New York: Scribner, 1988), 197.
23. William D. Haywood, *The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1929), 262.
24. Green, *New York 1913*, 199–200.
25. Nochlin, "The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913," in *Theatre for Working Class Audiences*, 89.
26. "Program of the Paterson Strike Pageant," republished in "Paterson Strike Pageant," ed. Brooks McNamara, *The Drama Review* 15, no. 3 (1971): 61–71.
27. "Strike Realism Staged in Pageant," *New York Tribune*, June 8, 1913, 4.
28. "The World's Greatest Labor Play," in "Paterson Strike Pageant," ed. Brooks McNamara, *The Drama Review* 15, no. 3 (1971): 67.
29. Dodge, *Intimate Memories*, 204. Martin Green also notes that within John Reed's papers pertaining to the Pageant, he wrote the word "Craig" over the stage directions calling for the strikers to enter through the audience (*New York 1913*, 201).
30. Allen Churchill, *The Improper Bohemians: A Re-creation of Greenwich Village in Its Heyday* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1959), 80.
31. "Program of the Paterson Strike Pageant," 210.
32. S. E. Wilmer, *Theatre, Society and Nation: Staging American Identities* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 105.
33. "The World's Greatest Labor Play," 67.
34. McDermott, "The Apprenticeship," 204.
35. "Strike Realism Staged in Pageant," 4.
36. "A New Way to Make Use of Strikes," *New York Tribune*, June 9, 1913, 6.
37. *Ibid.*, 6.
38. Nochlin, "The Paterson Strike Pageant of 1913," *Art in America*, 66.
39. Scott M. Cutlip, *Public Relations History: From the 17th to the 20th Century* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1995), 187.
40. Tripp, *The IWW*, 142. There were also a number of accusations of mismanagement following the pageant, including an account by one striker revealing that even though fifteen thousand programs had been printed, no one had arranged for them to be sold. While some were distributed to spectators, more than ten thousand programs were later thrown away or sold as waste paper.
41. Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike 1913* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1988), 161.

42. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *The Rebel Girl: An Autobiography, My First Life (1906–1926)* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), 169.
43. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, “The Truth About the Paterson Strike,” address, New York Civic Club Forum, January 31, 1914, reprinted in *The Drama Review* 15, no. 3 (1971), 70.
44. Robert Edmond Jones, undated letter in a series addressed to Florence Waters Wescott, bMS Thr 32, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.
45. Carole Klein, *Aline* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979), 62.
46. “Two Pageants—A Contrast,” *The New York Times*, June 9, 1913, 8.
47. Wilmer, *Theatre, Society and Nation*, 101–2.
48. Klein, *Aline*, 62.
49. Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890–1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 85.
50. *Ibid.*, 84.
51. John P. Harrington, *The Life of the Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2007), 120.
52. Pamela Cobrin, *From Winning the Vote to Directing on Broadway: The Emergence of Women on the New York Stage, 1880–1927* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware Press, 2009), 132.
53. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 83.
54. See Cheryl Black’s chapter “Designing Women” in her book *The Women of Provincetown, 1915–1922* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002).
55. Cobrin, *From Winning the Vote*, 128.
56. Doris Fox Benardete, a secretary at the Playhouse, gives a description of the workshop spaces in her dissertation, which documents her experiences: “Behind the plaster cyclorama was a huge workshop for the building and painting of stage sets. Upstairs was a smaller workshop for the constructing of stage furniture. On the third floor of the Pitt Street annex were the workshops for costumes and properties.” “The Neighborhood Playhouse on Grand Street,” PhD diss., New York University, 1949, 75.
57. “One Day in Grand Street,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1926, sec. X, 2.
58. “A School of the Theatre,” Lewisohn Scrapbooks, MWEZ + 9.664, Alice Lewisohn Crowley Gift, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. Based on the succession of other articles in this scrapbook, the approximate date of publication was during the spring of 1921.
59. “How to Become an Actress While You Work—Neighborhood Playhouse Training,” Lewisohn Scrapbooks, MWEZ + 9.665, Alice Lewisohn Crowley Gift, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.

60. "Lectures and Craft Instruction," brochure. Clippings Folders, Neighborhood Playhouse collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. Also "The Story of the Neighborhood Playhouse," *New York Times*, December 20, 1925, sec. X, 3.
61. "Neighborhood Playhouse Opens Eighth Season," *Little Theatre Magazine*, December 1921, Lewisohn Scrapbooks MWEZ + 9.663, Alice Lewisohn Crowley Gift, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
62. Harrington, *The Life*, 48. The Playhouse continued to upgrade their technology with new innovations, providing whole programs around technology and lighting effects (49).
63. "One Day in Grand Street," sec. X, 2.
64. Cobrin, *From Winning the Vote*, 128.
65. Irene Lewisohn, "The Playhouse as Laboratory," *The Settlement Journal* (March-April 1915): 14, Neighborhood Playhouse Collection, Neighborhood Playhouse School of Theatre, New York, NY. Also quoted in Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 110.
66. Don Stowell, "Unionization of the Stage Designer—Male and Female," *Theatre Design and Technology* 38, no. 10 (1978): 8. Bel Geddes was one of the few initial holdouts, but joined a few months later in January 1924.
67. *Ibid.*, 8.
68. Klein, *Aline*, 173.
69. *Ibid.*, 173.
70. Suzanne Stutman, ed., *My Other Loneliness: Letters of Thomas Wolfe and Aline Bernstein* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 61–64.
71. *Ibid.*, 64. A *New York Times* article about Bernstein also mentions that her increased profile as a designer who gained the attention of business executives when a "well-known advertising company" had noted her stage work and "came to her with the commission to decorate their offices." The author does not indicate whether she took the job. "Aline Bernstein, Designer," *New York Times*, January 2, 1927, sec. X, 2.
72. Stutman, *My Other Loneliness*, 61.
73. Mike A. Barton, "Aline Bernstein: A History and Evaluation," PhD diss., Indiana University, 1971, 15. In researching Bernstein's career, I consulted two other dissertations: Melanie Nelda Blood, "The Neighborhood Playhouse, 1915–1927: A History and Analysis," PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1994, and Donald Charles Stowell, Jr., "The New Costuming in America: The Ideas and Practices of Robert Edmond Jones, Norman Bel Geddes, Lee Simonson, and Aline Bernstein, 1915–1935," PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1972.
74. The exhibition catalog reinforces the suggestion that women's design careers are lost in the archive. Barbara Cohen-Stratynier, curator for the historical portion of the exhibit, writes, "In the Library's vast archives we have discovered

- great unknowns, popular artists whose theater careers were ignored, and designers of high caliber who have been under-appreciated.” “Discovering the Women,” in *Curtain Call: Celebrating a Century of Women Designing for Live Performance*, ed. Alexis Green (New York: League of Professional Theatre Women and The New York Public Library, 2008), 12.
75. *Ibid.*, 6.
  76. Elmer Rice, *Minority Report: An Autobiography* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1963), 328. The other productions on which Bernstein collaborated with Rice were *Judgement Day* (1934) and *Between Two Worlds* (1934). Rice later resigned his post over issues of censorship connected to the canceling of the Living Newspaper production, *Ethiopia*.
  77. Klein, *Aline*, 307. Bernstein was also an acquaintance of Hallie Flanagan’s and, through this connection, began teaching a design class at Vassar College in 1943 (323).
  78. Accounts of the historic performance of *The Cradle Will Rock* are well documented in Scott Miller’s *Rebels with Applause: Broadway’s Groundbreaking Musicals* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2001), or John Bush Jones’s *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical Theatre* (Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, 2003).
  79. Loren Kruger, *The National Stage: Theatre and Cultural Legitimation in England, France, and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 168.
  80. Ilka Saal, *New Deal Theatre: The Vernacular Tradition in American Political Theatre* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 123–35.
  81. Bay collaborated with director Joseph Losey on *Sunup to Sundown*; Losey had been previously involved in the Living Newspaper unit as a director, but resigned when his production of *Injunction Granted* was closed based on charges of biased reporting. Losey, like Bay, was blacklisted in the 1950s.
  82. Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of the Union: A Century of American Labor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), 20.
  83. Hallie Flanagan, *Arena: The History of the Federal Theatre* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1940), 35. Hopkins and Flanagan were former classmates at Grinnell College.
  84. <sup>84</sup> Norman Lloyd, interview with John O’Connor, January 5, 1976, transcript, Folder: Norman Llyod, Works Progress Administration Oral Histories, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.
  85. Untitled photographs, Record Group 69-TC, Federal Theatre Project, Box 43, Folder 207, National Archive and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
  86. Rice, *Minority Report*, 350.
  87. Flanagan, *Arena*, 26.
  88. See box 965, “Photographic Division,” Federal Theatre Project, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
  89. “Titles of Negatives and File Numbers,” box 965, Folder 4.1.120, Federal Theatre Project, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

90. Photographs, Record Group 69-TC, Federal Theatre Project, Box 39, Folder 154 and Box 30, Folder 3, National Archive and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
91. Kinnard, interview, 3; 20. Kinnard also mentions how FTP employment eventually helped African American stagehands secure union membership. Lafayette technicians gained an affiliated membership that allowed them to handle scenery constructed by union stagehands. "So we got an auxiliary charter saying that we had this local up in Harlem which we paid four percent to [Local 1]. Now this in itself was an asset in later years to get into No. 1." (1).
92. Photograph, Record Group 69-TC, Federal Theatre Project, Box 30, Folder 3, National Archive and Records Administration, Washington, DC. Also see my article "The Aesthetics of Backstage Labor," *Theatre Topics* 21, no. 1 (2011): 33–48.
93. Howard Bay, interview with John O'Connor, February 21, 1976, revised April 7, 1978, transcript, Folder Bay: 10, Works Progress Administration Oral Histories, George Mason University, Fairfax, VA.
94. Bay, interview, 18.
95. *Ibid.*, 28–29.
96. John C. Gibbs, "A Report on Living Newspapers for Philip W. Barber," May 8, 1939, Record Group 69-TC, Federal Theatre Project, Folder "Living Newspaper (no. 2), National Archive and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
97. Arthur Arent, "The Technique of the Living Newspaper," *Theatre Arts* 22, no. 11 (November 1938): 821.
98. "Titles of Negatives and File Numbers."
99. Flanagan, *Arena*, 20.
100. Lloyd, interview, 17.
101. *Injunction Granted's* premature closure by Flanagan, who charged producer Morris Watson and director Joe Losey with demonstrating an unfair bias toward the CIO, has raised many questions about the politics and censorship of the Living Newspapers. Kurt Eisen argues that Flanagan tried to strike an uneasy balance between a politics that was "progressive but not partisan" and largely succeeded in shifting it from a "potentially radical to a reformist enterprise." "Circulating Power: National Theatre as Public Utility in the Federal Theatre Project," *Theatre Symposium* 9 (2001): 40. Gerry Cobb argues that *Injunction Granted* was attacked, both by Flanagan and outside critics, because it diverged from New Deal policy in favor of the CIO. "'Injunction Granted' in Its Times: A Living Newspaper Reappraised," *New Theatre Quarterly* 6, no. 23 (1990): 279.
102. Bay, interview, 8. Bay reported that German filmmaker "Fritz Lang came and saw the show along the run and he said [the slides] were better quality projections than they had in Germany which is hard to believe. But that's what he said."

103. Lloyd, interview, 22–23.
104. It is also unclear from the production script what type of lighting instruments were used for the front-of-house follow-spots. The reference to “leko” spots in the script could indicate the general terms for most ellipsoidal reflector spotlights, or might reference a Leko brand spotlight.
105. *Power*, in *Federal Theatre Plays*, ed. Pierre De Rohan (New York: DaCapro Press, 1973; 1938), 10.
106. “Production Notebook from New York Production of *Power*,” Federal Theatre Project, Box 1057, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/fedtp/ftplays.html>.
107. Photograph, Record Group 69-TC, Federal Theatre Project, Box 40, Folder 164, National Archive and Records Administration, Washington, DC.
108. Barry B. Witham, “The Economic Structure of the Federal Theatre Project,” in *The American Stage: Social and Economic Issues from the Colonial Period to the Present*, eds. Ron Engle and Tice L. Miller (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 201.
109. *Ibid.*, 203. The FTP was required to run an open shop; FTP stagehands who were also members of IATSE continued to be paid union wages, which exceeded the normal FTP pay scale.
110. Denning, *The Cultural Front*, xviii.
111. Jerry Leon Davis, “Howard Bay, Scene Designer,” PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1968, 193.
112. Howard Bay, “Testimony of Howard Bay, Accompanied by His Counsel, Ephraim London,” *Before the Subcomm. on Un-American Activities*, 83rd Cong. (January 18, 1954).

#### 4. THE DESIGNER AS ENTREPRENEUR

1. Kenneth Macgowan, “Robert Edmond Jones: A Tribute,” *Educational Theatre Journal* 7, no. 2 (1955): 136. Shannon Jackson writes that Baker’s English 47 “exceeded both the spatial and temporal limits of the conventionally scheduled course. It also involved a much wider engagement in ‘the technical’ than any composition course ever had.” *Professing Performance: Theatre in the Academy from Philology to Performativity* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 66–69. Yeats description of Craig’s theories predated the publication of the designers’ influential *Towards a New Theatre* (London: J. M. Dent, 1913) by a little more than a year.
2. Kenneth Macgowan, “The New Stagecraft in America,” *Century Magazine* 87 (January 1914): 418.
3. Gregory F. Gilmartin, “Joseph Urban,” in *Inventing Times Square*, ed. William R. Taylor (New York: Russell Sage, 1991), 276.
4. Deems Taylor, “The Scenic Art of Joseph Urban,” *Architecture* 69 (May 1934): 279.

5. W. Richard Scott, "Entrepreneurs and Professionals: The Mediating Roles of Institutions," in *Research in the Sociology of Work, Vol 2: Institutions and Entrepreneurship*, eds. Wesley D. Sine and Robert J. Davis (Bradford, UK: Emerald Group, 2010), 30–31.
6. Kenneth Macgowan, "The Myth of Urban," *Theatre Arts Magazine* 1, no. 3 (1917): 100.
7. Jeffrey L. Meikle, "Domesticating Modernity: Ambivalence and Appropriation, 1920–40," in *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion 1885–1945*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1995), 143.
8. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. Stephen Kalberg, 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: Roxbury, 2002). Also H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds., *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946).
9. Arnold Aronson, *Architect of Dreams: The Theatrical Vision of Joseph Urban* (New York: Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Art Gallery, 2000), 35.
10. See John Loring, *Joseph Urban* (New York: Abrams, 2010), Randolph Carter and Robert Reed Cole, *Joseph Urban* (New York: Abbeville, 1992), and Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925–1939*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).
11. "I Have Seen the Future: Norman Bel Geddes Designs America," Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, September 11, 2012–January 6, 2013. See exhibition information at [www.hrc.utexas.edu](http://www.hrc.utexas.edu).
12. Marlis Schweitzer, *When Broadway Was the Runway: Theater, Fashion, and American Culture* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 9.
13. Maurya Wickstrom, *Performing Consumers: Global Capital and Its Theatrical Seductions* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 14–15.
14. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 71.
15. Aronson, *Architect*, 26. Gilmartin, "Joseph Urban," 276. In an early review of Urban's Boston work, Macgowan also compared his scenography to the impressionist paintings of Claude Monet. "The New Stagecraft in America," 416.
16. Taylor, "The Scenic Art," 279. This issue of *Architecture* commemorated Urban after his death in 1933.
17. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 87.
18. Taylor, "The Scenic Art," 279.
19. Aronson, *Architect*, 35.
20. Taylor, "The Scenic Art," 279.
21. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 56. Urban would later move his studio to Yonkers to be closer to New York.
22. Susan Crabtree and Peter Beudert, *Scenic Art for the Theatre: History, Tools and Techniques* (Waltham, MA: Focal Press, 2012). Two of Urban's artists, the Adler brothers, founded Triangle Studio in New York, NY.



23. Gilmartin, "Joseph Urban," 275. Also Orville K. Larson, *Scene Design in the American Theatre from 1915 to 1960* (Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1989), 72.
24. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 19. See Carter and Cole's chapter "Urban's Vienna" for detailed descriptions of Urban's work before his move to the United States (9–43).
25. Willis Steel, "The Art of Joseph Urban," *Theatre Magazine* 76 (September 1915): 124.
26. Michael Lasser, "The Glorifier: Florenz Ziegfeld and the Creation of the American Showgirl," *American Scholar* 63, no. 3 (1994): 443.
27. Lewis Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1981), 214.
28. The Joseph Urban papers reside in the Columbia University Library Special Collections, New York, NY, and the library has made the vast majority of Urban's theatre and opera designs available via their online gallery: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/rbml/urban/>. The specific image referenced of the 1915 *Follies* can be found at: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/rbml/urban/html/lg-3405080101.html>.
29. See scenic sketch on Columbia University Library's online gallery: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/rbml/urban/html/lg-3405081401.html>.
30. Joel Dinerstein, *Swinging the Machine* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 186.
31. *Ibid.*, 184.
32. Aronson, *Architect*, 35. See scenic sketch on Columbia University's online gallery: <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/eresources/archives/rbml/urban/html/lg-3407030301.html>.
33. Lasser, "The Glorifier," 442.
34. Linda Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl: Image and Icon in Culture and Cinema* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 94; 97. Even before Urban featured a grand staircase in his 1916 designs, he included a variety of platforms and stairs in the 1915 design.
35. *Ibid.*, 6; 97.
36. Dinerstein, *Swinging*, 188. Notable examples include Angela Latham's *Posing a Threat: Flappers, Chorus Girls, and Other Brazen Performers of the American 1920s* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England [for] Wesleyan University Press, 2000).
37. Martha Banta, "Introduction," in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* by Thorstein Veblen (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), xxii.
38. Don Slater, *Consumer Culture and Modernity* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1997), 12. Michael Kammen also identifies the flowering of consumer culture in the 1920s as a significant social as well as economic force that influenced perceptions of class, gender, and race/ethnicity. *American Culture American*

- Tastes: Social Change and the 20th Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).
39. Schweitzer, *When Broadway*, 53.
  40. Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl*, 91. The introduction of Lucille's models also marks the distinction between a chorus girl, hired for her talents in singing and dancing as well as her appearance, and showgirl, hired more overtly for her appearance and body type.
  41. Schweitzer, *When Broadway*, 200; Mizejewski, *Ziegfeld Girl*, 3.
  42. Lasser, "The Glorifier," 447.
  43. Untitled photograph from "Follies 1919," Box 16, Folder 10, Joseph Urban Collection, Columbia University Library Special Collections, New York, NY.
  44. "Our Scenic Art Leads the World," typewritten article for the *Sunday World*, January 18, 1920, Box 34, Folder 3, Joseph Urban Collection, Columbia University Library Special Collections, New York, NY.
  45. Steel, "The Art," 124.
  46. Gilmartin, "Joseph Urban," 278. Christopher Innes, *Designing Modern America: Broadway to Main Street* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 49–50. "Urban Blue" still exists as a recognizable brand in products manufactured for theatrical use such as Rosco's scenic paint and Roscolux's colored filter for lighting.
  47. "Wormser Girl's Room," photograph, Box A6, Joseph Urban Collection, Columbia University Library Special Collections, New York, NY.
  48. Urban designed both the chair and the upholstery textile. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 112.
  49. *Ibid.*, 81. Elephants were also featured in the murals Urban designed for the New Amsterdam's Roof Theatre as well as the interior of the Ziegfeld Theatre. Loring, *Joseph Urban*, 160.
  50. William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Vintage, 1993), 5–9; 144.
  51. Jan Whitaker, *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle-Class* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006), 81.
  52. Gilmartin suggests that the success of Urban's designs after 1925 were in part due to America's "cultural insecurity" about being left behind in the realm of the fine arts. The United States had failed to participate in the 1925 Exposition (279). In only a few years, however, the applied motifs of Art Deco would be supplanted by the efficient "form follows function" styles of modern streamlining that favored by designers like Bel Geddes.
  53. See Lewis Mumford, "Notes on Architecture," *The New Republic*, March 18, 1931. Also mentioned in Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 187.
  54. Taylor, "The Scenic Art," 285. Presumably Taylor refers to Simonson's *The Stage Is Set*, published in 1932.
  55. Norman Bel Geddes, *Miracle in the Evening*, ed. William Kelley (New York: Doubleday, 1960). He wrote *Thunderbird* with his first wife, Belle, based on a

- Native American legend. This early collaboration led him to adopt the professional moniker Norman-Bel Geddes, after which he dropped the hyphen.
56. *Ibid.*, 166. While in Los Angeles, Bel Geddes had the opportunity to collaborate with Richard Ordynski, a former member of Max Reinhardt's company who likely shared the director's Continental Stagecraft theories.
  57. Carter and Cole, *Joseph Urban*, 218.
  58. Norman Bel Geddes, *Horizons* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1932), 182.
  59. Innes, *Designing*, 68.
  60. Kenneth Macgowan, "A Mystical Month on Broadway," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 8, no. 3 (March 1924): 148.
  61. See Claude Bragdon, "A Theatre Transformed: Being a Description of the Permanent Setting by Norman-Bel Geddes for Max Reinhardt's Spectacle, *The Miracle*," *The Architectural Record* (April 1924): 393; Albert A. Hopkins, "A Theatre without a Stage," *Scientific American* (1924): no page numbers. Job 85, Box 94, Folder i2-3, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  62. Oliver Saylor, ed., *F. Ray Comstock and Morris Gest Present for the First Time in America the Stupendous Spectacular Pantomime, The Miracle*, souvenir program, 1924.
  63. Roberts, 12
  64. Bragdon, "A Theatre Transformed," 397.
  65. Quoted in Bel Geddes, *Miracle in the Evening*, 299.
  66. Sheldon Cheney, *Stage Decoration* (New York: John Day, 1928), 119.
  67. Bel Geddes, *Horizons*, 18.
  68. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
  69. Bel Geddes, *Horizons*, 4-5.
  70. Teague and Loewy came to industrial design from the world of commercial illustration. Dreyfus, however, was another designer with a theatrical background, and, in fact, was a student of Bel Geddes's scene-design class in the early 1920s.
  71. "Both Fish and Fowl," *Fortune* 9, no. 2 (1934): 40. The article was written anonymously by designer George Nelson.
  72. Bel Geddes, *Horizons*, 13.
  73. Tony Fry, *A New Design Philosophy: An Introduction to Defuturing* (Sydney: University of South Wales Press, 1999), 113.
  74. Bel Geddes also produced and directed *Arabesque*; it only ran for 23 performances.
  75. "Franklin Simon & Co, 16 W. 38th Street," (2003) <http://www.14to42.new/38street1.5.html>. Bedell's was also located on West Thirty-Fourth Street.
  76. Bel Geddes, "All of Window Is a Stage—The Merchandise Merely Players, Says Norman Bel Geddes," *Retail Ledger*, April 1929, Job 134, Box 7, Folder 134.4, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.

77. M. K. Wisheart, July 1931, Job 134, Box 7, Folder 134.4, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
78. Bel Geddes, Letter to Mr. Adam Gimbel, Saks & Company, New York, April 18, 1927, Job 134, Box 7, Folder 134.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
79. *Town and Country*, no author or date listed, Job 134, Box 7, Folder 134.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
80. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 51.
81. Stuart Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin* (New York: Basic, 1996), 182.
82. Arthur J. Pulos, "Dynamic Showman," *Industrial Design* 17 (July/August 1970): 64.
83. Fry, *A New Design Philosophy*, 113.
84. Bel Geddes, *Horizons*, 3.
85. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 144.
86. Pulos, "Dynamic Showman," 61.
87. Jeffrey L. Meikle, *Design in the USA* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2005), 116.
88. Roland Marchand, "The Designers Go to the Fair II: Norman Bel Geddes, The General Motors 'Futurama,' and the Visit to the Factory Transformed," *Design Issues* 8, no. 2 (1992): 26. For information on the Shell campaign, see Meikle's *The City of Tomorrow: Model 1937* (London: Pentagram Design, 1984).
89. Bel Geddes's well-worn copy of Le Corbusier's *Towards a New Architecture* was included as part of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center's 2004 exhibit "Make It New: The Rise of Modernism," alongside photographs of his *Futurama* exhibit. The exhibit ran from October 21, 2004, to March 7, 2005, in Austin, TX.
90. Innes, *Designing*, 175.
91. Ewen, *PR! A Social History*, 241; 263. See Chapters 2 and 3 for examples of New Deal public relations successes in productions of the Federal Theatre Project.
92. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States, 1492-Present*, Revised ed. (New York: Harper, 1995), 390–91.
93. Christine Grace O'Malley, "The 'Design Decade' and Beyond: American Industrial Designers and the Evolution of the Consumer Landscape from the 1930s to the 1950s," PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2002, 120.
94. *Official Guide Book: New York World's Fair, 1939* (New York: Exposition Publications, 1939), 18–19.
95. "A Panoramic Presentation of Possible Future Solutions for Present-Day Traffic Problems, Allied with the Theme of the World's Fair, Building the World of Tomorrow," Job 381, Box 019a, Folder 381.3, Norman Bel Geddes

- Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX. All of the words in italics have been changed from original all-capitals.
96. Marchand, "The Designers," 25.
  97. Photograph captions, Job 381, Box 019a, Folder 381.4, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX. Bel Geddes constructed the building in collaboration with architect Albert Kahn. Final costs for GM's *Highways and Horizon's* exhibit, including *Futurama*, were triple Bel Geddes initial estimate. Marchand, "The Designers," 24.
  98. "Sound Chair Script." Job 381, Box 019b, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  99. Ibid.
  100. Ibid.
  101. "Press release, April 29th, 1939," Job 381, Box 019b, Folder 381.17, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  102. "General Motors Exhibit Building: New York World's Fair—Highways and Horizons," Exhibit brochure, General Motors, 1939, The University of Texas at Austin Center for American History, Austin, TX.
  103. Meikle, *Twentieth Century Limited*, 208. Bel Geddes kept a folder labeled "Traffic Development as a Result of Futurama" in his office files, including articles about recent highway construction and publications by the automotive industry that promoted his ideas. Job 381, Box 025, Folder 411, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX. Innes also suggests that Bel Geddes's design influenced the Pennsylvania Turnpike, a superhighway "immediately dubbed 'the magic motorway' after the title of Bel Geddes' book on highway design" (146–47).
  104. Paul Mason Fotsch, "The Building of a Superhighway Future as the New York World's Fair," *Cultural Critique* 48, no. 1 (2001): 92.
  105. Morton Eustis, "Big Show in Flushing Meadows," *Theatre Arts Monthly* 23, no. 8 (1939): 568
  106. See Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (London: Sage, 2004).

## 5. THE DESIGNER AS GLOBAL CARTOGRAPHER

1. Record Group 80-G, Boxes 42, 102, 110, 145, and 2612, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
2. "Midway Models Reconstruct War's Decisive Naval Battle," *Life Magazine*, February 18, 1946, 93–101.
3. Bel Geddes attempted to sell his process as an "ideal illustration medium for any illustratable subject where on-the-spot photographs were not made or

cannot be made.” “The Bel Geddes Process for Television, Motion Pictures, Graphic Illustrations,” n.d., Job 672, OS Box 11, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.

4. Robert W. Karrow, Jr., “Introduction,” in *Maps: Finding Our Place in the World*, ed. James R. Akerman and Robert W. Karrow, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 10.
5. Matthew H. Edney, “The Irony of Imperial Mapping,” in *The Imperial Map*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 11.
6. Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), 2.
7. Elinor Fuchs and Una Chaudhuri, *Land/Scapes/Theatre* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 3. See also Una Chaudhuri, *Staging Place: The Geography of Modern Drama* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1997).
8. David Harvey, “From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity,” in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, eds. Jon Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putman, George Robertson, and Lisa Tickner (London: Routledge, 1993), 7.
9. “Norman Bel Geddes’ Models Re-enact Naval Battle,” *Life Magazine*, May 25, 1942, 21–25.

During the spring of 1942, Japanese forces made a number of advances in the Pacific, such as their invasion of New Guinea and the Andaman Islands in March, their attack on Allied forces at Bataan in April, and their offensive action at Tulagi in the Solomon Islands in May.

10. “Norman Bel Geddes’ Models Re-enact Naval Battle,” 21.
11. *Ibid.*, 25.
12. Presentation book for Midway battle, unpublished, 1942, Job 536, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
13. Wendy Kozol, *Life’s America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1994), 56.
14. James L. Baughman, *Henry R. Luce and the Rise of the American News Media* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 130. Luce’s editorial appeared in the February 7, 1941, issue of *Life*. Baughman notes that Walter Lippman, editor of the *New Republic* and a leading conservative intellectual, expressed his gratitude for *Life*’s reports in a letter to a staff member: “Your strategical maps and your articles about tactics have been immensely clarifying to me and, I imagine, to many others who had found these things difficult to visualize through their own imaginations” (133).

Chris Vials notes that Luce’s political ideology is indicative of his brand of “conservative internationalism” popular among America’s business leaders, often critical of President Roosevelt’s social politics but supportive of his

decision to enter the war. By establishing a stronger international presence, the United States would not only spread “American ideals of freedom and democracy around the globe” but also strengthen the economy by opening up further industry and trade opportunities. “The Popular Front in the American Century: *Life Magazine*, Margaret Bourke-White, and Consumer Realism, 1936–1941,” *American Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism, and Bibliography* 16, no. 1 (2006): 75.

15. Deming Seymour, “A New Yorker at Large,” *Jamestown Post*, November 7, 1929, clipping, “War Game: Publicity, 1929–1945,” Job 56, Folder 56.11, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX. The article was syndicated, and additional clippings document its appearance in the *Paducah Sun-Democrat* (Kentucky) and the *Savannah News* (South Carolina).
16. “U.S. Naval Victory in the Solomons,” *Life Magazine*, November 30, 1942, 29.
17. In a previous issue, the article “Marines Attack Solomons” gave readers a vivid picture of these islands that “have long been neglected by white men” and the uncivilized native population who “wear long bones through their noses, tattoo themselves, and believe in witchcraft and voodooos.” *Life Magazine*, August 24, 1942, 24.
18. “Amphibious War: Geddes Models Explain Land-&-Sea Attack,” *Life Magazine*, November 19, 1942, 115.
19. *Ibid.*, 123.
20. *Ibid.*, 117.
21. “Guadalcanal” *Life Magazine*, November 9, 1942, 32.
22. John Hersey, “The Marines on Guadalcanal,” *Life Magazine*, November 9, 1942, 36.
23. Minutes of meeting between Norman Bel Geddes and his office staff, July 12, 1945, Job 536, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.  
The full extent of the designer’s military contracts during WWII is unknown due to restricted intelligence that limited the records included in his papers and the absence of his contracts at the Navy archives. But the Bel Geddes’s collection records a number of considered projects including a portable, camouflaged airplane hanger (based on a tent he designed for Ringling Brothers and Barnum Bailey) and visual identification techniques for recognizing enemy ships and airplanes. Bel Geddes’s visual history of Midway is the only substantially documented military commission in either collection.
24. Presentation book for Midway battle, unpublished, 1942, Job 536, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
25. Letter from Norman Bel Geddes to Eugene S. Duffield, special assistant to the Secretary of the Navy, November 8, 1944. Job 536, Box 38, Folder 536.1,

- Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
26. Norman Bel Geddes, "Statement on Model Photography as a Method of Recording the Story of a Battle," Midway Presentation Book (June 1942) created by Norman Bel Geddes and Company, Inc. Job 536, 7A:WW:05:2, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  27. "Combat Narratives: The Battle of Midway, June 3–6, 1942," Copy No. 2 (Bel Geddes's personal copy), Publication Section, Combat Intelligence Branch, Office of Naval Intelligence, United States Navy, 1943. Job 536, Box 39, Folder 536.8, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  28. Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), 86. White uses the term "emplotment" as a historiographical process of structuring historical events into a narrative comprehensible to a readership.
  29. "Combat Narratives: The Battle of Midway, June 3–6, 1942." Additional editions of the Midway combat narrative are housed at the National Archives. Record Group 38, Security Classified Publication of the Office of Naval Intelligence (Declassified on March 21, 1975), Box 5, NM 63, Entry 141, Folder "Combat Narratives 1942–44," National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
  30. Memorandum from Lt. Winston Lewis, USN, to Norman Bel Geddes, November 13, 1945. Job 536, Box 38, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  31. Minutes of a meeting between Norman Bel Geddes and Lt. Comdr. Gilbert P. Simons, USN, September 26, 1945. Job 536, Box 38, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  32. Minutes of a telephone conversation between Norman Bel Geddes and Lt. Kaulback, USN, October 23, 1945. Job 536, Box 38, Folder 536.1, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.
  33. Navy Department memorandum copied to Under Secretary James V. Forrestal from H. E. Yarnell, August 11, 1943, Record Group 80, Box 174, Folder "Publicity," National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD.
  34. Joel R. Davidson, *The Unsinkable Fleet: The Politics of U.S. Navy Expansion in World War II* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 1996), 6.
  35. Letter from James V. Forrestal, Secretary of the Navy, to Norman Bel Geddes, February 26, 1946. Job 536, Box 38, Folder 536.2, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX.



36. Davidson, *The Unsinkable Fleet*, 180.
37. Ronald Arthur Naversen, "The Scenographer as Camoufleur," PhD diss., Southern Illinois University, 1989, 42.
38. Jo Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre: A Memoir and a Portfolio* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), 45. MacKenna worked in the literary department of a Hollywood film studio, and had recently acquired an advance copy of Michener's book. Phillip Beidler, "South Pacific and American Remembering; or, 'Josh, We're Going to Buy This Son of a Bitch!,'" *Journal of American Studies* 27, no. 2 (1993): 212.
39. Logan was dogged but successful in his efforts to secure a coauthor credit for *South Pacific*, first convincing Hammerstein to officially recognize his contribution and later the Pulitzer committee when they neglected to include his name with the prize. Frederick Nolan, *The Sound of Their Music: The Story of Rodgers & Hammerstein* (New York: Applause, 2002), 182; 195.
40. Before Mielziner's high-profile success bridging musicals and straight plays, New Stagecraft designers were careful about taking work for the musical stage, not wanting to be pigeonholed as "decorators" of light entertainment. Arnold Aronson argues that Joseph Urban, for example, never received his fair due because he had become so intimately associated with Florenz Ziegfeld's musical revues. Arnold Aronson, *Looking into the Abyss: Essays on Scenography* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 134.
41. Michael Schaller, *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 53; 152.
42. See Andrea Most, "'You've Got to Be Carefully Taught': The Politics of Race in Rodgers and Hammerstein's South Pacific," *Theatre Journal* 52, no. 3 (2000): 307–37, and Bruce McConachie, *American Theatre in the Culture of the Cold War: Producing and Contesting Containment, 1947–1962* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003).
43. Bruce McConachie, "The 'Oriental' Musicals of Rodgers and Hammerstein and the U.S. War in Southeast Asia," in *Staging Difference: Cultural Pluralism in American Theatre and Drama*, ed. Marc Maufort (New York: P. Lang, 1995), 70.
44. Christina Klein, *Cold War Orientalism: Asia in the Middlebrow Imagination, 1945–1961* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2003), 164.
45. Joshua Logan, "New Tales of 'South Pacific'" *South Pacific* Souvenir Program (New York: Al Greenstone, 1949) n.p. Box 21, Souvenir Playbills and Programs Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Center, Austin, TX.
46. Stacy Wolf, *A Problem Like Maria: Gender and Sexuality in the American Musical* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 28.
47. Logan, "New Tales."
48. Most, "'You've Got to Be Carefully Taught,'" 319.
49. Stacy Wolf writes, "Rodgers and Hammerstein's musicals insistently connect romance to social concerns, as their musicals, by way of the heterosexual couple, always argue for social tolerance" (31).

50. Rosco Laboratories manufactures a “Jungle Leaf” pattern, or “gobo,” that seemingly approximates Mielziner’s original projection plates. Rosco has no available records from their contract with Mielziner, but Joshua Alemany, a project manager for Rosco, speculated that the company began distributing the “Jungle Leaf” gobo in the early 1970s. Interview with author, July 28, 2006. Correspondence with Ming Cho Lee, one of the designer’s apprentices during the 1950s, uncovered no specific information about the gobo, although he emphasized Mielziner’s role in the innovations of lighting technology during the period. Mielziner was one of the first to create lighting patterns on glass plates placed in front of projectors, and later pioneered efforts to replace projectors with gobo images thrown from controlled lighting instruments. “Jo Mielziner,” e-mail to author, August 26, 2006.
51. “Cut and Net Drop- Beach #1,” color sketch, Box 106, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
52. Naverson, “The Scenographer,” 55.
53. Mielziner, Letter to Lee J. Eaton, Camouflage Branch, Office of the Chief of Engineers, War Department, Washington, DC, January 11, 1949, Box 52, Folder 8, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
54. Klein’s study situates Michener’s stories as part of an explosion of travel writing about Asia that occurred during the 1950s, thus reflecting the “postwar emergence of mass global tourism.” The tourism market was stimulated not only by the opening up of Eastern territory to American travelers but also the booming US economy that allowed consumers to use more income for leisure activities (102–4). Beidler argues that the 1958 film further promoted the South Pacific as a tourist destination (219).
55. Box 52, Folder 8, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
56. Beidler, “*South Pacific*,” 216–17.
57. Cohama Advertisement, *New York Times Magazine* (October 30, 1949): 3, Box 52, Folder 8, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
58. Cultural critic Alan Bryman maintains that the “key principle behind merchandising is a simple one of extracting further revenue from an image that has already attracted people.” *The Disneyization of Society* (London: Sage, 2004), 80. I was unable to find specific information about the sale of these scarves to postwar consumers. No longer in operation, Cohama was a manufacturer of print fabrics, including a number of tropical and Hawaiian prints that were popular during the 1950s.
59. Landon based her novel both on her own experiences working as a teacher in Siam and on the autobiographies of Anna Leonowens, *The English Governess*

- in *the Siamese Court* (1870) and *The Romance of the Harem* (1872). Shengmei Ma, "Rodgers and Hammerstein's 'Chopsticks' Musicals," *Literature Film Quarterly* 31, no. 1 (2003): 17.
60. Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 197.
  61. In researching the map design, Mielziner requested a volume of *Geographical Journal*, indicating information on London in 1898. "Public Library" (list of research for *The King and I* on notebook paper), Box 39, Folder 10, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. He also obtained a copy of a map from the American Geographical Society, titled "Colton's Map of the World." Box 64, Mielziner Designs. Mielziner also discussed his map design process in a deposition for his case to claim proprietary rights for the use of his designs in the film version of *The King and I*. "Supreme Court of the State of New York, County of New York, Jo Mielziner, Plaintiff, against, Richard Rodgers & Oscar Hammerstein, II, defendants. May 20, 1958. Examination before Trial of Jo Mielziner taken by the defendants, at the offices of Messrs. Dwight, Royall, Harris, Kiegel & Caskey, 100 Broadway, New York, N.Y.," 74, Box 39, Folder 14, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
  62. McConachie, *American Theatre in the Culture of the Cold War*, 155.
  63. Klein, *Cold War Orientalism*, 2. Klein also draws a comparison between Anna's lesson and postwar education initiatives such as the Fulbright exchange program, which brought many American teachers to Asian countries (199).
  64. Mielziner, *Designing for the Theatre*, 20–21.
  65. Mary C. Henderson, *Mielziner: Master of the Modern Stage* (New York: Backstage Books, 2000), 188.
  66. Jo Mielziner trial record, 57, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
  67. McConachie, *American Theatre in the Culture of the Cold War*, 170.
  68. Murals Inc., "Thailand," promotional brochure, Box 64, Folder 24, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. Mielziner's scenic images were not the only designs from *The King and I* that led to commercial opportunities. The elegant Thai silk costumes designed by Irene Sharaff initiated a fashion trend. Klein's book *Cold War Orientalism* includes a discussion of Jim Thompson, the American owner of a Thai silk company who supplied Sharaff with fabric for the production. When Sharaff credited Thompson in the musical's program, his business increased substantially (219–20). Klein emphasizes Thompson's role in US-Thai relations during the postwar period. It is unclear if Sharaff benefited financially from this arrangement.
  69. Mielziner, Memo to Leonard Haber (no date), Box 64, Folder 24, and letter to Ben Schankman of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Warton & Garrison (February 11, 1952), Box 64, Folder 24, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose

- Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
70. Letter from the law offices of M. S. & I. S. Isaacs to Jo Mielziner, November 1, 1949, Box 52, Folder 8, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. The designer eventually secured a proprietary claim on his design, receiving \$2,250 as a share of the producer's sell of advertising rights.
  71. *Ibid.*, 47.
  72. Jo Mielziner trial record, 53–54, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
  73. Letter dated December, 24, 1958, Box 39, Folder 14, Jo Mielziner Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY. There is no mention of the Jo Mielziner *v.* Richard Rodgers and Oscar Hammerstein, II, in other case decisions or law review articles. Given the public prominence of both the plaintiff and defendants, it is likely that the case would have generated further interest if its decision had been published.
  74. Frank Rich and Lisa Aronson, *The Theatre Art of Boris Aronson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 5–10.
  75. Lee Simonson, "Russian Theory in the American Theatre," *The Nation*, June 12, 1929, 717–18. Simonson is reviewing Waldemar George's Book *Boris Aronson et l'Art du Théâtre* (Paris: Chronique du Jour, 1928).
  76. Rich and Aronson, *The Theatre Art*, 18.
  77. *Ibid.*, 9.
  78. "Settings by Aronson," *New York Times*, October 27, 1940, 131.
  79. *Ibid.*, 131.
  80. Rich and Aronson, *The Theatre Art*, 25; 172. Producer Harold Prince objected to Aronson initially but was soon converted. Aronson and Prince later collaborated on *Cabaret* (1966) and a string of Stephen Sondheim musicals including *Company* (1970), *Follies* (1971), *A Little Night Music* (1973), and *Pacific Overtures* (1976).
  81. Seth L. Wolitz, "The Americanization of Tevye or Boarding the Jewish 'Mayflower,'" *American Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (1988), 531.
  82. Boris Aronson, "Notes on Designing Musicals," (1974) Box 9, Folder 14, Boris Aronson Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
  83. Stuart J. Hecht, *Transposing Broadway: Jews, Assimilation, and the American Musical* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 179.
  84. Henry Bial, *Acting Jewish: Negotiating Ethnicity on the American Stage and Screen* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 59.
  85. *Ibid.*, 71.
  86. Rich and Aronson note that Boris and Patricia Zipprodt "spent hours at Robbins' apartment looking at films about *shtetl* life" (172). Wolitz also remarks on the production team's extensive research (526).

87. Bruce Kirle, *Unfinished Show Business: Broadway Musicals as Works-in-Process* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois Press, 2005), 144. Also see Raymond Knapp's cultural analysis of Fiddler in *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005), 215–27.
88. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Imagining Europe: The Popular Arts of American Jewish Ethnography," in *Divergent Jewish Cultures: Israel and America*, ed. Edmund S. Morgan (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 156.
89. Hecht, *Transposing Broadway*, 184.
90. Jerome Robbins, Notes (October 16, 1963), Box 37, Folder 5, Boris Aronson Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
91. Joseph Stein, Jerry Bock, and Sheldon Harnick, *Fiddler on the Roof*, 2nd ed. (New York: Limelight, 1991), 153.
92. Robbins, Notes.
93. Aronson, "Notes on Designing Musicals."
94. *Ibid.*
95. Jerome Robbins, "Notes on Sets: Boris Aronson" (April 14, 1964), Box 37, Folder 5, Boris Aronson Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
96. Boris Aronson, Production materials: Detail photos, Box 37, Folder 1, Boris Aronson Collection, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, New York, NY.
97. Rich and Aronson, *The Theatre Art*, 179.
98. Stein, Bock, and Harnick, *Fiddler*, 144.
99. Rich and Aronson, *The Theatre Art*, 109.
100. "A Course in Design for the Theatre" publicity brochure. Job 79, Box 149, Folder L.2, Norman Bel Geddes Collection, University of Texas at Austin Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Austin, TX. The designer saved his class notes, and started to rework the material into a textbook. The notes remain incomplete and unpublished.
101. Mordecai Gorelik, "Metaphorically Speaking," *Theatre Arts* (November 1954): 79.
102. Arnold Wengrow, "Howard Bay," in *Late and Great American Designers 1960–2010*, ed. Bobbi Owen (Syracuse, NY: United States Institute for Theatre Technology, 2010), 59.
103. Rich and Aronson, *The Theatre Art*, 30.
104. Lecture announcement, Clippings Folder, bMS Thr 32, Robert Edmond Jones Papers, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.
105. "Lecture, 1952," Folder 15, MS Thr 201.12, Robert Edmond Jones Papers, Harvard Theatre Collection, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, MA.

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