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Socioeconomic Subordination and Misogyny in the Progressive Left:
Women at Black Mountain College, 1933-1957

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Abstract

Black Mountain College was an institution that existed between the years 1933 and 1957 that aimed to facilitate the practice and study of art. It has been lauded in recent years for its incorporation of democratic practices, the progressive attitudes of its community, and the artists that emerged from the school. However, Black Mountain College scholars have neglected to acknowledge the poor treatment of women at the institution. The college often reinforced gender norms, neglected women's issues, and mistreated the female members of its community. These factors are made apparent through the analysis of wage gaps, dress codes, position titles, the community's approach to sexuality, and situations in which a female employees became the scapegoat for an issue. This essay will discuss each of these variables and the broader reflection they cast on Black Mountain College community.

The period of time between the ratification of women's suffrage in 1920 and the second wave of feminism during the 1970s exhibits an era in which women's rights movements were both challenged and neglected by national policy. Even amongst progressive institutions and communities, concerns over women's rights continued to be impeded and placed onto the political backburner in favor of matters that were thought to be more imperative. In contemporary research, Black Mountain College has been lauded as an incredibly forward-thinking institution that implemented experimental practices and embodied the ideals of the political left during this period of time. Early into the conception of Black Mountain College, many of the founding individuals believed in ideals that were considered radical during the time. Members of the institution pushed for racial integration, practiced a democratic system of college governance, and the community was often populated by Marxists and socialists. While the school was far beyond its time concerning these political issues, it frequently fell short in the respect and treatment of the female members of its community. Even among the progressive Black Mountain College community, the female members of the school encountered double standards and poor treatment in relation to the administration, professional opportunities, interpersonal respect, and their own sexuality. Black Mountain College was doubtlessly a progressive, intuitive institution that actively supported both its students and their ideals, but the narrative of the school should not continue to ignore its reinforcement of gender norms and the blatant neglect of women's issues.

Black Mountain College

Black Mountain College was an institution created by John Andrew Rice, Theodore Dreier, and Frederick Georgia, as a school tasked with the purpose of facilitating the practice of

art and art studies. The school was open for twenty-four years, between 1933 and 1957. Many historians have noted that Black Mountain College's inception occurred simultaneously with the rise of the Third Reich in Germany in 1933, and the subsequent persecution of artists and intellectuals.¹ Like many centers of higher learning in Germany during this period, the Bauhaus Art Institution in Dessau, Germany fell victim to this shifting political climate. A number of the displaced Bauhaus Art community joined Black Mountain College. Among these individuals were Walter Gropius, Josef Albers, and Anni Albers.² Other refugees that were displaced due to the Third Reich would arrive shortly thereafter—including professors such as Heinrich Jalowetz, Erwin Straus, and Heinrich Jalowetz.³ The college would eventually take in such a large number of European refugees that Samuel Brown, who had previously attended Black Mountain College, remarked in an interview that all of his professors but two had previously been European refugees.⁴ The first decade at the college entailed marked financial struggles, but through careful financial planning it would also see the purchase of a 667-acre property on which Black Mountain College's new facilities were constructed in 1937.⁵

Upon the commencement of the early 1940s, the college community saw a dramatic drop in its male populace and enrollment due to the Second World War. In an endeavor to reduce the waste of materials and to become more self-sufficient, the school also expanded their farm—an effort that Molly Gregory would head through the majority of the war.⁶ The faculty and student

¹ "A Brief History," *Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center*, accessed September 10, 2017, <http://www.blackmountaincollege.org/history/>.

² Museum Fur Gestaltung, "1919-1933," *Bauhaus-Archiv*, accessed September 9, 2017, https://www.bauhaus.de/en/das_bauhaus/48_1919_1933/

³ Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009), 163-164.

⁴ Samuel Brown, interview by Marry Emma Harris, Black Mountain College Research Papers, Box 29, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

⁵ Anne Chesky Smith and Heather South, *Black Mountain College* (Asheville, NC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014).

⁶ Duberman, 165.

wrestled together with limited supply and labor during the construction of the Studies Building. By utilizing labor from the college community and raw materials surrounding the college, the school was able to limit their reliance on rationed materials and benefit financially.⁷ Following the war, student enrollment into Black Mountain College increased, partially due to being approved for financial support through the G.I. Bill of Rights in 1945.⁸

During its final years in the 1950s, Black Mountain College underwent scrutiny for its progressive philosophies—which were often regarded to be Marxist in nature by local and national critics. Near the end of the institution’s lifetime, in 1956 the school underwent surveillance and investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The FBI had initially stated their intent to investigate the school only concerning whether or not the college was adhering to G.I. Bill requirements. However, it would be revealed in 2015 that a number of Black Mountain College’s faculty had been under investigation for suspected Marxist views, some individuals for over a decade.⁹ This, alongside local resentment for the institution, hastened Black Mountain College’s demise. Dorothea Rockburne, a student who had attended the college during 1956, explained in an interview, “[The locals] hated us... And it was very much the Bible belt, you know, and we were considered sinners. When we went into the little town of Black Mountain we were looked on as potential shoplifters.”¹⁰ In the end, due to a multitude of factors, Black Mountain College was unable to reopen in 1957. While the institution itself has never been

⁷ Theodore Dreier, Work Schedules, 1934-1940, Ted Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949, Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection, Box 39, Folder 105, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

⁸ Duberman, 228.

⁹ Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), *Office Memorandum to FBI Director*, by Charlotte Sac, May 31 to August 10, 1956, accessed February 10, 2018, <https://carolinapublicpress.org/23088/fbi-investigation-of-black-mountain-college-revealed-in-newly-released-file/>.

¹⁰ Dorothea Rockburne Interview by Connie Bostic, *Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center*, April 19, 2002, accessed February 10, 2018, <http://www.blackmountainstudiesjournal.org/volume-11-spring-2011/1-1-dorothea-rockburne-interview/>.

able to reopen, a number of other institutions have been created in the school's memory, including the Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center and the Black Mountain College Study Center both located in downtown Asheville, NC.

Historiography

The academic study of Black Mountain College has been presented using a variety of methods, including monographs, art exhibits accompanied by catalogues, documentaries, and other means. There have been three major trends comprising the literature and academic research on Black Mountain College, most of which were published within chronological timeframes in relation to one another. These trends may be identified as works that focus on the art and artists that emerged from Black Mountain, examinations of the social and demographic aspects that existed within the college, and analyses of the fundamental practices of the institution. While these assessments of different aspects of Black Mountain College cover a wide range of material when viewed collectively, they are also limited in their scopes and fail to address critical facets of the school. Scholars have neglected to acknowledge the manners in which the institution mistreated the female members of its community and reinforced gender norms through dress, limited employment opportunities, and the policing of women's sexuality. It is imperative to incorporate a feminist perspective in the discussion of Black Mountain College.

The first of these three trends to emerge involved a heavy focus on the artists and their respective artworks that emerged from the college. One such study was *The Arts at Black Mountain College* by Mary Emma Harris.¹¹ This work was published in 2002 by MIT Press and analyzes the artworks and arts programs of Black Mountain College chronologically, from 1933

¹¹ Mary Emma Harris, *The Arts at Black Mountain College* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002).

until the school's closing in 1957. Mary Emma Harris is chair and director of the Black Mountain College Project, and is recognized by both UNCA and the Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center as a local scholar on Black Mountain College.¹² With her monograph illustrating the visual works created by the students and faculty of the college, Harris sparked an interest within the academic and visual arts communities. However, the artists featured within the text are overwhelmingly male. While it does feature a number of female artists and their work, the ratio of women to men within the book is roughly one to five. Harris's work was influential in the academic study of Black Mountain College, but it failed to acknowledge the inequalities within its own research, as well as within the institution itself.

Another example of examining the artists that emerged from the school may be observed in *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art*, which is a work collectively created by Vincent Katz, Martin Brody, Robert Creeley, and Kevin Power.¹³ This text was also published by MIT Press in 2003, only a year after Harris's book. The monograph is comprised of four essays, illustrations of artworks by the students and staff, and photographs of the campus and community. This monograph includes extensive examinations of poetry, musical works, and visual arts that emerged from the school. While their collective work takes a broader view of the college as a whole—even incorporating an analysis of the school's philosophy and Bauhaus influences—its primary focus remains upon the art.

In 2007, when a documentary on Black Mountain College was released to the public, the academic trend in which the institution was examined shifted away from the arts. Newer studies

¹² "UNC Asheville Names First Black Mountain College Legacy Research Fellow and First Intern," *UNCA News Center*, last modified August 18, 2016, accessed November 6, 2017, <http://news.unca.edu/articles/unc-asheville-black-mountain-college-legacy-fellow-Harris>.

¹³ Vincent Katz, Martin Brody, Robert Creeley, and Kevin Power, *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003).

analyzed the community, society, and demographics within the college. The documentary that encourages this shift was *Fully Awake: Black Mountain College*, created by Cathryn Davis Zommer and Neeley Dawson and produced by Documentary Educational Resources Studio.¹⁴ This film utilized interviews with previous members of the college community, archival footage, and still photographs of the school to convey the social and communal aspects of campus life. While it emphasizes a focus on the community within the college, it bridged the gap between the first and second trends by addressing the influential artists who attended Black Mountain and their respective works.

Following the example set by Zommer and Dawson's documentary, *Shape of Imagination: Women of Black Mountain College* was written by Connie Bostic and published in 2008 by the Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center.¹⁵ Much like *Fully Awake*, this work bridges the first and second academic trend by incorporating both an examination of the college's diverse community and the artists that emerged from the school. Originally, this text was written as a catalogue accompaniment to an exhibit held at the museum that showcased the works of female artists of the college—a much needed addition to the field. Bostic's work is now available separate from the exhibit and allows its audience a glimpse at a perspective otherwise neglected by scholars. However, the focus of this text remains primarily upon the work and visual achievements of female artists from the college and refrains from exploring the role and treatment of women at the institution.

¹⁴ *Fully Awake: Black Mountain College*, directed by Cathryn Davis Zommer and Neely Dawson, (Documentary Educational Resources Studio, 2007), accessed November 6, 2017, <http://www.der.org/films/fully-awake.html>.

¹⁵ Connie Bostic, *Shape of Imagination: Women of Black Mountain College* (Asheville, NC: The Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center, 2008).

The third item following the academic trend of examining the community and demographics of Black Mountain College was *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* by Martin Duberman.¹⁶ It was published by Northwestern University Press in 2009 and is recognized as an in-depth and influential work in discussing the inner community of the college's faculty and student bodies. His monograph addresses race issues, homosexuality, and socioeconomic issues within the school, and explains the history of the institution chronologically. Despite the impressive information given within the text, it says very little about women or women's issues at Black Mountain College. This neglect is glaringly obvious when one compares the mention of male faculty members in contrast to female faculty members. Erwin and Trudi Straus were both professors at the college, but Trudi Straus was mentioned merely three times in the text, as opposed to Erwin Straus's thirty mentions. This may be seen again when comparing the ninety-six mentions of Theodore Dreier, who served as the Treasurer of the school, to the four mentions of Barbara Dreier, who served several positions within the faculty. While Duberman's book is influential and held in high regards in the research of Black Mountain College due to its in-depth social analysis, it remains severely lacking in its representation of women and women's issues.

The most recent trend that has surfaced regarding the academic research of Black Mountain College concerns the analysis of the fundamental practices maintained by the college and its philosophy. In late 2014, Arcadia Publishing released *Black Mountain College*, written by Anne Chesky Smith and Heather South.¹⁷ This monograph not only includes information about

¹⁶ Martin Duberman, *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009).

¹⁷ Anne Chesky Smith and Heather South, *Black Mountain College* (Asheville, NC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014).

individuals who were employed by or attended the institution, but spends most of its pages explaining the pedagogy and practices that the school followed. It explains the manner in which crucial decisions were made democratically, the unusual class dynamics, and the school's experimental methods. Anne Chesky Smith serves as the director of the Swannanoa Valley Museum in Black Mountain. Heather South is the head archivist at the North Carolina Western Regional Archives, which contains the majority of the archived records concerning Black Mountain College. Between Smith and South, they have access to most of the materials concerning Black Mountain College and are revered by scholars on the subject. Their text serves as a resource on basic information about the college but performs very little analysis outside of the fundamentals of the institution.

Two months following Smith and South's work in 2014, the University of Chicago Press published *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College* by Eva Diaz.¹⁸ Within this monograph, Diaz focused on the figures that brought radical philosophies into the college and incorporated them into the fundamental pedagogies of the school. Her work is comprised of four chapters that offer readers insight into the origins of the school's experimental and unusual academic ideologies and focus on those who bore the greatest impact upon the institution. Smith and South's work is important in understanding the fundamentals of Black Mountain College, however it only mentions male faculty members in its recognition of influential figures, despite the innumerable female contributors to the school.

Helen Molesworth and Ruth Erickson follow this most recent trend in *Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957*, which was published in 2015 by Yale University

¹⁸ Eva Diaz, *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2014).

Press.¹⁹ This work is a comprehensive study of Black Mountain College's practices and artwork that accompanied an exhibition which was curated by the authors. The exhibition took place in Boston, Los Angeles, and at Ohio State University before ending in early January of 2017. In some regards, one might view this work as a bridge between the first academic trend addressed, which concerns the artists of the college and their respective art, and that of the most recent trend, the institution. Their work offers the reader an examination of both the artists and the radical philosophies that were born from the college, but it lacks a critical view of Black Mountain College's community or demographics.

While each of these authors and their works are viewed as influential and highly regarded for their research, scholars of Black Mountain College have failed to acknowledge the role and neglect of women at the institution. Not only does this leave the history of the college incomplete, but it fails to acknowledge the bias, oppressive gender-based expectations, and the hurdles that women at the college faced—even while amongst a community regarded as progressive. Many of the aforementioned works that comprise the historiography of Black Mountain College also maintain a heavy double standard in the attention given between male and female members of the community. These factors reflect a misogynistic leaning in the existing research of the college, as well. These works have offered those researching Black Mountain College a wealth of information, but it would be misguided to consider this information complete without discussing the role of women at the institution.

Social Context

¹⁹ Helen Molesworth and Ruth Erickson, *Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

Before addressing the major issues experienced by the female members of the Black Mountain College community, one must identify the national context in which these issues occurred. The role of most women in the United States during the 1930s revolved primarily around domestic and household affairs. While women were steadily joining the work force due to necessity and the economic impact of The Great Depression, it was the assumption of many individuals that women were not long-term workers. Despite this, the rates for marriage and childbearing were down drastically due to many individuals' inability to financially support a family. A prejudice against married women within the workplace festered, and married women were frequently fired from their positions on the assumption that their husbands would support them—which was not always the case—and that a work position ultimately belonged to a man.²⁰ In a short piece written in 1928 by Ruth Allison Hudnut, she criticized the common view of women as an inferior gender, both through establishing that the idea was commonly thought and explaining why the sentiment was fallacious. During this piece, she observed, “If men consciously or unconsciously look upon their own sex as possessing the greater intelligence and brains, they will be loath to give women equal economic opportunities.”²¹ This attitude was directly reflected in the treatment of women within the workplace, film, social spheres, and policy that was crafted during the late 1930s. According to Alice Kessler-Harris's *Women's America*, the Social Security policies being enacted into law created a “newly differentiated set of meanings for crucial concepts like breadwinning, manhood, and citizenship.”²² While this romanticized conceptualization of breadwinning and manhood would not disappear from society,

²⁰ Alice Kessler-Harris, “When Abortion Was a Crime: Reproduction and the Economy in the Great Depression,” in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 7th ed., ed. Linda K. Kerber, Jane Sherron de Hart, and Cornelia Hughes Dayton (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 2:507.

²¹ Ruth Allison Hudnut, “Sex Inferiority,” in *Antifeminism in America*, ed. Angela Howard and Sasha Ranae Adams Tarrant (New York, NY: Routledge, 2009), 164-167.

²² Alice Kessler-Harris, “Designing Women and Old Fools: Writing Gender into Social Security Law,” in *Women's America: Refocusing the Past*, 519-520.

women would adapt to the onset of the Second World War and take on these qualities themselves.

At the beginning of the 1940s, and more so upon the United States' involvement in Second World War, the numbers of women within the workforce grew dramatically. However, quickly following the end of the war, the view that women should leave the workplace and centers of higher education became increasingly prevalent—typically to open positions for men returning from war.²³ In an article written by S. H. Halford and published in 1946, he justified these views by suggesting that higher education and knowledge in specialized trades inhibit a woman's ability to function and attain happiness. Not only did Halford propose that a learned, skilled woman would lead to the deterioration of her marriage, but that it would eventually cause the “inevitable impoverishment of the race.”²⁴ This and similar arguments ushered in a reversion in the common perception of a woman's role. A woman's role within society shifted from being members of the public to once again belonging within the domestic spheres. Even among women seeking higher education through college, many students felt pressured to enter marriage and the domestic role of housewife following their education. Women were expected to become mothers and wives, and to relinquish any ideals of obtaining a place in the workforce.²⁵ Despite this sentiment, the number of women within the workforce continued to grow into the 1950s.²⁶ In a speech to a class of college graduates, the speaker encouraged women graduating to become housewives, and to “like it.”²⁷ This encouragement is followed by the notion that men are

²³ Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960's* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), 13-14.

²⁴ S. H. Halford, “Trend of National Intelligence,” *Antifeminism in America*, ed. Angela Howard and Sasha Ranae Adams Tarrant, 198.

²⁵ Mervin B. Freedman, “The Passage through College,” *Antifeminism in America*, 213-214.

²⁶ Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in the Doldrums*, 13-14.

²⁷ Adlai E. Stevenson, “Women, Husbands, and History,” *Antifeminism in America*, ed. Angela Howard and Sasha Ranae Adams Tarrant, 228-229.

becoming subordinate members of society, having their liberties trampled upon, and are without choices in their lives. Aside from the irony of these statements, it is a clear rebuttal against the slowly growing female workforce in the United States that reflects a larger male anxiety concerning employment and a man's own role in society.

Women at Black Mountain College

While Black Mountain College was ahead of its time in many respects regarding women in institutional settings, a persistent double standard still remained—even amongst administrative practices. The most notable aspect of this double standard was the disparity in pay between the male and female faculty members. In the academic year of 1934 to 1935, the average female faculty member's wages were seventy cents to the dollar that a male faculty member earned.²⁸ While this thirty-cent disparity is egregious in comparison to the following years, this difference between wages was relatively small when Black Mountain College first began its operations—when there was very little funding to spare on an instructor's pay. In the following academic year of 1935 to 1936, the disparity between wages grew sharply as a result of the college gaining more funding with which to pay instructors. The average female's wages were twenty-nine cents to the dollar that the male at the institution earned.²⁹ In the following academic year of 1936 to 1937, the female faculty members on average earned thirteen cents to the dollar that the males earned.³⁰ This is reflective of both the importance and esteem garnered by the positions of male

²⁸ Faculty Meeting Minutes, May 1, 1934, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

²⁹ Faculty Meeting Minutes, June 6, 1935, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

³⁰ Faculty Meeting Minutes, March 27, 1936, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

and female staff members respectively, but also displays a gap in the wages of instructors with equal significance in title and responsibilities.

The stark difference between a male and female instructor's wages may be further emphasized by comparing the wages of Josef and Anni Albers—both of whom were teachers at the college. During the 1936 to 1937 academic year, Josef Albers's annual salary was \$1,500, while Anni Albers's was a mere \$200.³¹ Aside from pay, there is a distinct contrast in the ratio of male and female members of the Black Mountain College community. By the academic year of 1936 to 1937, only six of the twenty-one faculty members were women, several of whom were only invited to teach after the college had hired their husbands.³² This discrepancy is reflected in the institution's graduating student body, as well. The first graduating class of 1935 consisted of three male students and one female student.³³

One might argue that during this period of time, women experienced in the arts or trade craft were extremely limited due to persistent attitudes within the United States regarding gender roles. However, when presented with a talented woman who was skilled in a particular trade, some members of Black Mountain College maintained a dismissive attitude toward her abilities. Molly Gregory, who had previously graduated from the college, had been offered a position teaching sculpture at the institution in 1941. The college received a large number of recommendation letters lauding Gregory's talent and accomplishment in response to this offer, each of which urged the faculty to employ Gregory as the sculpture instructor.³⁴ Unfortunately, this offer was soon rescinded. This was primarily due to Josef Albers's opinion of her talents, as

³¹ *ibid.*

³² Faculty Meeting Minutes, October 23 1936, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

³³ Faculty Meeting Minutes, January 26, 1935, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

³⁴ Molly Gregory, Faculty Files, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

he did not believe that she was “good enough” to hold the position.³⁵ In later interviews with previous members of the college’s community, such as guest instructor Ilya Bolotowsky, it is remarked by former staff and faculty that the administration revered Albers and held his input in high esteem. Bolotowsky continued to suggest that many individuals were afraid to anger Albers.³⁶ Following this initial rejection of Gregory as the sculpture instructor, Albers began suggesting that Gregory fill the constructive craft position.³⁷ Whether it was Albers’s opinion or the judgment of other members of Black Mountain College’s administration, many faculty and students believed that Gregory’s talents far exceeded the administration’s perception—which would later be displayed as she would instead be employed by the institution as the instructor in woodworking, and later placed in charge of the farm during the Second World War.³⁸

Albers’s instruction that Gregory fill the constructive craft position, as opposed to the sculpture position, is indicative of a larger hierarchy that lay within the designations of “arts” or “crafts.” Designated craft mediums include woodwork, textiles, and pottery, while Art includes mediums such as painting or sculpture. Art is considered a higher form of cultured expression than the subset of crafts.³⁹ The restrictive classification of “craft” was frequently used within art communities to undermine the authority, talent, and artistic achievements of artists belonging to minority groups.⁴⁰ This behavior may be reflected among Black Mountain College’s community, as well. It may be immediately identified in Gregory’s title as the instructor of constructive craft,

³⁵ Marilyn Bauer, interview by Mary Emma Harris, Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, 51.

³⁶ Ilya Bolotowsky, interview by Mary Emma Harris, Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, 39.

³⁷ Letter from Josef Albers to Ethel Forbes, January 26, 1942, Molly Gregory Faculty Files, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, 51.

³⁸ Marilyn Bauer Interview, 51-52.

³⁹ Sally J. Markowitz, "The Distinction between Art and Craft," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 28, no. 1 (Spring, 1994): 55-70, accessed March 9, 2018, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3333159>.

⁴⁰ Leo Segedin, "Outakes From Making It: Race, Gender and Ethnicity in the Artworld," *Leopold Segedin*, accessed March 18, 2018, http://www.leopoldsegedin.com/essay_detail_outakes.cfm.

but also with other female faculty members such as Anni Albers, the instructor of weaving and textile design.

The Black Mountain College also reinforced a number of other attitudes toward women during this period of time, as may be discerned in the community's treatment of female students. As with Molly Gregory, the manner in which the community behaved towards women differed greatly from its regard towards men. Dress standards were one example of this discrepancy. Black Mountain College allowed many of its students to dress in casual blue jeans during the school week. However, during Saturday evening gatherings it would require female students to dress formally, while only requiring men to wear formal clothing on holidays.⁴¹ This notion becomes further perturbing when one considers that the students were subject to non-readmission the following year if the faculty felt that the students had not participated sufficiently in social events, such as the Saturday evening gatherings.⁴² Marilyn Bauer, a previous student of the college, remarked in an interview that in order to attend Black Mountain College and maintain a reputation among the faculty, "you had to have really a whole wardrobe of long gowns."⁴³ The dress standard reinforced gender norms of the time period, but also placed distinct socioeconomic expectations on the women attending the institution that it neglected to place on the men. In order to continue to attend the college, the female students were subject to a standard that demanded prior economic wealth. This notion, when compared to the dress standards of the male students, displayed a distinct double standard between the expectations of men and women. Even within a community that has often been considered progressive for allowing women to

⁴¹ Marilyn Bauer Interview, 33-34.

⁴² Faculty Meeting Minutes, 1933-1935, Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

⁴³ Marilyn Bauer Interview, 32.

dress in jeans during the school week, there persisted a heightened expectation that the women of the community felt pressured to meet.

While the perception and behavior toward women was a prevalent failing in the Black Mountain College community, the dress expectations of female students was a minor issue altogether in comparison to the larger issue faced by Frances de Graaff. She was the instructor of languages and Russian history, and the teacher of Jean Wacker and Barbara Anderson. On July 10, 1944, a notice reached the college that two students had been arrested under the charge of loitering.⁴⁴ Later, it was revealed that the two students had been arrested under charges of prostitution while hitchhiking with two African American men back to the college campus from Tennessee.⁴⁵ Soon after these allegations were made, Black Mountain College Treasurer Theodore Dreier sent a letter to a fellow faculty member, Clark Foreman, stating that de Graaff was at fault for this event. Dreier indicated that, as their instructor, de Graaff should have prevented these two students from travelling in this manner. He also expressed the view that de Graaff was a negative influence upon the student body.⁴⁶ Several members of the faculty quickly drafted a letter addressed to Frances de Graaff, encouraging her to resign from her position at the college.⁴⁷ De Graaff initially refused to leave the institution. However, after a faculty meeting in which she was berated for her alleged negative influence upon the students, she resigned from her position by August 7, 1944.⁴⁸ It is unclear whether de Graaff had spoken to Wacker and Anderson about their vacation prior to their initial departure from the college, as Dreier seems to

⁴⁴ Western Union, July 10, 1944, to Robert Wunsch, 1944 Crisis Folder, Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection, Theodore Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949.

⁴⁵ "Girl Hitch Hikers Get 60 Days Here," newspaper article, 1944 Crisis Folder, Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection, Theodore Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949.

⁴⁶ Letter from Theodore Dreier to Clark Foreman, July 1944, 1944 Crisis Folder, 1-3.

⁴⁷ Letter from ten faculty members to Frances de Graaf and the Rector, Robert Wunsch, July 22, 1944, 1944 Crisis Folder.

⁴⁸ Letter from Frances de Graaff to the Board of Fellows, August 7, 1944, 1944 Crisis Folder.

imply. However, on the assumption that she had indeed spoken to these two students, there is little reason to penalize de Graaff in this manner. One might argue that in many respects, de Graaff was being persecuted for encouraging agency and independence among her students—a message deemed as a negative influence when taught to female students.

At first glance, it may appear as though Frances de Graaff might have been suffering the consequences of having given two students poor advice that ended in their arrest. However, this event led to a large controversy within the college due to the incident's contentious nature. In the years following this event, another female student attempted to hitchhike to Florida and was arrested on similar charges of prostitution. This student remained in jail for one to two months before contacting the school about her whereabouts. John Wallen was an instructor of psychology at the College, and the teacher of this student. If one were to continue along the lines established by the treatment of de Graaff, it would have been Wallen's responsibility to verify this student's travel methods, and to investigate her location after not returning. According to an interview with Ilya Bolotowsky, a short-term instructor at the college, Wallen was met with no repercussions.⁴⁹ While the 1944 incident concerning de Graaff's resignation was developing, political science instructor Clark Foreman wrote Theodore Dreier, stating, "Essentially it seems to be a heterodoxy trial in which the credo is secret and the prosecutors have for various unallied reasons joined together for the purpose of forcing Frances out."⁵⁰ Foreman continued his letter by criticizing the manner in which Dreier had shielded other, notably male, members of the faculty from consequences of their own actions, but refused to extend the same aid to de Graaff. Foreman was not the only individual who dissented from the actions taken by the college's

⁴⁹ Ilya Bolotowsky Interview, 24.

⁵⁰ Letter from Clark Foreman to Theodore Dreier, July 28, 1944, 1944 Crisis Folder.

administration—several faculty members and ten students refused to return to Black Mountain College the following fall semester of 1944.⁵¹

There are a number of small instances that display a larger attitude towards women that was present at Black Mountain College, and often even held by fellow women themselves. In a letter to her family, Elaine Schmitt describes a number of the girls attending the last gathering of her senior year, stating, “a few were these women putting on sophisticated charm and trying to be intellectual and I’d hear these deep discussions of outwardly-looking deep intensity...how wonderful to see the big attempt of a lot of these to prove the fact they were artists by wearing their hearts on their sleeves.”⁵² Schmitt continues to explain that the women she was describing were not artists, and identifying a few men in the room that she believed to be the true artists. While these statements might read as harmless gossip, it is important to acknowledge that such judgments are indicative of internalized sexism and misogynistic views.⁵³ In a separate instance, a previous student recounted in an interview that he had once witnessed a female student being forcibly dragged by the hair across the field by a faculty member.⁵⁴ While there was little elaboration on this incident, the fact remains that this behavior should have been unacceptable. Furthermore, Elizabeth Jane Slater, another former student, recalled in an interview the instances in which Albers would refer to her as a “dumb girl.”⁵⁵ Separately, these instances might be assessed as small incidents that could occur within any institutional setting, but together—

⁵¹ “Statement Presented by the Students at the Community Meeting of August 13, 1944.” 1944 Crisis Folder, Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection, Theodore Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949

⁵² Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.46, Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

⁵³ Steve Bearman, Neill Korobov, and Avril Thorne, “The Fabric of Internalized Sexism,” *The Journal of Integrated Social Sciences* 1, no. 1, (2009): 7, accessed March 18, 2018, http://www.jiss.org/documents/volume_1/issue_1/JISS_2009_1-1_10-47_Fabric_of_Internalized_Sexism.pdf, 7.

⁵⁴ Mervin Louis Lane, Interview by Mary Emma Harris. Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, 16.

⁵⁵ Lucian Marquis and Elizabeth Jane Slater, Interview by Mary Emma Harris. Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, pg. 29

alongside those experienced by de Graaff—these events reflect a larger issue concerning the perception of women at Black Mountain College, and the limited respect they received.

The question of female sexuality at the institution was treated as it was nationally—with scrutiny, condemnation, and far differently than the treatment of male sexuality. While the students and faculty at Black Mountain College did not feel the need to intervene when two individuals engaged in a consistent sexual relationship, if a woman were to engage in a relationship with different partners, or too frequently, it would become a community problem.⁵⁶ James Leo Herlihy, a previous student of the college, recounted in an interview an instance in which a woman who had sexual relations with four different men was discussed at a faculty meeting—an instance in which the woman was described as “sick” by a faculty member. In his own words, “they weren’t going to supervise the sex lives of students unless it got out of hand. And out of hand was however they wanted to interpret it.”⁵⁷ This lack of a uniform standard for the implementation of rules and restrictions not only allows the possibility of unjust allegations, but also could be used to target women more distinctly.

In a separate incident, student Nancy Dunn would undress within view of the second story window of her dorm, primarily due to a lack of space and the setup of the rooms themselves. Once noticed, her dorm room window became a spectacle for students and local individuals to watch from the ground outside her dorm. This quickly became an issue among the faculty and resulted in a discussion between Dunn and Theodore Dreier, who instructed her to dress in the back of her room. To this, Dunn argued that there was no room in the back due to the beds. She asked for the college to buy curtains for the student dorms instead. Theodore Dreier

⁵⁶ Lucian Marquis and Elizabeth Jane Slater Interviews, 8.

⁵⁷ James Leo Herlihy, Interview by Mary Emma Harris. Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina, 7.

refused these terms, insisting that the school did not have the budget to invest in curtains for the students.⁵⁸ This instance displays both an obstinate determination to blame Nancy Dunn for the crowd watching her undress at night, and a refusal to solve the obvious issues that created the situation. In an essay by one of the students, Gwendolyn Currier, written on the issue of sexuality at Black Mountain College, she states, “as to the actual rules or agreements proposed—they are largely unrelated to sex problems. It is a distortion of fact to say that when a boy sees a girl in bed or in the nude, or vice-versa, that a real sex relationship exists. The only sex relationship that exists is that of the mind.”⁵⁹ Within this passage, Currier identifies an issue prevalent in both Black Mountain College and the national backdrop in which it existed—the perception that a woman was consenting to and engaging in something innately sexual when observed in compromising situations.

Much like Nancy Dunn, the woman at Black Mountain College were also often subject to inappropriate behavior and harassment—often by superiors, such as instructors. In particular, Josef Albers engaged in behaviors unacceptable for the relationship between students and an instructor. Marilyn Bauer recounted in an interview the crude language that Albers would use during class, such as when he was instructing the class in drawing an old, worn chair. Bauer explains, “He always talked about the meaning of form, and there were quite rude things that those legs meant... In the terms of what a woman was doing.”⁶⁰ Such implications are not only inappropriate for a classroom setting, but also created discomfort for Bauer herself.

⁵⁸ Ilya Bolotowsky Interview, 38.

⁵⁹ Gwendolyn Currier, *The Sex Problem...* Currier (Jamieson), Gwendolyn, Miscellaneous BMC documents, Currier folder 5, Black Mountain College Research Project, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

⁶⁰ Marilyn Bauer Interview, 65

The manner in which Albers spoke in a class of students is one thing—the manner in which Albers behaved with Elaine Schmitt is another. Schmitt was a student whom he advised, and thus maintained close communication to. But there were a number of instances in which he would exhibit behavior inappropriate for interaction with a student. The first instance occurred when Albers went into Schmitt’s study and, under the guise of teaching facial structure, stroked her face and hair.⁶¹ On another occasion, Albers put his arm around Schmitt while drilling her in class.⁶² Schmitt explained in a letter an instance in which Albers would make inappropriate humor at the expense of the school’s women, recalling that “...Albers asked me to paint the studies [building] door a light blue and not to get a drop of paint on the cement floor... In Virginia, a blue door is a sign that a virgin lives within. Albers thinks it’s a good joke with all us women in the studies building.”⁶³ On other occasions, Schmitt would note in letters that Albers would get exceedingly excited when a model with a “really good figure” would start posing,⁶⁴ or his threat to “chase [Schmitt] up a bit” while touching her knee.⁶⁵ There were a number of instances in which Albers kissed Schmitt, mostly upon the cheek or forehead.⁶⁶ There were also a large number of occasions in which Albers would go into her study and look through her belongings and art pieces. One instance in particular, Albers commented on her eyes, clothing, and romantic life while doing so.⁶⁷ While Schmitt did not complain about this treatment, this persistent pursuit of Schmitt was wildly inappropriate in a student-teacher relationship, both at

⁶¹ Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.24.

⁶² Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.31.

⁶³ *Letters Home From Black Mountain College 1945-47*, Elaine Schmitt, Folder 8: Statement and Notes, Black Mountain College Project Collection, Schnider-Snelson.

⁶⁴ Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.45.

⁶⁵ *Letters Home From Black Mountain College 1945-47*, Elaine Schmitt, Folder 8: Statement and Notes, Black Mountain College Project Collection, Schnider-Snelson

⁶⁶ Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.31.

⁶⁷ Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family, Item 133.47.

the time of these incidents and in contemporary society today. There is a consistent pattern both in the actions of Albers, and in the larger toleration of his actions by the community.

Conclusion

There are a multitudinous number of instances which exemplify the poor treatment and disregard of women, even present at an institution considered predominantly leftist and progressive in nature. Black Mountain College often neglected women's issues and reinforced a gendered hierarchy through dress, pay, and employment titles. The female members of the college's community experienced administrative discrimination, poor respect, and a double standard in regard to sexuality. Furthermore, many women of the college's community were subject to the opinions, whims, and advances of their male classmates and colleagues. The topic of Black Mountain College incorporates a broad spectrum of discussions, from the pedagogical philosophies of the school to the renowned artists that emerged from its community. While the institution was and continues to be considered a progressive school that engaged in discussion over prevalent issues of the time period, such as race, and encouraged a democratic atmosphere, Black Mountain College was not without fault—as are many institutions. It is important to acknowledge and understand both the positive and negative aspects of the college's environment, and its treatment of the overall community. It is not without cause to praise the forward-thinking aspects of the institution and its community, but it is imperative for the scholarly community to recognize the factors that were detrimental to those attending and employed by Black Mountain College.

Primary Sources

1944 Crisis Folder. Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection. Theodore Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949. Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

The collection that these pieces are derived from is comprised of a variety of papers created or collected by Theodore and Barbara Dreier during their sixteen years at Black Mountain College. It holds documents concerning the educational, administrative, and fund raising activities associated with the Dreier's various positions, including their roles as two of the college's founders. Included within this collection is correspondence, clippings, programs, articles, manuscripts, Ted Dreier's scrapbook, and other assorted ephemera.

Dorothea Rockburne Interview by Connie Bostic. *Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center*. April 19, 2002. Accessed February 10, 2018, <http://www.blackmountainstudiesjournal.org/volume-11-spring-2011/1-1-dorothea-rockburne-interview/>.

Dorothea Rochburne was a former student at Black Mountain College. Over the course of this interview, Rockburne recounts her experience at the institution, memorable incidents, and general values held by the community.

Elaine Schmitt Correspondence to Family. Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

The Elaine Schmitt collection of letters are a part of a larger collection known as the Black Mountain College Research Project. This research project was an intensive study of Black Mountain College that was conducted from 1970 to 1973, after the school's closing. Over the course of the project, the researchers collected a wide variety of primary sources and organized them accordingly. This collection is comprised of administrative files, research files, questionnaires, interviews, college publications, books, visual materials, and other donated ephemera.

Faculty Minutes, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

The Faculty Minutes are held in bound journals that range for the entire duration of Black Mountain College's existence. The Faculty Minutes are a piece of a larger collection that includes various materials that are related to Black Mountain College, including faculty files, correspondence, pamphlets, and other related ephemera.

Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). *Office Memorandum to FBI Director*, by Charlotte Sac. May 31 to August 10, 1956. Accessed February 10, 2018. <https://carolinapublicpress.org/23088/fbi-investigation-of-black-mountain-college-revealed-in-newly-released-file/>.

These documents are a series of memos written by Charlotte Sac, a member of the FBI, to the FBI Director. These memos concern Black Mountain College and investigations that had been previously conducted and were then being conducted during 1956. These memos are imbedded within an article published by the *Carolina Public Press*.

Gwendolyn Currier, *The Sex Problem...* Currier (Jamieson), Gwendolyn. Miscellaneous BMC documents. Currier folder 5. Black Mountain College Research Project, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

This document was written by a student at Black Mountain College concerning the community's attitude toward sex and sexual freedom. It is a part of a larger collection including various materials that are related to Black Mountain College but are not part of the official college records, the Research Project, or other collections donated by individuals connected with the school. The collection includes general information about the college's educational philosophy and pedagogy, copies of original college publications, photographs, memoirs, and printed materials concerning either the college or people associated with it.

Howard, Angela and Sasha Ranae Adams Tarrant, eds. *Antifeminism in America*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2009.

This monograph is a collection of works that contained antifeminist views and sentiments from various periods of history. It is used primarily for the purpose of examining historical antifeminist rhetoric. The publication dates of the materials range from 1852 to 1993.

Interviews by Mary Emma Harris. Black Mountain College Research Papers, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

These interviews are a part of a larger collection known as the Black Mountain College Research Project. This research project was an intensive study of Black Mountain College that was conducted from 1970 to 1973, after the school's closing. Over the course of the project, the researchers collected a wide variety of primary sources and organized them accordingly. This collection is comprised of administrative files, research files, questionnaires, interviews, college publications, books, visual materials, and other donated ephemera.

Molly Gregory Faculty File, Black Mountain College Collection, Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

Molly Gregory was an instructor at Black Mountain College from 1941 to 1947, who taught woodworking, crafts, and maintained the farm. This file is a piece of a larger collection of faculty files that include administrative paperwork, recommendation letters, and occasional correspondence.

Theodore Dreier, Work Schedules, 1934-1940. Ted Dreier Administrative and Subject Files, 1933-1949. Theodore and Barbara Dreier Collection. Western Regional Archives, State Archives of North Carolina.

The collection that these pieces are derived from is comprised of a variety of papers created or collected by Theodore and Barbara Dreier during their sixteen years at Black Mountain College. It holds documents concerning the educational, administrative, and fund raising activities associated with the Dreier's various positions, including their roles as two of the college's founders. Included within this collection is correspondence, clippings, programs, articles, manuscripts, Ted Dreier's scrapbook, and other assorted ephemera.

Secondary Sources

Bearman, Steve, Neill Korobov, and Avril Thorne. "The Fabric of Internalized Sexism." *The Journal of Integrated Social Sciences* 1, no. 1, (2009): 7. Accessed March 18, 2018, http://www.jiss.org/documents/volume_1/issue_1/JISS_2009_1-1_10-47_Fabric_of_Internalized_Sexism.pdf.

This work was published in *The Journal of Intergrated Social Sciences* and concerns misogyny that has been internalized by women. It explains the behaviors that result from this internalization and addresses the manners in which contemporary society creates these mindsets.

Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center. "A Brief History." *BlackMountainCollege.org*. Accessed September 10, 2017. <http://www.blackmountaincollege.org/history/>.

This page is a brief introduction to Black Mountain College's history. It was constructed by the Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center, which celebrates and studies the art, pedagogy, and techniques encouraged at the college.

Bostic, Connie. *Shape of Imagination: Women of Black Mountain Collge*. Asheville, NC: The Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center, 2008.

This incorporates both an examination of the college's diverse community and the artists that emerged from the school. Originally, this text was written as a catalogue accompaniment to an exhibit held at the museum that showcased the works of female artists of the college. Bostic's work is now available separate from the exhibit.

Diaz, Eva. *The Experimenters: Chance and Design at Black Mountain College*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2014.

In this monograph, Diaz focused on the figures that brought radical philosophies into the college and incorporated them into the fundamental pedagogies of the school. Her work is comprised of four chapters that offer the reader insight into the origins of the school's experimental and unusual academic ideologies and on those who bore the greatest impact upon the institution.

Duberman, Martin. *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2009.

Martin Duberman's study of Black Mountain College featured in *Black Mountain: An Exploration in Community* explores the community of the college over the duration of the school's existence. Duberman also gives information on interpersonal relationships and individuals that he believes were homosexual. I intend to utilize this book to gain an insight on the social environment facilitated by the college's staff and student body.

***Fully Awake: Black Mountain College*. Directed by Cathryn Davis Zommer and Neeley Dawson. Documentary Education Resources Studio, 2007. Accessed November 6, 2017. <http://www.der.org/films/fully-awake.html>.**

Fully Awake: Black Mountain College is a film that utilizes interviews with former members of the college community, archival footage, and still photographs of the school

to convey the social and communal aspects of campus life. It both emphasizes a focus on the community of the college and addresses the influential artists that attended.

Harris, Marry Emma. *The Arts at Black Mountain College.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002.

This work analyzes the artworks and arts programs of Black Mountain College chronologically, from the year 1933 until the school's closing in 1957. It also illustrates the visual works created by the students and faculty of the college. Mary Emma Harris is Chair and Director of the Black Mountain College Project, and is recognized by both UNCA and the Black Mountain College Museum and Arts Center as a local scholar on Black Mountain College.

Markowitz, Sally J. "The Distinction between Art and Craft." *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 28, no. 1 (Spring, 1994): 55-70. Accessed March 9, 2018. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3333159>.

This work was published in *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* by the University of Illinois Press. It contains valuable information and critical thought on the cultural disparity concerning "art" and "craft".

Katz, Vincent, Martin Brody, Robert Creeley, and Kevin Power. *Black Mountain College: Experiment in Art.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2003.

The monograph is comprised of four essays, one by each of the authors. Their essays conduct extensive examinations of poetry, musical works, and visual arts that emerged from the school. It also displays illustrations of artwork created by the students and staff, and photographs of the campus and community.

Kerber, Linda K., Jane Sherron de Hart, and Cornelia Hughes Dayton. *Women's America: Refocusing on the Past, vol. 2.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011.

This work is a Women's American History textbook that ranges from the 17th Century to the 21st. It is a collection of essays that assess how political policy, international affairs, and daily life effected women living within that period of time.

Molesworth, Helen, and Ruth Erickson. *Leap Before You Look: Black Mountain College 1933-1957.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015.

This work is a comprehensive study of Black Mountain College's practices and artwork that accompanied an exhibit which was curated by the authors. Molesworth and Erickson's monograph incorporates an examination of both the artists and the radical philosophies that were born from the college.

Museum Fur Gestaltung. "1919-1933." *Bauhaus-Archiv.* Accessed September 9, 2017. https://www.bauhaus.de/en/das_bauhaus/48_1919_1933/.

This page is a short history of the Bauhaus Institute of Art between the years 1919 and 1933, while it was located in Dessau, Germany. It offers insight into the background of many of Black Mountain College's faculty--including Josef Albers, Anni Albers, Walter Gropius, and several others.

Rupp, Leila J., and Verta Taylor. *Survival in the Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960's.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Survival in the Doldrums focuses on the Women's Rights Movement and activists between 1945 and 1969. It offers statistical data, comparative studies between feminist movements and other leftist movements, and identifies prominent members of the feminist movement through American history.

Segedin, Leo. "Outtakes From Making It: Race, Gender and Ethnicity in the Artworld." *Leopold Segedin*. Accessed March 18, 2018. http://www.leopoldsegedin.com/essay_detail_outakes.cfm.

This short essay clearly analyzes the treatment of and behavior towards minority artists among the art community. The author clearly states the elitist behavior and the effort to separate "Art" from "Craft", and how this language is coded in terms of race and gender.

Smith, Anne Chesky, and Heather South. *Black Mountain College*. Asheville, NC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014.

Heather South and Anne Chesky Smith's monograph, *Black Mountain College*, provides some basic information about the school, some influential members of its community, and its class structures. I intend to utilize this book to provide my research with basic information concerning the faculty, student body, and the college itself.

UNC Asheville. "UNC Asheville Names First Black Mountain College Legacy Research Fellow and First Intern." *UNCA News Center*. Last modified August 18, 2016. Accessed November 6, 2017. <https://news.unca/articles/unc-asheville-black-mountain-college-legacy-fellow-harris>.

This article was published by UNCA concerning Marry Emma Harris and acknowledging her achievements as a local historian. It explains her position as the Chair and Director of the Black Mountain College Project.