



# *Federal Theatre Project (1935-1939)*

contexte & enjeux / context & issues



Émeline Jouve & Géraldine Prévot (dir.)

IV. Finding Hallie · An interview with M. Brickman by É. Jouve and G. Prévot and an extract from her play Playground

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Le *Federal Theatre Project (FTP)* constitue une aventure singulière dans l'histoire du théâtre américain, inédite à l'époque et jamais réitérée sous cette forme. Dirigé pendant ses quatre années d'existence, de 1935 à 1939, par l'autrice, dramaturge et metteuse en scène Hallie Flanagan, il s'inscrit dans l'ensemble des mesures mises en place par l'administration Roosevelt dans le cadre du programme du *New Deal*, au sein de la *Work Progress Administration (WPA)* dirigée par Harry Hopkins. *Federal Theatre Project (1935-1939): contexte et enjeux* constitue la première étude française d'envergure sur cette période essentielle de l'histoire du théâtre américain. En mêlant approches transversales et études de cas, ce volume rassemblant les contributions de chercheuses, chercheurs et artistes se propose de mettre en lumière les angles morts et les figures oubliées de cette période de l'histoire théâtrale américaine, faisant le pari que ces oublis eux-mêmes racontent quelque chose de l'historiographie de cette période et, en retour, des regards contemporains que nous pouvons porter sur elle. L'ouvrage s'inscrit dans une perspective résolument transdisciplinaire, à l'image de ce que fut le *FTP*, en proposant des articles sur le théâtre à proprement parler mais aussi la musique et le cinéma.

The Federal Theatre Project (FTP) is a singular adventure in the history of American theater, unprecedented at the time and never repeated at such. Headed during its four years of existence, from 1935 to 1939, by the author, playwright and director Hallie Flanagan, it is part of the program set by the Roosevelt administration as part of the New Deal, within the Work Progress Administration (WPA) directed by Harry Hopkins. *Federal Theatre Project (1935-1939): Context and Issues* is the first French volume on this essential period in the history of American theater. By combining cross-disciplinary approaches and case studies, this volume, which brings together contributions from researchers and artists, aims to shed light on the blind spots and forgotten figures of this period of American theatrical history, considering that these omissions themselves tell us something about the historiography of this period and, in turn, about the contemporary views we can take on it. The book is resolutely transdisciplinary, as was the FTP, with articles on theater itself, but also on music and film.

Émeline Jouve & Géraldine Prévot (dir.)

*Federal Theatre Project*  
(1935-1939)

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QUATRIÈME PARTIE

**Figures féminines  
et processus de légitimation**



*Emeline Jouve and Géraldine Prévot*  
*Toulouse-Jean Jaurès University/Paris Nanterre University*

Mattie Brickman is a playwright, screenwriter, and creative director based in Los Angeles. Her plays have been produced across the United States. They include *The Imaginary Audience*, *If Found Please Return to Charles Darwin*, *Bill Clinton Goes to the Bathroom*, *American Catnip*, *Max Out Loud*, *The Redundant Colon*, *Starbox*, *Meeting Important*, *Modern Love*, *Reunions Reunions Reunions*, *Rabbi Bob and the Year Hanukkah Came Early*, *Husky and Scratch*, and *Five Second Chances*. *Playground: The Hallie Flanagan Project* was commissioned and produced by Vassar College. It explores the beginning of Hallie Flanagan's directing career in the USSR and at Vassar, as she navigates life, love, and politics, all while trying to stage a groundbreaking play.

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FEDERAL THEATRE PROJECT (1935-39) • SUP • 2023

*This interview was conducted virtually in April 2021, in response to Mattie's talk on Playground at the International Conference on the Federal Theatre Project in Toulouse, France, on October 17, 2019.*

**ÉMELINE JOUVE & GÉRALDINE PRÉVOT.** – How did you first learn about Hallie Flanagan and what struck you most about her?

**MATTIE BRICKMAN.** – Hallie entered my life in the fall of 2010. I received a call from Jen Wineman, a director I'd worked with at the Yale School of Drama. Jen was an alumna of Vassar College and, that year, Vassar was celebrating its 150th anniversary. The school had asked Jen to direct a play and suggested possibly re-staging a Hallie Flanagan/Vassar production from the 1920s-30s.

Instead, Jen proposed creating a new play *about* Hallie. She asked if I would write it—and *quickly*. It was October and the play would be going into rehearsal in January for a March 1st opening. Fortunately, I love a good deadline.

As an undergraduate at Princeton, I'd read about the Federal Theatre Project while researching my public policy thesis on the relationship between Congress and the National Endowment for the Arts, so I knew a little about Hallie. Now I had to figure out how to step into her shoes.

**É. J. & G. P.** – You spent a lot of time digging into the collection of papers about Hallie at Vassar. Can you describe how these documents were a source of inspiration for your writing?

**M. B.** – As I began my research, it soon became clear that I could spend the rest of my career writing plays about Hallie Flanagan. She was an infinitely brilliant, complicated, surprising, tenacious artist and human being. My challenge was how to narrow the scope, to find the story, to find *Hallie*.

I had the opportunity to review Hallie’s papers at Vassar, where I got to know her through her journals and letters. I spent time absorbing how she spoke, how she wrote, how she thought—and wherever I could, I incorporated Hallie’s own words into the play.

**412** I went into the process fully intending to write about Hallie’s tenure as head of the Federal Theatre Project. But as I progressed, I found myself gravitating toward a confluence of events in her life that unfolded about a decade earlier—during her trip to Leningrad and her early years at Vassar—events that shaped her vision as a director and pushed the American theatre in a new, exciting direction.

**É. J. & G. P.** – Shortly after starting at Vassar, Hallie was the first woman awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, which took her on a 14-month trip in 1926 and 1927 to study theatre across Europe and Russia. How would you describe the influence of this trip on her theatrical vision?

**M. B.** – This trip opened Hallie’s eyes to theatre on a global stage. She was there to take it all in and, eventually, write a book (which she did, *Shifting Scenes of the Modern European Theatre*). It was a pivotal trip that influenced her perspective and work moving forward.

To understand how this trip affected her professionally, it’s also helpful to understand where she was coming from, personally. Hallie had embarked on this journey alone, having lost her husband and partner-in-crime, Murray Flanagan, to tuberculosis several years earlier. When she felt alone, Hallie noted in her journals that she was grateful she was there for work. “The loneliest thing in the world would be to travel this way if one were not doing a definite job,” she wrote, “[o]nly work helps.”<sup>1</sup> Throughout her travels, Hallie threw herself into her work. She clung to it.

In Russia, Hallie fell in love: with Stanislavski’s directing precision, with Meyerhold’s constructivist technique that united actor and audience, and, it seems perhaps, with an American scientist who was working in Pavlov’s lab, translating his work.

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<sup>1</sup> Joanne Bentley, *Hallie Flanagan*, Toronto, Random House of Canada, 1988, p. 86-87.

The scientist's name was Horsley Gantt. Hallie was immediately taken with him. They met the night before she was to leave Russia. He convinced her to stay longer. "Of course I pretend I am staying on because of drama," Hallie wrote in one of her journals. "But, in reality, I know it is to explore a new personality."<sup>2</sup>

Hallie and "Lee," as she began to call him, connected over art and science. He even gave her a tour of Pavlov's lab, and she was struck by the meticulous experiments.<sup>3</sup> She described Lee as having "clear, cold objectivity," then went on to write, "of course this is also the quality which makes him one of the most fascinating people I have ever met." "The more I see Dr. Gantt," she wrote, "the more he becomes a complete puzzle."<sup>4</sup>

It seemed that Hallie had met someone not unlike herself. Like Hallie, Lee put everything into his work. So, despite her fascination with him, Hallie also wrote: "Why should I become lost over a scientist who must not fall in love?" and "[a]ny woman would think twice before marrying him."<sup>5</sup>

When Hallie returned from Russia in 1927 and resumed her role in the theatre department at Vassar, she decided to stage a Chekhov one-act, *A Marriage Proposal*. The play followed two lovers who keep getting derailed. Hallie planned to stage the play three different ways, all in one evening.

In Act 1, she'd stage the play realistically, with authentic details like carved furniture, glimpses of Russia through the windows, and, of course, beards for the Vassar girls playing male roles. In Act 2, she'd stage it expressionistically. The stage would be abstracted into bold, clashing colors to illustrate the dramatic tension between the lovers. The actors would wear masks and use rhythmic speech to capture character and intent.<sup>6</sup>

Act 3 was Hallie's true passion project, inspired by the theatre she'd experienced in Russia: her nod to Meyerhold's constructivism. Here she sought to unite actor and audience. The reluctant lover would enter not from the stage, but from the aisles of the theatre.<sup>7</sup> "He might be any one of us," she wrote, "and thus takes us with him."<sup>8</sup> The stage itself would be "undecorated," she described, "unset, save for those elements of reality—seesaws, swings, ladders—on which the rhythms of the play (could be) best

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2 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*, p. 77.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 95-96.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

expressed.”<sup>9</sup> The characters would be dressed in coveralls, “undifferentiated;” their interaction with the physical elements onstage would communicate the nuances of their emotional dynamic with one another.<sup>10</sup> Essentially, Hallie was building a literal and theatrical *playground*.

Hallie’s vision to stage one play in three distinct ways seemed to be a direct response to her time in Russia. It was experimental, almost scientific—a tribute not only to Meyerhold, but perhaps also to the scientist she called “Lee.”

É. J. & G. P. – Can you tell us more about the play you created for Vassar in 2010?

M. B. – The play I wrote is called *Playground*. It unfolds over the course of tech and dress rehearsals of Hallie’s masterful Act 3 of *A Marriage Proposal*. In the spirit of Hallie’s intentions, I crafted the play so that it harnessed the space in non-traditional ways and united actor and audience in moments of surprise. It’s also a memory play.

414 The playground equipment morphs over the course of the story, transporting Hallie to memories with both Lee and her late husband Murray.

*Playground* is a love letter to theatre—and to Hallie. As she grieves the husband she lost, yearns for the scientist who sparked her, connects with a fellow Vassar professor (Philip Davis) whom (spoiler alert) she eventually marries, and navigates political obstacles flung by the Vassar faculty, she somehow manages to stage a truly groundbreaking play, one that made waves far beyond Poughkeepsie.

É. J. & G. P. – To what extent would you say Hallie had to fight for academic acknowledgment of her teaching and vision of theatre?

M. B. – We have to remember that Hallie was attempting to theatrically trailblaze at an academic institution that did not yet value theatre the way it valued scholarship. Many faculty members viewed Hallie’s course in dramatic production as unacademic and, thus, less significant.

Hallie had to fight every step of the way. She had to fight for her students’ time. She had to fight to equip the “abysmal” lecture hall they were performing in with proper lights, dimmers, wings, a catwalk, and a green room.<sup>11</sup> She had to fight to make the case that theatre was not only worthy, but vital.

É. J. & G. P. – Vassar’s experimental theatre was, in a sense, a toolbox for the work Hallie tried to implement during the Federal Theatre Project. Can you present this academic experimentation and how it pushed American theatre in a new direction?

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9 *Ibid.*, p. 96.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 96-97.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

**M. B.** – One of the things *Playground* explores is how Hallie’s time at Vassar was like a warm-up—a dress rehearsal for her time as Director of the Federal Theatre Project. At Vassar, Hallie got to flex as a director, producer, and leader, fielding an array of challenges from the faculty, as she shepherded her vision for the Experimental Theatre. All of the challenges she confronted during this period prepared her to run and, eventually, defend the Federal Theatre Project so fiercely a decade later. Hallie came to understand that politics was its own type of theatre. And, so, she learned to leverage her finely-tuned skills as a director to meet those challenges as they came.

**É. J. & G. P.** – Where does the balance lie, in the writing and staging of *Playground*, between memory and history, theatrical experimentation and biographical inspiration?

**M. B.** – *Playground* is certainly inspired by the history, by Hallie’s biographical details, but the play is not a historical or biographical account. Nor am I a historian or biographer. I am a dramatist. With this play, I embraced the spirit of Hallie’s own vision in order to enter her life during this pivotal moment in her personal and professional career.

In doing so, I sought to unlock a truthful understanding of Hallie the person, the woman, the human being behind the larger-than-life director and leader we know her as. By focusing on the more subtle facets of her life, I wanted to bring Hallie to life in a way that felt real and relatable—in a way that transcended time. Because Hallie *was* so ahead of her time.

**É. J. & G. P.** – In the end, what sort of legacy would you say Hallie has left in the contemporary American theatre?

**M. B.** – Hallie’s fervent passion for experimentation pushed the bounds of storytelling. Whether or not she was staging a play on an actual playground, the theatre was, for Hallie, *always* a playground. She continually engaged with and transformed the physical space of the theatre in fresh, new ways. Her body of work challenges us to keep pushing, to keep forging new paths for stories to manifest in ways we never considered or imagined. As Hallie proclaimed when she was Director of the Federal Theatre Project, “The theatre must grow up.”<sup>12</sup>

This continual theatrical evolution served Hallie’s greater purpose, which was to engage audiences in experiences that were relevant, immediate, and impactful. The theatre was not simply a place to be entertained. The theatre held *power and responsibility*. It was a place to mine experience—whether personal, collective, social, or political—in order to provoke dialogue and spur progress. For Hallie, theatre was a means to move

12 Hallie Flanagan, “Theatre as Social Action,” in Piere de Roban (ed.), “First Federal Summer Theatre: A Report,” *Federal Theatre*, June-July 1937.

people... to *action*. “Theatre, when it is any good, can change things,” Hallie said, “... it may be the yeast which makes the bread rise.”<sup>13</sup>

Hallie knew that theatre could spark a student body. That it could galvanize a community. That it could revitalize a nation.

May we continue to carry her legacy forward.

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## NOTICE

Emeline Jouve is Professor of English and American studies at Toulouse-Jean Jaurès University. Her research focuses on American avant-garde theatre. She is the author of *Susan Glaspell's Poetics and Politics of Rebellion* (U of Iowa P, 2017), *Paradise Now en Paradis : histoire du Living Theatre à Avignon et après (1968/2018)* (Classiques Garnier, 2022) and *Un siècle d'avant-garde étasunienne* (Deuxième Époque, forthcoming). She also published *Avignon 68 & le Living Theatre. Mémoires d'une révolution* (Deuxième Époque, 2018) and papers on Gertrude Stein, Eugene O'Neill, The Living Theatre, Wooster Group, Big Art Group and Andrew Schneider. She is the editor of the ejournal *Miranda* and the co-editor of “Nouvelles Scènes/Anglais” (PUM). Since 2021, she has been the president of the International Susan Glaspell Society and of RADAC (Recherches sur les arts dramatiques anglophones contemporains).

Géraldine Prévot studied at the École normale supérieure (Lyon). She holds an agrégation in modern literature and a PhD degree in theatre studies, from Paris Nanterre University. Her PhD focused on American and French theatre between the two world wars, especially on outdoor theatre, through a comparison between Paris and New York. She co-edited the issue of the online magazine *Thaêtre* dedicated to the links between theatre history and practical experiments, and published papers in different books and journals. Her research now focuses on French and American histories of theatre, on the links between theatre and the city and on the epistemology

of theatre studies. She currently works at the Institut français in Paris, where she is in charge of translation issues to support the international export of French books.

Mattie Brickman is a playwright, screenwriter, and creative director based in Los Angeles. Her plays have been produced across the United States. They include *The Imaginary Audience*, *If Found Please Return to Charles Darwin*, *Bill Clinton Goes to the Bathroom*, *American Catnip*, *Max Out Loud*, *The Redundant Colon*, *Starbox*, *Meeting Important*, *Modern Love*, *Reunions Reunions Reunions*, *Rabbi Bob and the Year Hanukkah Came Early*, *Husky and Scratch*, and *Five Second Chances*. *Playground: The Hallie Flanagan Project*, was commissioned and produced by Vassar College. It explores the beginning of Hallie Flanagan's directing career in the USSR and at Vassar, as she navigates life, love, and politics, all while trying to stage a groundbreaking play.

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## ABSTRACT

In this interview, playwright Mattie Brickman reflects on her play *Playground: The Hallie Flanagan Project*, written at the invitation of Vassar College. The work was presented as part of the 150th anniversary of the college where Hallie Flanagan was active in promoting theater.

## KEYWORDS

Hallie Flanagan, playground, Russia, Meyerhold, Horsley Gantt, Vassar College, Chekhov, *A Marriage Proposal*, The Federal Theatre Project, experimental theater

## RÉSUMÉ

Dans cet entretien, l'autrice Mattie Brickman revient sur sa pièce *Playground: The Hallie Flanagan Project* écrite à l'invitation de Vassar College. L'œuvre fut présentée dans le cadre du 150ème anniversaire de l'établissement où Hallie Flanagan exerça pour promouvoir le théâtre.

## MOTS-CLÉS

Hallie Flanagan, espace scénique, Russie, Meyerhold, Horsley Gantt, Vassar College, Tchekhov, *A Marriage Proposal*, *Federal Theatre Project*, théâtre expérimental

*PLAYGROUND: THE HALLIE FLANAGAN PROJECT.*  
*EXCERPT*<sup>14</sup>

*Mattie Brickman*

SETTING

THE TIME AND PLACE

- 418** Memories whirling around the founding of the Experimental Theater at Vassar in 1927, with trips into the past and trips into the future.

All action past and present unfolds on a playground – see-saw, swingset, and jungle gym – which is the set of Hallie Flanagan’s production of Anton Chekhov’s *A Marriage Proposal*.

CHARACTERS

**Hallie Flanagan** (female, 37)

**Mrs. Flanagan**, the part of Hallie that hasn’t let go of her deceased husband Murray Flanagan (female, 37, appearance is identical to Hallie’s)

**Dr. Horsley Gantt**, American scientist who works in Pavlov’s lab (male, mid 30s)

**Philip Davis**, professor of Greek history at Vassar (male, late 20s)

**Howard Wicks**, Hallie’s technical director (male, early 20s)

**Henry Noble MacCracken**, Vassar President (male, late 40s)

**Paula**, Horsley Gantt’s fiancée (female, early 20s)

**Edna St. Vincent Millay**, poet and Vassar alum (female, 35)

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14 © Mattie Brickman. The rights of the play are all reserved. For any information, please contact [mbrickman@gmail.com](mailto:mbrickman@gmail.com).

CHORUS OF VASSAR STUDENTS (ALL FEMALE, COLLEGE-AGE)

**Sue**, the stage manager

**Mary**, a freshman and Hallie's assistant

**Dory**, the costume designer

**Ruth**, who plays "Chubukov" in *A Marriage Proposal*

**Frieda**, who plays "Lomov" in *A Marriage Proposal*

**Ginny**, who plays "Natalia" in *A Marriage Proposal*

When the Chorus speaks together, it is full and overlapping—a cascade of youthful energy. **419**

There is room for play here: some lines should be shared; some, distributed amongst the girls.

In Leningrad, the Chorus plays fellow patrons in the nightclub.

In Pavlov's Lab, the Chorus plays the dogs. Ginny plays Winston.

Please note:

Slashes (/) indicate overlapping speech.

Dashes (—) indicate interruptions.

Brackets ([ ]) indicate words that have been interrupted or not fully completed.

Single quotation marks (‘ ’) indicate text from Chekhov's *A Marriage Proposal*.

Columns denote simultaneous speech.

All caps denote singing.

Beats don't necessarily imply anything long.

The pace, in general, is quick.

Transition are fluid, graceful.

Act One: Tech Rehearsal

Scene One

*In darkness, we hear the voice of Mrs. Flanagan, singing:*

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

I SEE THE MOON

AND THE MOON SEES ME

THE MOON SEES THE SOMEBODY I WANT TO SEE...

Do you remember when I'd sing that to you and the boys? It doesn't seem so long ago...

Do you remember?

*A single spotlight appears.*

I SEE THE MOON

AND THE MOON SEES ME

*The spotlight begins to move, shakily, into the audience.*

THE MOON SEES THE SOMEBODY / I WANT TO SEE—

*Coming from the dark stage:*

**CHUBUKOV:**

'Who is this I see?'

*The shaky spotlight continues to search within the audience. It locates a face: Lomov.*

'What a surprise!'

*Chubukov jumps off the stage and into the audience.*

*Lomov comes down the aisle to meet him. The spotlight follows.*

'I'm so glad to see you!'

**LOMOV:**

'And how are you doing?'

**CHUBUKOV:**

'We get by, my boy...'

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

Dear Murray...

**CHUBUKOV:**

'We get by.'

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

There's something...

**CHUBUKOV:**

'Glad to know you're thinking of us now and then.'

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

There's something I want to tell you.

*From the back of the theater, we hear:*

**HALLIE:**

Howard? Howard?

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

*(quickly, whispering)* Poughkeepsie. 1927.

**HALLIE:**

Howard??

*From above us, where the spotlight is:*

**HOWARD:**

Yeah?

**HALLIE:**

One should become two.

**HOWARD:**

Huh?

*From the wings:*

**SUE:**

I believe she said, "One should become two!"

**HOWARD:**

I heard her, I just—

**HALLIE:**

Could we hold? Actors hold.

**SUE:**

Actors hold!

*The spotlight moves to illuminate Hallie, who is now at the foot of the stage.*

*Hallie wears a hat, always.*

**HOWARD:**

Sorry the spot is so erratic, Hallie. I'm still getting used to it. When we break, I'll try and reconfigure the mount to smooth out the tracking and—

**HALLIE:**

No, no. I like it, erratic. The way it dances about, trying to find its way. As *we* are, in these first moments. The spot lands on Lomov, our reluctant lover... but we have to believe that it *could have* landed on anybody. The reluctant lover *could be... any of us*.

*Hallie reaches into the dark audience before her.*

We must believe that he comes from the audience. *From us*. So that he may, then, *take us with him*.

*The lights have risen, just slightly, over Hallie's speech—just enough to see the Chorus moving in from the audience and wings to listen to her.*

*We now also see the silhouette of a playground onstage: swings, see-saw, and jungle gym.*

Chubukov.

**RUTH:**

Yes, Miss Flanagan.

**HALLIE:**

You are the first voice in this experiment. And it is most important, the way we begin.

'Who is this I see?'

**RUTH:**

'Who is this I see?'

**422 HALLIE:**

'Who is this I see?' *Who is this I see...*

*The lights begin to dim again...*

[...]

## Scene Two

*The shaky spotlight finds a new face in the audience:*

*Horsley Gantt.*

**MRS. FLANAGAN:**

Dear Murray, I just had the most marvelous day.

*The playground transforms into a nightclub.*

*The Chorus turns from students into patrons of the club.*

*It's slow-mo, dreamlike.*

(quickly, whispering) Leningrad. A year ago. Almost.

*As Horsley approaches the stage, we now see Mrs. Flanagan, too.*

*Mrs. Flanagan looks exactly like Hallie: same age, same dress – and, of course, same hat. But Mrs. Flanagan sits to the side of the stage, separate from the action, at a writing*

*table. As Mrs. Flanagan talks, she writes, seals envelopes, and stacks letters.*

*This stack of letters grows and grows.*

*Horsley reaches the stage.*

I think I've met someone.

**HORSLEY:**

Horsley Gantt.

*Horsley extends his hand. Hallie takes it.*

**HALLIE:**

Mr. Gantt.

**HORSLEY:**

Dr. Actually.

*But he seems a bit sheepish for correcting her.*

You can call me Lee.

**HALLIE:**

Lee. Hallie Flanagan.

*Hallie and Horsley are still holding each other's hands.*

**HORSLEY:**

Miss Flanagan?

*As they shake...*

Or Mrs... Is it Mrs. Flanagan...?

*A moment.*

*Hallie looks to Mrs. Flanagan.*

*Mrs. Flanagan raises her eyebrows.*

**HALLIE:**

Mmmiss.

*Horsley grins.*

**HORSLEY:**

Miss Flanagan...

## CRÉDITS PHOTO

### VISUELS DE COUVERTURE (TOUS DANS LE DOMAINE PUBLIC)

1. Hallie Flanagan, director of the WPA Federal Theatre Project. Created *ca* 1939. Federal Theatre Project Collection, Library of Congress.
2. Windrip addresses the crowd in a rally in the San Francisco Federal Theatre Project production of *It Can't Happen Here*, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
3. Photograph of the New York production of *One-Third of a Nation*, a Living Newspaper play by the Federal Theatre Project, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
4. « Continue WPA ! », Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library. « Federal Theatre Project » The New York Public Library Digital Collections.
5. Crowd outside Lafayette Theatre on opening night, Classical Theatre, « *Voodoo* » *Macbeth*, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.
6. Scene from the Federal Theatre Project production of O'Neill's *One-Act Plays of the Sea* at the Lafayette Theatre (Oct. 1937-Jan. 1938), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division, New York Public Library, « Mr. Neil's Barn » The New York Public Library Digital Collections.

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