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## Notes

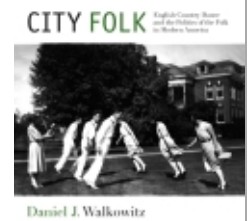
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# Notes

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## NOTES TO THE PREFACE

1. The transformation of International into “Balkan” dance is a complex subject requiring its own historian, but it may also have been shaped by Middle Eastern politics and the emergence of Israeli dance groups, which may have drawn some of the Jewish constituency away from International dance. Israeli dance repertoire became increasingly “modern,” as well, emphasizing newly written dances in the Israeli style that International dancers rejected as inauthentic folk dances and found too tied to growing Zionist nationalism.

## NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. Mary W. Hinman, letter dated February 18, 1909, reprinted in Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*; Margaret Knox, letter to Gulick, in *ibid.*, 66–69.

2. The roots of “The Virginia Reel” in “Sir Roger de Cloverly” had been disclosed in American publications but did not seem to have been widely known publicly. See Rath, *The Folk Dance in Education*, 25.

3. Buckland, “English Folk Dance Scholarship,” 6; and Buckland, “Definitions of Folk Dance.”

4. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*.

5. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 9.

6. *Ibid.*; Reiser, “Secularization Reconsidered,” 138; Moskowitz, “Public Exposure,” 172–73.

7. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, 231.

8. See Buckland, “English Folk Dance Scholarship”; and Sharp, *The Country Dance Book, Part II*, 8–9.

9. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*; C. Briggs, “The Politics of Discursive Authority”; Dunaway, “Music and Politics in the United States.”

10. Buckland, “English Folk Dance Scholarship”; Buckland, “Definitions of Folk Dance”; Sughruue, “Some Thoughts on the ‘Traditional versus Revival’ Debate”; Kennedy, “Tradition.”

11. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*; Filene, *Romancing the Folk*; Tomko, *Dancing Class*.

12. Gary Gerstle has averred that war was the “crucible” in which modern liberalism was molded around a blend of civic and racial nationalism and demonstrates that popular and conventional texts—the “stuff” of cultural work—can be read as attempts to define the social order. See Gerstle, *American Crucible*, 6–9 and *passim*.

13. Dunaway, “Music and Politics in the United States,” 215–19, illustrates this with folk songs such as “The Hammer Song.” Originally composed on the occasion of the trial of Communist Party leaders during the McCarthy era, the song became popular in the 1960s in the general spirit of peace and justice associated with civil rights and the peace movement, but without its original political context.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. Addams, *Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, cited in a wonderful doctoral dissertation by Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 30.

2. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 27.

3. *Ibid.*, 27–28.

4. Harker, *Fakesong*; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 77; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, 255.

5. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 126–27. Whisnant also provides the references to Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, 255, and Archie Green, “A Folklorist’s Creed and a Folksinger’s Gift.”

6. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 16–20, 68.

7. Evelyn Sharp to Cecil Sharp, August 8, 1913, from 15 Mount Carmel Chambers, Duke’s Lane, Kensington, London, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML.

8. Cecil Sharp to Maude Karpeles, June 10, 1915, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, MK/3-66, Karpeles Collection, VWML.

9. Malcolm Taylor, the VWML librarian, made this point in an interview with the author at Cecil Sharp House, in London, November 8, 2002.

10. On “Satan’s Strongholds,” see E. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class*; Samuel, “Workshop of the World,” 6–72; and Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*.

11. Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital*.

12. Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, 223.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.”

15. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*; Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

16. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.

17. Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*.

18. See descriptions in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com](http://www.oxforddnb.com).

19. Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*.

20. See D. Walkowitz, *Working with Class*, chap. 1, where I recount the vast literature on settlement houses. See, in particular, Crocker, *Social Work and Social Order*. For the relationship between the settlements and folk dance, see Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 81–86; Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 21.

21. Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*, 32.

22. See biographical sketch of James Naismith on the Kansas Heritage website, <http://www.kansasheritage.org/people/naismith.html>.

23. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States*, 20–23; Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 32.

24. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance*, 45.

25. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 184–85.

26. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 8.
27. Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*, 38. Cavallo notes that Gulick opposed Lee's support for immigration restriction and presumably could work with him because they could all support Americanizing the immigrants who were already in the country.
28. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 4–6.
29. *Ibid.*, 54–63; Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 11–18.
30. Established in *turnverein*—associations for mutual assistance and recreation—the discipline incorporated calisthenics with “heavy emphasis on apparatus work” such as vaults, horses, rings, and ladders. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 11; Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 56–57; and “Friedrich Ludwig Jahn: Father of Gymnastics,” GYMmedia.com, [www.gym-media.com/jahn/e\\_index.htm](http://www.gym-media.com/jahn/e_index.htm) (July 19, 2005).
31. The Swedish system built on a gymnastics routine led by an American health and temperance lecturer, Dio Lewis (1823–1886), that was popular in the 1860s. Lewis advocated for physical exercise as a part of public education and, to that end, founded the Boston Normal Physical Training School in 1863 to build a corps of instructors. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 12–16; “Dio Lewis,” Virtualology website, [www.famousamericans.net/diolewis/](http://www.famousamericans.net/diolewis/) (July 19, 2005).
32. Tomko distinguishes Sargent as seeking the “toned” rather than the muscular body, combining strength and suppleness. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 16–18; Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 61. Thanks, too, to Allison Thompson for the observation about the individualism of the exercise regime.
33. Clarke, *Sex in Education*, 33, 154–55.
34. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 18–19; Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, “Genevieve Stebbins,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org); Jack Hrkach, “Steele MacKay,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org). See also Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, 255.
35. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 56–62; Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 17. Thanks again to Allison Thompson, too, for her unromantic perspective on the YMCA programs.
36. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 42–62; James Ross Moore, “Loie Fuller,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org); Deborah Jowitt, “Ruth St. Denis,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org); Ann Daly, “Isadora Duncan,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org).
37. Buckland, “English Folk Dance Scholarship”; Buckland, “Definitions of Folk Dance.”
38. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 9–10. Filene notes that scholars date the “first explicitly historical collection” of ballads to 1723, though John Playford’s publications of the *English Dancing Master* are ample evidence of seventeenth-century collecting.
39. This background is nicely summarized in R. Cohen, *Folk Music*, chap. 1.
40. Szczelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste*, 41–45.
41. *Ibid.*; Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*; Brenda Collins, “Sabine Baring-Gould,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30587](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30587). Baring-Gould died with £16,132 in probate.
42. Szczelkun, *The Conspiracy of Good Taste*, 41–45; Dorothy de Val, “Lucy Broadwood,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57238](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57238). Broadwood died with £8,949 in probate.
43. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 12–15; Benjamin Franklin, “James Francis Child,” *American National Biography*, [www.anb.org](http://www.anb.org).
44. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 12–15, cites Child’s use of this language in his “Ballad Poetry”; Harker, *Fakesong*, 113–14.

45. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 12–15.
46. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 23–25; Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 15–16.
47. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 16; Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, chaps. 1–2; and the feature film *The Songcatcher* (2001).
48. Four historians of the folk in particular have made this point central to their analyses: Harker, *Fakesong*; Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*; Filene, *Romancing the Folk*; and Boyes, *The Imagined Village*. The phrase “invention of tradition” is most famously used by Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*.
49. M. Smith, “Dancing through English Literature.” Smith notes that Pepys’s diary entry for December 31, 1661, refers to “Cockolds All Awry.” Thanks, too, to Allison Thompson for her clarification of the political meaning of the new name.
50. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 101–2.
51. Kennedy, “Tradition,” 196–97; Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*, 41.
52. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 3.
53. Burchenal, *Folk-Dances and Singing Games*.
54. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*, 354–59.
55. Burchenal, *Folk-Dance Music*; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances and Singing Games*; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Finland*; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Denmark*.
56. Ruskin, “The Nature of the Gothic,” 14; Ruskin, “Modern Manufacture and Design,” 16:338–44; Robert Hewison, “John Ruskin,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24291](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24291); Boris, *Art and Labor*, 4–7; Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 86. For illustrations of the Arts and Crafts style, see Lambourne, *Utopian Craftsmen*.
57. Morris, “How We Live and How We Might Live,” 171, 177; Morris, “Innate Socialism,” 84–104; Morris, “The Worker’s Share of Art,” 140–43; Boris, *Art and Labor*, chaps. 1–2; E. Thompson, *William Morris*; Fiona MacCarthy, “William Morris,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19322?docPos=3](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19322?docPos=3).
58. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 58; Lambourne, *Utopian Craftsmen*, 157–58; Boris, *Art and Labor*, chaps. 3–9.
59. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 58–61; Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 87–89; Alan Crawford, “C. R. Ashbee,” *Oxford Dictionary of Biography*, [www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30465](http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30465); Shi, *The Simple Life*, especially chap. 8, “Progressive Simplicity,” 175–214; Lambourne, *Utopian Craftsmen*, chaps. 8–11; Boris, *Art and Labor*, chaps. 3–10. On the rural crisis in England, see Howkins, *Reshaping Rural England*.
60. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 87–88; D. Walkowitz, *Working with Class*, chaps. 1–2.
61. Curtis, *The Play Movement and Its Significance*, 45.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 122; Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*, 4–5; Gulick, *Physical Education by Muscular Exercise*, 63.
64. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 263, 265.
65. *Ibid.*, 236, 242.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. See de Mille, *Martha*, 22.
2. Burchenal, “Folk-Dancing as a Social Recreation for Adults,” 9–12; emphasis in the original.

3. Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 77–87, 301–2.
4. See “contredanse” in Pugliese, “Country Dance,” 255–56. For example, Washington danced a minuet with Lucy Knox, the wife of General Knox, to open a Philadelphia ball in 1779, inspiring a local news account to wax that “when this man unbends from his station, and its weighty functions, he is even then like a philosopher, who mixes with the amusements of the world, that he may teach it what is right, or turn trifles into instruction.” *Pennsylvania Packet*, March 6, 1779, quoted in Keller and Hendrickson, *George Washington*, 15.
5. Keller and Hendrickson, 20–21.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.* In a triple minor formation, three couples in the longways sets of perhaps ten couples dance together, the first couple (the first, fourth, seventh, etc. couples) dancing a round with the next two couples, and all first couples ending progressed one place to dance the next round with the two couples now in the next places, who will have alternated the second- and third-couple roles.
8. Hilton, *Dances of Court and Theater*, 3–50.
9. Carson, *Colonial Virginians at Play*, 28–29; Hilton, 250.
10. Claude Blanchard, chief commissary for the French in 1780, quoted in Bonsal, *When the French Were Here*, 57.
11. *Ibid.*, 58.
12. Skip Gorman, *New Englander’s Choice*, CD listed at [www.folk-legacy.com](http://www.folk-legacy.com).
13. Keller and Hendrickson, *George Washington*, 55, 60; Gardner, “Contradances and Cotillions.”
14. Keller and Hendrickson, *George Washington*, 22; Pugliese, “Country Dance,” 257; Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell*; Millstone, “Continuity and Change in American Country Dance.” Thanks to David Millstone for sharing his research with me.
15. Gorman, *New Englander’s Choice*, text accompanying CD.
16. Jay Cook, in a conversation, shared his research with me for his forthcoming book on Jacksonian New York immigrant culture.
17. Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,” 2–13; Brickwedde, “The History of Morris in America.” The dance historian Allison Thompson has noted, in correspondence with the author, that these were early morris performances, not sides.
18. Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,” 3.
19. Three figures that initiate each of the three parts of many early dances—up a double, siding, and arming—all have origins in Renaissance dance.
20. Keller and Hendrickson, *George Washington*, 22–23, 81.
21. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 128–29; Cecil Sharp, diary, April 29, May 7, 1915, Sharp Collection, VWML.
22. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 116–18, 135. Karpeles provides lovely short obituaries of these men. They were remarkably talented individuals who are deserving of their own histories.
23. Jennifer Beer suggested this term, and it seems to capture the ambivalent and liminal location of the embrace of the folk by so many contemporary professionals and technologists.
24. Addams, *Spirit of Youth and the City Street*, cited in Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 30.
25. Hammack, *Power and Society*, 33; McNickle, *To Be Mayor of New York*, table 1.1, p. 13; Hacker, “Looking Backward—and Forward,” 203–6; “City of New York: Population History,” Demographia website, <http://www.demographia.com/db-nyc4.htm>.

26. Osofsky, *Harlem*, 220; Rischin, *The Promised City*, 271; McNickle, *To Be Mayor of New York*, 13.
27. Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, 17; Hammack, *Power and Society*, 62–63. Riis’s conservatism is well documented in Yochelson and Czitrom, *Rediscovering Jacob Riis*.
28. Hacker, “Looking Backward—and Forward,” 205–6.
29. Bender, *Sweated Work, Weak Bodies*.
30. Greenwald, *The Triangle Fire*.
31. Dorothy Ross, in *Origins of American Social Science*, 25, 390, sees World War I as the trigger for this modernist crisis. The characterization of it in the text is from Hornstein, *A Nation of Realtors*.
32. Gordon, “A Pleasure Which They Can Find Nowhere Else.”
33. Stansell, *American Moderns*.
34. O’Neill, “The Dodworth Family and Ballroom Dancing in New York,” 88–99.
35. *Ibid.*, 95.
36. Judith R. Walkowitz, “The ‘Vision of Salome.’” Ruth St. Denis and Isadora Duncan both performed in New York City during the winter of 1916–17.
37. Allen, *Horrible Prettiness*, 245.
38. Lasky quoted in Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, 146.
39. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*; Aldrich, *From the Ballroom to Hell*.
40. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.
41. Schultz, *May I Have This Dance?* 4, 99.
42. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, 79–80.
43. *Ibid.*, 151–52; Schultz, *May I Have This Dance?* 18–20.
44. O’Neill, “The Dodworth Family,” 99.
45. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, 126, 162–64.
46. *Ibid.*, 167.
47. Schultz, *May I Have This Dance?* 20–21. Schultz describes the Castle walk as a dance of eight little steps, slightly rising on the balls of the feet on the downbeat and doing little side-to-side patterns, the woman going backward in a large circle that grows smaller.
48. Quoted in Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, 126, 164.
49. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States*, 132.
50. J. Ross, “The Feminization of Physical Culture,” 97.
51. Public Schools Athletic League, Girls’ Branch, and Elizabeth Burchenal, *Official Handbook of the Girls’ Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League, 1909–10*, frontispiece photo and p. 14.
52. “Schoolgirls Seen in Folk Dancing,” *New York Times*, February 28, 1914, 9; *New York Times*, June 9, 1914, 11.
53. *New York Times*, June 9, 1914, 11; A. Thompson, *May Day Festivals in America*, chaps. 5–7 and the appendix; Burchenal, “May Day Celebrations.” See also Lincoln, *The Festival Book*. Lincoln, who directed the Physical Education program at the University of Illinois, began her study of May Day in 1900.
54. Thompson, *May Day Festivals in America*; Rivers, *A Full Description of Modern Dances*; Rivers, *New Dances*; Grant, *The American National Call Book*.
55. Thompson, *May Day Festivals in America*, 100.
56. Three of these students were George Z. Medalie, Jacob Zeitlin, and Edward Sapir, who subsequently became, respectively, a district attorney and judge, a University of Illi-

nois professor of English, and a distinguished Columbia University linguistic anthropologist. The three were suspended under dubious circumstances—teachers claimed they were “unclean” or “disrespectful,” but given how distinguished all three became, one suspects the problem may have been uppityness and a dose of anti-Semitism. See Pertilla, “Class Exercises.”

57. Burchenal, *Folk-Dances and Singing Games*.

58. “The Chalif School of Dancing,” pamphlet, Dance Collection, New York Public Library (NYPL); Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 15–22.

59. “Skansen Dancers’ Tour of America, 1906–07,” 224–34.

60. Bergquist, *Swedish Folk Dances*. The translation was funded by Stockholm’s Friends of Swedish Folk Dance.

61. Tomko, *Dancing Class*; Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 10.

62. Burchenal, *Folk-Dances and Singing Games*.

63. J. Ross, “The Feminization of Physical Culture,” 97.

64. Mary W. Hinman, letter dated February 18, 1909, reprinted in Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*.

65. Mary B. Stewart, quoted in Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*, 70.

66. Helen Storrow, letter quoted in Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*, 73–74.

67. Public Schools Athletic League, Girls’ Branch, and Burchenal, *Official Handbook of the Girls’ Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League, 1908–9*; “Elizabeth Burchenal,” Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/burchenal\\_e.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/burchenal_e.htm).

68. Margaret Knox, letter to Gulick, in Gulick, *The Healthful Art of Dancing*, 66–69.

69. Gulick, *A Philosophy of Play*, 263–65.

70. Burchenal, “Folk-Dancing as a Social Recreation for Adults,” 9–12; emphasis in the original.

71. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*; Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*.

72. Burchenal, preface to Burchenal and Burchenal, *American Country-Dances*.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. From the title of Drew’s autobiography, *I’ll Try Anything Once—Except Incest and Morris Dancing* (London: Blake, 1993). Boyes, in *The Imagined Village* (147n. 16), notes that the remark is “popularly attributed” to Beecham but cites Arnold Bax in *Farewell My Youth* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943), 17, who in turn cites “a Scot.”

2. Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 192–93; also see “Elizabeth Burchenal,” Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/burchenal\\_e.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/burchenal_e.htm).

3. For James Dawson Coltery, see Charles Alexander Rook, ed., *Western Pennsylvanians* (Pittsburgh: Western Pennsylvania Biographical Association, 1923), available online at [www.libraries.psu.edu/do/digitalbookshelf/29440461](http://www.libraries.psu.edu/do/digitalbookshelf/29440461).

4. Tomko, *Dancing Class*; also see “Mary Wood Hinman,” Phantom Ranch website, [http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/hinman\\_mw.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/hinman_mw.htm).

5. Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, “A Brief History.”

6. Pethick-Lawrence, *My Part in a Changing World*, 74–75.

7. Judge, “Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris,” 546–47. Ellen Ross also generously provided helpful information on Pethick-Lawrence and Neal.



8. Roy Judge, "Mary Clara Sophia Neal," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/40485>; also Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris"; Dommett, "How Did You Think It Was?" 47–52.
9. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 136; and Dowling, "So Who Was Mary Neal Anyway?"
10. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 138.
11. *Ibid.*, 138–45.
12. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 33. Karpeles deletes the reference to English as the author of this comment in the 1967 revised second edition of her biography.
13. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 138–45.
14. *Ibid.*, 146.
15. *Ibid.*, 149; Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 552–53.
16. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 139; see also Boyes, *The Imagined Village*.
17. Michael Heaney, "Cecil Sharp," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36040>.
18. Cecil Sharp, typescript from lecture before the Small Queen's Hall, April 3, 1906, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder G, Sharp Collection, VWML. This reference is also in Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 551.
19. Dommett, "How Did You Think It Was?" 49; Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 558.
20. Evelyn Sharp to Cecil Sharp, August 8, 1913, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML; Dowling, "So Who Was Mary Neal Anyway?"; E. Sharp, *Unfinished Adventure*.
21. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*; Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 168. Neal makes this case in her autobiography, *As a Tale That Is Told*. She saw her conflict with Sharp arising from her putting women in the traditionally male morris dance, an error that she had come to believe—and it was her theosophy speaking here—had "broken a law of cosmic ritual."
22. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 139.
23. Krause, "Morris Dancing and America Prior to 1913," 13–14.
24. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 155–56; Dowling, "So Who Was Mary Neal Anyway?"
25. Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 552.
26. Dommett, "How Did You Think It Was?" 51; Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 558.
27. Sharp, *The Country Dance Book, Part II*, 9.
28. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 104–6.
29. Many scholars have made this observation. See, for example, Buckland, "English Folk Dance Scholarship," 3–18; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*. See also Sharp's introductions to *Folk Song: Some Conclusions* and *The Country Dance Book, Part II*.
30. *Daily Telegraph*, December 6, 1917.
31. Sharp, *English Folk-Song*, 174–75.
32. Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 159; Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 73. Karpeles (*Cecil Sharp*, 74) quotes Neal from her letter to the *Saturday Review*, April 11, 1908.
33. Cecil Sharp to Mary Neal, March 7, 1909, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder A, Sharp Collection, VWML, and as quoted in Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 557.
34. Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 560.
35. *Ibid.*, 559.

36. Neal to Sharp, July 22, 1909, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder A, Sharp Collection, VWML.
37. Sharp to Neal, July 26, 1909, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder A, Sharp Collection, VWML.
38. For the gendered and class dimensions of the professionalizing project of the era, see D. Walkowitz, *Working with Class*.
39. Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 560; see also E. Burrows to Sharp, October 18, 1909, Sharp Correspondence, Box 5, Folder F, Sharp Collection, VWML.
40. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 76–77; Michael Heaney, "Maud Pauline Karpeles (1885–1976)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://oxforddnb.com/view/articles/54870>.
41. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 81; "The Progress of Folk Song and Dance," *Musical Herald*, April 1913.
42. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 79–81, quoting the *Morning Post* and *Vanity Fair*, April 14, 1910.
43. Neal to Archibald Flower, October 25, 1910, Neal Correspondence, Box 5, Folder A, Sharp Collection, VWML, quoted in Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 565.
44. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 80–81; Sharp's "invention" and "particularist" use of Kimber is noted by Douglas Kennedy in "Tradition."
45. Krause, "Morris Dance and America Prior to 1913," 1–17.
46. Boyce, *The Imagined Village*; Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris."
47. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 85.
48. *Ibid.*, 78–81.
49. Brickwedde, "A History of Morris in America," 8, cites Sharp's diary, February 15, 1918, Box 7, misc., Sharp Collection, VWML; "George P. Baker," obituary, *EFDS News* 40 (IV), no. 6 (May 1935).
50. Neal, *The Espérance Morris Book*; Kidson and Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance*; L. Phillips Barker's review of Kidson and Neal's book appeared in the *Musical Times*, November 1, 1915.
51. "The Progress of Folk Song and Dance," *Musical Herald*, April 1913.
52. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 82, 88; Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*.
53. Broadbridge, interview with the author, November 2002, London, UK, ECDDP.
54. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 114; Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 114.
55. *EFDS News* 9 (May 1925): 278; Judge, "Mary Neal and the Espérance Morris," 570.
56. *EFDS News* 9 (May 1925): 279.
57. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 116–18.
58. *EFDS News* 9 (May 1925): 279.
59. *Ibid.*, 282.
60. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 106.
61. Michael Heaney, "Maud Pauline Karpeles (1885–1976)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://oxforddnb.com/view/articles/54870>.
62. Neal, *The Espérance Morris Book*, introduction.
63. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 90.
64. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*; also see the introduction to Reeves, *The Idiom of the Peasant*; and Harker, "May Cecil Sharp Be Praised?"

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 21.
2. Elizabeth Burchenal to Cecil Sharp, September 1, 1908, Burchenal Correspondence, Sharp Collection, VWML.
3. Burchenal to Sharp, December 15, 1911, in *ibid.*
4. *New York Times*, December 20, 1911, 13:3; and December 21, 1911, 2:3; Mary Neal to Clive Carey, December 30, 1911, Carey Correspondence, Sharp Collection, VWML; Neal, *As a Tale That Is Told*, 160–61. This material is pulled together nicely by Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,” 7.
5. Hobsbawm and Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*. For a review of the social constructionists writing since Hobsbawm and Ranger who have emphasized the ways contemporaries “construct,” “make,” or “invent” traditions, see C. Briggs, “The Politics of Discursive Authority,” 435–69. Briggs criticizes these usages by hegemonic social scientists that demean the legitimacy of the indigenous groups who they study. I understand traditions as constantly changing, and I see those doing revived folk dances as a folk themselves.
6. Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,” 8.
7. *New York Times*, January 23, 1911, 7; Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,” 8.
8. *The (London) Times*, July 22, 1911, quoted in Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,”
10. Krause quotes the Boston paper reviews as well.
9. *Times Union* (Albany), June 1911, quoted in Krause, “Morris Dancing and America,”
- 10.
10. *Ibid.*, 10–11. Krause relates the romantic story of the relationship as told by Brown to his children (*ibid.*, 14).
11. A full account of Wright’s life and American tours is given by Brickwedde, “A. Claud Wright.”
12. Baker obituary, *EFDS News* 40 (IV), no. 6 (May 1935).
13. Brickwedde, “A. Claud Wright,” 31.
14. Wright was a popular and regular presence at the Stratford summer and Christmas vacation schools, and his classes for boys and girls in gymnastics, country dances, sword dances, and Morris dances at the Chelsea school were thriving. That Easter, he had helped demonstrate country dance and morris at the International Congress and Exhibition of Physical Education in Paris as part of the English team. And in April, a dance course he initiated in north London in Tottenham had attracted nearly two hundred students. Claud Wright to George P. Baker, March 4 and April 16, 1913, George P. Baker Collection, HTC.
15. Wright taught classes that averaged fourteen enthusiastic students four hours a day on the Storrow lawn: from 10 to 11 a.m., they learned country dances such as “Peascods”; from 11 a.m. to noon, they practiced morris dances such as “Bean Setting”; and in the afternoon, they had hour-long lessons in jigs and sword dancing. Wright to Baker, October 11, 1917, in *ibid.*
16. Wright to Baker, October 11, 1914, in *ibid.*
17. Wright is summarizing Hinman’s reassurance to him. Wright to Baker, n.d. (“Tuesday morning,” ca. mid-July 1913), in *ibid.*

18. Wright to Baker, September 18, 1913, in *ibid.*
19. *Ibid.*
20. Wright to Baker, January 12, 1914, in *ibid.*
21. Wright to Baker, October 12, 1913, in *ibid.*
22. Wright to Baker, December 12, 1913, and March 15, 1914, in *ibid.*
23. Wright to Baker, March 15 and May 27, 1914, in *ibid.*; Cecil Sharp to Helen Storrow, October 15, 1913, Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML. For a fuller discussion, see Brickwedde, "A. Claud Wright."
24. Wright to Baker, June 16 and October 11, 1914, Baker Collection, HTC.
25. Brickwedde, "A. Claud Wright," 21; and Wright to Baker, June 12, 1914, Baker Collection, HTC.
26. Wright to Baker, October 11, 1914, Baker Collection, HTC.
27. Wright to Baker, November 9, 1914, in *ibid.*
28. Wright to Baker, December 27, 1914, and January 1 and April 11, 1915, in *ibid.* Also see Brickwedde, "A. Claud Wright."
29. Cecil Sharp to Maud Karpeles, December 25, 1914, MK/3-36 (2), Maud Karpeles Collection, VWML.
30. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 17, 82, 131.
31. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 131.
32. "Police Notebooks," Book 13LB357, *Charles Booth Online Archive*, <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/images/notebooks/b357>.
33. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 185.
34. Cecil Sharp to Paul Oppé, November 24, 1922, quoted in *ibid.*
35. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 131.
36. Cecil Sharp to Constance Sharp, December 25, 1914, quoted in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 124.
37. Sharp to Karpeles, December 25, 1914, MK/3-36 (2), VWML.
38. *Ibid.*
39. Cecil Sharp, diary, January 22, 1915, Sharp Collection, VWML.
40. Sharp to Karpeles, January 8, 1915, MK/3-40, VWML.
41. *Ibid.*
42. Sharp to Karpeles, January 18, 1915, MK/3-45, VWML.
43. *Ibid.*; and Keller and Shimer, *The Playford Ball*.
44. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 129.
45. Sharp to Karpeles, January 25 and 29, 1915, MK/3-45, VWML.
46. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 124.
47. Sharp, diary, January 23 and 30 and February 3, 4, and 6, 1915; Sharp, quoted in Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 124; Sharp to Karpeles, February 2, 1915, MK/3-48, VWML. Sharp taught dances such as "Newcastle," "Peascods," "Hey Boys," "Ruffy Tufty," "Parson's Farewell," "Bo Peep," and "Merry Conceit" at Columbia University and at Gilman's dance studio. The capstone performance was a Saturday-evening dance lecture at the Plaza Hotel in which Sharp lectured with slides, played the pipe and tabor, performed a number of morris tunes on the piano, accompanied Mattie Kay on the piano when she sang some folk songs, and then took the floor himself to dance a couple of two-couple dances. He danced with Burchenal ("pulling Miss B. through"), while Ferris danced with Charles Rabold, a musician.

48. Sharp to Karpeles, February 7, 1915, MK/3-50, VWML.
49. Sharp to Karpeles, February 5, 1915, MK/3-49, and Sharp to Karpeles, February 14, 1915, MK/3-52, VWML.
50. Sharp to Karpeles, February 7 and 12, 1915, MK/3-50, VWML.
51. Sharp to Karpeles, February 14, 1915, MK/3-52, VWML.
52. Sharp to Karpeles, March 15, 1915, MK/3-58, VWML.
53. Burchenal to Sharp, January 15, 1915, Burchenal Correspondence, Sharp Collection, VWML.
54. Ibid.
55. Sharp, dairy, January 3, 1915; Sharp to Karpeles, January 5, 1915, MK/3-39, VWML; Conant, "Interview with Jocelyn B. Reynolds, May 12, 1991."
56. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML.
57. Sharp to Karpeles, February 21, 1915, from Lincoln, MA, MK/3-53, VWML; Sharp, dairy, February 16, 17, 1915. Sharp and Barker also went to see Duncan perform *Oedipus* in April. See Sharp, diary, April 17, 1915.
58. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML. The running step is the basic country dance step, walked energetically while leaning forward on the front of the foot, usually in 2/4 time.
59. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-59, VWML.
60. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML; emphasis in the original.
61. Sharp to Karpeles, February 26, 1915, MK/3-54, VWML.
62. Sharp did not conceal his anger, even if Karpeles tried after the fact to do so: "Between ourselves, I am not over fond or over trustful of him. . . . Imagine an English Prof. doing such a thing!" Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML. The truth of the allegations remains unclear, but what is clear is that the arrangement would also undermine Sharp's prospects.
63. Sharp to Karpeles, January 25, 1915, MK/3-46, VWML.
64. Sharp to Karpeles, April 8, 1915, MK/3-63, VWML.
65. "Cecil Sharp in Boston," *Boston Herald*, February 28, 1915, clippings file, Sharp Collection, VWML.
66. Sharp notes "Mrs. Shaw" as the Wellesley "head," but Ellen Fitz Pendleton was the Wellesley president at the time. "Hey-Days & Holidays," History of Wellesley website, <http://www.wellesleyhistory.com/things/tree.html> (accessed July 16, 2008). Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-59, VWML.
67. After three "delightful" days in Boston, where he and Storror became "most chummy," he was off to Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Mira Hall, the headmistress of a fashionable girls' school, had invited him to teach ECD there. He taught his now usual repertoire of traditional older Playford dances, but Sharp suddenly found himself in yet another social league. He was used to teaching the professional middle class and the intellectual bourgeoisie and their children; Miss Hall's students were "the daughters of very rich parents—mostly millionaires—and they were all being prepared to come out at New York and other fashionable centers." In Pittsburgh, Callery had arranged a full four-day schedule of lectures and classes for Sharp. Sharp to Karpeles, March 4 and 15, 1915, MK/3-56, VWML; Sharp, diary, March 2 and 20, 1915.
68. In fact, he had admitted such thoughts in a letter to Maud Karpeles a month earlier. At the time, he wrote that he felt, happily one presumes, "pressed on all sides to stay &

do” the work, hinting then that additional trips might be in the works. Sharp to Karpeles, March 15, 1915, MK/3-56, and February 21, 1915, MK/3-53, VWML.

69. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-59, VWML.

70. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, and March 15, 1915, MK/3-58, VWML.

71. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML.

72. Ibid.

73. Sharp to Karpeles, February 21, 1915, MK/3-53, VWML.

74. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-59, VWML; A. Thompson, *May Day Festivals in America*, and personal correspondence with the author.

75. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-59, and March 26, 1915, MK/3-60, VWML.

76. Sharp taught long hours in each city and, before running out of certificates, awarded a total of twenty-seven to dancers able to meet his exacting standards. Sharp to Karpeles, April 5, 1915, MK/3-62, VWML; Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 126.

77. Sharp, diary, June 7, 1915; Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 129; Sharp to Karpeles, June 10, 1915, MK/3-66, VWML.

78. Sharp, diary, 1915; Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 126.

79. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 116. “English Society at Swiss Resorts,” *New York Times*, January 11, 1911, C3.

80. *New York Times*, February 23, 1912, 11, and February 24, 1912, 11.

81. Wright to Baker, October 11, 1914, Baker Collection, HTC.

82. Thanks to Tom Bender for reminding me of the fascist resonance for 1920s nationalism.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. Maud Karpeles to “Aunt Helen,” February 2, 1928, EFDSS Correspondence, 1923–1929, Box 1, f. 21, Kate Van Winkle Keller Papers, UNH-MC.

2. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 17–21.

3. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML; Burchenal to Sharp, January 12, 1915, Burchenal Correspondence, Sharp Collection, VWML (emphasis in original).

4. Burchenal and Howells Burchenal, *American Country-Dances*, title page and p. v.

5. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 129–30; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, 254–55.

6. Langdon to Olive Dame Campbell, June 4, 1915, John C. and Olive Dame Campbell Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, quoted in Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, 113.

7. Whisnant, *All That Is Native and Fine*, chap. 2; Shapiro, *Appalachia on Our Mind*, 254–55; Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 142–43. For a full account of Sharp’s trips, see Michael Yates, “Cecil Sharp in America: Collecting in the Appalachians,” a “second draft,” dated December 23, 1999, of an article that initially appeared in the *Folk Music Journal* (available online at <http://www.mustrad.org.uk/articles/sharp.htm>). Cecil Sharp with Campbell, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachian Mountains*.

8. Sharp to Karpeles, March 15, 1916, MK/3-75, VWML, on \$50 from Russell Sage; Sharp to Storrow, December 3 and 6, 1916, Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML, on the hope for major Russell Sage support; Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 131–32, 155. Sharp, diary, December 17–18, 1917. Sharp wrote that the rejection left him “very depressed.”

9. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 157–58.
10. Malcolm Taylor, librarian of the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library, notes that an old friend of Karpeles's said there was "certainly love" in the relationship, "but it was only one way" (personal communication, December 3, 1997). Karpeles moved her cot into Sharp's room when he nearly died of an asthmatic attack during one of his trips at high altitude in the mountains, and she wrote on her diaries, "Please Destroy." See also Kennedy's obituary, "Maud Pauline Karpeles," 192–94.
11. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 141, 168.
12. Sharp, diary, August 23, 1916; Daron Douglas, interview with the author, ECDDP, Pinewoods Dance Camp, August 1999.
13. Sharp, dairy, August 1917; Maud Karpeles, diary, May 5 and September 16 and 17, 1918, Maud Karpeles Collection, VWML.
14. Sharp, diary, July 26 and August 13, 1916.
15. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 169, and quoting Sharp, from the introduction to *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachian Mountains*.
16. Sharp, quoted in Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 25, who, in turn, cites Harker, *Fakesong*, 202, for the citation for Sharp's diary in 1918.
17. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 26.
18. Sharp, introduction to *The Country Dance Book*, part V, quoted in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 163–64.
19. Sharp to Storrow, September 11, 1917, Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML. Sharp wrote of it as a six-couple set, but it appears to have been most often performed with four couples.
20. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 163.
21. Sharp, introduction to *The Country Dance Book*, part V, 9–10, 13; see also E. Sharp, *Here We Go Round*.
22. Karpeles, *EFDS News* 6 (November 1923): 71.
23. Sharp, quoted from *English Folk-Songs of the Southern Appalachian Mountains*, in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 169.
24. Sharp to Storrow, December 6, 1916, Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML.
25. Gadd, "Lily Roberts Conant," 11–15.
26. Sharp to Karpeles, June 10, 1915, MK/3-66, VWML; Conant, "Interview with Jocelyn B. Reynolds," 18–26.
27. Sharp to Lily Roberts, July 24, 1915, Sharp Collection, VWML; Sharp to Mrs. Roberts (Lily's mother), August 26, 1915, in *ibid.*
28. Gadd, "Lily Roberts Conant."
29. Following Lily's marriage, Louise Chapin became the head teacher of the Boston Centre, a role she filled for half a century. Chapin, who had learned to dance on the Storrow lawn in 1913–14, probably under Claud Wright, had subsequently attended the Stratford summer school, where Sharp had certified her. See Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, "A Brief History."
30. Sharp to Storrow, March 22, 1922 (in response to her letter to him dated February 27, 1922), Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML.
31. Boyes presents evidence that the choice of Kennedy reflected a continuing pattern of prejudices against women and toward male leadership among the EFDS leaders. Sharp

personally asked Kennedy to take the reins after his death, but in practice, after his death, the EFDS Board of Artistic Directors sought someone with administrative talents and bypassed the person who was higher in the dance “hierarchy”: Maud Karpeles. The board asked Sharp’s friend Paul Oppé to take the post, and when he declined, Douglas Kennedy, described by Boyes as mostly a “weekend dancer,” gave up his university post as a biologist to take the position. See Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 177, 194n. 76.

32. In Pittsburgh, teacher Nora Parkes Jervis, an Englishwoman herself who had recently moved to the States, had a falling out with Mrs. Callery, the grande dame and patron of the Pittsburgh dance community. Barnett was based in New York, where the American Branch was housed. But Barnett was also an accomplished musician. Melville Smith, director of the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York, and one of a group of four accomplished brothers who had become English dance enthusiasts, enticed her to join him at Eastman. Barnett found the offer too good to pass up. Sharp to Lily Roberts, September 21, 1915, Sharp Correspondence, VWML; Gadd, “History of the Country Dance Society of America,” 40–42.

33. *EFDS Report*, no. 13, January 1927, and no. 15, September 1917, VWML. Barnett’s departure as national director opened the door to new leaders who shaped the fortunes of the American movement for the next half century. Barnett also helped firm up the ECD community in Rochester and raised expectations that the American movement might yet become national in more than name. By 1929, within a year of Barnett’s arrival, Rochester, with a flourishing group of sixty-five dancers based at the Eastman School of Music, was the third-largest group in the country. Unfortunately for the local group, Barnett only remained in Rochester for two years, returning to England to marry, and by 1930 the branch there collapsed. But her move to Eastman had another impact with broad significance for the American movement: she made one of the Eastman students a convert to English dance: Phil Merrill. Merrill took to morris, sword, and country dance and within a decade emerged as one of the stalwarts of the New York dance community and the national summer dance camp programs, as well as becoming the longtime CDSS musical director. The 1930 *EFDS Report* notes that the branch had collapsed and become an affiliate center. After Barnett’s marriage, she moved to South Africa, where she also organized English Country Dance. See also Gadd, “History of the Country Dance Society of America.”

34. See Ginsberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*. Women often did forge relationships akin to marriage with other women, of course—“Boston marriages.” but after her boyfriend died, Gadd never appears to have had a lifetime partner. CDSS became the abiding passion of her life. James E. Morrison, phone interview with the author, November 10, 2007. Also see Gadd’s biography in *Who’s Who of American Women* (Chicago: Marquis, 1968), 456.

35. See obituaries for Gadd in 1979 issues of *Country Dance and Song*. See also “May Gadd,” Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/gadd\\_m.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/gadd_m.htm).

36. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 137.

37. Sharp wrote his wife several times a week long chatty letters in which he shared all his concerns and successes. There are no copies of her letters to him to assess how she felt about his long absences and priorities, but his and Maud Karpeles’s letters suggest that Sharp’s wife was always supportive of him and his work.

38. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 135.



39. Culbertson, "Sixty Years of Song and Dance"; Sharp's visits to Berea and Pine Mountain Settlement are described in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 157–58, 161–62. The songs from Berea appear in Sharp and Campbell, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachian Mountains*.

40. See Sharp's and Karpeles's diaries for references and accounts of these trips. Chicago is mentioned in Sharp to Storrow, February 14, 1918, Storrow Correspondence, Box 3, Sharp Collection, VWML.

41. A. Thompson, *May Day Festivals in America*; Burchenal, "May Day Celebrations." See also Lincoln, *The Festival Book*. Lincoln, who directed the Physical Education program at the University of Illinois, began her study of May Day in 1900. Louise Freer, a younger member of the faculty, was a regular participant at Sharp's summer classes. Freer hosted Sharp, with Karpeles and Rabold on hand to assist him, for a week-long set of classes at the university in March 1917, and Urbana became a regular stop on Sharp's Midwest itinerary (see Sharp, dairy, March 19, 1917). So, too, did Madison, Wisconsin, home of the University of Wisconsin, which had established a Women's Physical Education Program there in 1910 and had introduced annual maypole dancing festivities. A faculty member, Blanche M. Trilling, had established a "booming" folk dance program by 1910, and Sharp, visiting it on several occasions, always found a welcome at the university. J. Ross, "The Feminization of Physical Culture."

42. Sharp, quoted in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 133.

43. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 1916, and *St. Louis Times*, May 30, 1916, clipping file, Sharp Collection, VWML. Sharp, dairy, June 2–5, 1916.

44. Sharp, dairy, June 5, 1916.

45. *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 30, 1916, and *St. Louis Times*, May 30, 1916. Sharp, dairy, June 2–5, 1916.

46. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 128.

47. By 1924, the Boston Centre reported only 110 members. It sponsored six parties that year attended by an average of 52 participants. See Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, "A Brief History."

48. Eighty-six people had on average attended New York Centre parties. The Centre held a dance every other Tuesday, and on alternate Tuesdays it provided lessons. In addition to its annual May Parties, Twelfth Night Revel, and numerous demonstrations before groups around the city, *EFDS Report*, the annual publication of the EFDS in London, took particular pride in noting that seven Centre members had won certificates, raising the Centre's total number to thirty-seven. *EFDS Reports*, 1924–45; *EFDS News* 5 (November 1923): 164.

49. Leaflet from the Montclair EFDS Group, misc. clippings from the *Newark Evening News*, 1932–33, Scrapbook 1, CDSS Archive, New York Branch, UNH-MC.

50. May Gadd, "English Folk Dancing as Recreation," *Recreation* (April 1932), copy in Scrapbook 1, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.

51. *EFDS Reports*, 1924–45.

52. Three delegates from each branch and two at-large delegates constituted the federation's steering committee. One at-large delegate was Rabold, who was seen as representing Fairhope, Alabama, and other areas he had visited, and the other was Olive Whitworth, a longtime Cleveland dancer. Gadd, "History of the Country Dance Society of America," 41.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 42.
55. Sharp to Karpeles, March 3, 1916, MK/3-71, VWML; also see *EFDS Reports*, 1924–36.
56. Sharp to Storrow, October 30, 1916, Storrow Correspondence, VWML.
57. Sharp to Storrow, December 7, 1915, in *ibid.*
58. Sharp to Lily Conant, July 7, 1918, Conant Correspondence, VWML.
59. Rabold to Conant, October 22 and November 11, 1920, in *ibid.*; Sharp to Burchenal, February 3, 1916, Burchenal Correspondence, VWML.
60. Rabold to Conant, November 11, 1920, VWML; Karpeles to Conant, August 13, 1922, Conant Correspondence, VWML. Karpeles notes that Sharp was very ill then.
61. Teachers included Gilman and another woman, Sydney Parsons, and a trio of men: Milton Smith, Kenneth Wheeler, and W. Harry Curwen. *EFDS Reports*, 1924–39; Gadd, “History of the Country Dance Society of America.”
62. Typical was Sydney Parsons, the secretary in 1925, who resided at 186 Prospect Place in fashionable Brooklyn Heights. A woman named Miss Blanchard, the 1928 secretary, had an even more exclusive address at 100 Central Park South. *Ibid.*
63. *Newark Evening News*, 1932–39, Scrapbook 1, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.
64. *EFDS Reports*, 1924–36; Gadd, “History of the Country Dance Society of America.”
65. George Baker retired as president of the American Branch after only one year; largely disappearing from the local dance scene, he did apparently continue his summer dance program at Chocorua for a few years. Wilfert, “Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago,” 1.
66. Gibbs, Storrow’s friend and associate, presided over Storrow’s School of Dance and helped steer it away from International dance to English Country Dance. It is thought that Gibbs may have even helped introduce Storrow to Claud Wright. Dorothy Bolles, who went with Chapin to Stratford before the war and learned ECD from Sharp himself, also taught at the Boston Centre. Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, “A Brief History”; *EFDS News* 41 (IV), no. 7 (June 1935).
67. Wells was one of several women to be introduced to English dance at Wellesley College, where she later joined the faculty. She was on the staff of the Pine Mountain Settlement School for over a decade. Present when Sharp arrived there and discovered the “Running Set,” Wells established a robust tradition of morris, sword, and country dance among the children at the Settlement School. Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 161–62, 170; “Pine Mountain Settlement School, History, 1929,” Box 54, Evelyn K. Wells Papers, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC. Wells attended the Vacation School at Stratford in 1923, along with Olive Dame Campbell. *EFDS News* 6 (November 1923): 164.
68. Milton was in New York, and Melville, who began in Rochester, moved to the Langly School in Cambridge by the late 1930s, joining his brothers Everett and Albert as members of the Boston dance community. Gadd, “Lily Conant Roberts,” 12.
69. Gadd, “Lily Conant Roberts”; EFDS, Boston Branch, 1930, “Schedule of Classes, 1930–1931,” CDSS Collection 140, Series I d., Scrapbook, Box 4, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.
70. Karpeles to “Aunt Helen,” February 2, 1928, Box 1, f. 21, Kate Van Winkle Keller Papers, UNH-MC.
71. Alden, “The Revival of Country Dance,” 50.
72. See Roberta Frankfort, *Collegiate Women: Domesticity and Career in Turn-of-the-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1977), 83.
73. Tedesco, “Making a Girl into a Scout,” 19–39; S. Mitchell, *The New Girl*; Inness, *Intimate Communities*.

74. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML.
75. Burchenal to Sharp, January 15, 1915, Burchenal Correspondence, VWML.
76. Recall that Burchenal thought “all things good in dancing are in the folk dances of all countries.” Sharp to Burchenal, January 12, 1915, Burchenal Correspondence, VWML.
77. Sharp to Storrow, January 1, 1916, Storrow Correspondence, VWML; Sharp to Karpeles, February 5, 1915, MK/3-49, and March 15, 1915, MK/3-58, VWML.
78. English Dance Society (New York Branch), published materials, 1919–1925, Stanley Watkins Papers, CCDS Archives, UNH-MC. Watkins taught the grade 1 morris dance class. Mary Smith and Susan Gilman taught grades 1 and 4 of country dance, respectively, and Sydney Parsons taught a class in sword dancing as well as grade 2 of morris dance. Fifty cents a lesson was a tidy recreational sum to put out regularly; a movie cost twenty-five cents or less, and subway fare was a nickel.
79. Personal experience of the author. The change was a democratic impulse combined with the desire to welcome younger new dancers to an ever-aging dance community.
80. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML.
81. Program, “Annual Ball of the English Folk Dance Society of New York, Program of Dances,” Box 1, Stanley Watkins Papers, UNH-MC. The program notes were written by Milton Smith, a leader of the New York Centre.
82. Wilfert, “Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago.”
83. The school was to be the first of many for the EFDS American Branch. Sharp had asked his American organizers to guarantee him a hundred registrants; only sixty enrolled, but although the weather did not cooperate, all involved thought the event a success. Maud Karpeles, Norah Jervis, and Lily Roberts assisted Sharp at the school, and it was there that Charles Rabold was formally initiated into Sharp’s American demonstration team.
84. Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 129; Sharp to Karpeles, March 26, 1915, MK/3-60, VWML, on wanting one hundred entrants.
85. Sharp also ran what he and Karpeles referred to as summer schools in New York, to accommodate New Yorkers. But because the New York programs were neither advertised as national “schools” nor organized as residential retreats away from the city, historians have reserved pride of place in the history of the EFDS American Branch’s history for the Amherst summer schools. Sharp, diary, June 30, 1916.
86. Sharp, diary, June 29–July 20, 1917; Sharp to Storrow, July 16, 1916, quoted in Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 134.
87. Sharp chose to interpret what he called the “failure” of the summer schools as a commentary on the character of Americans, rather than blaming it on the war. The New York Centre did run its regular three-week summer school at Gilman’s Studio in the city in late June and early July 1918, and its disappointing attendance may have occasioned or confirmed the decision to cancel the Amherst school: only nine or ten students attended, and Karpeles had only four in her morris class. With the meager attendance, Sharp despaired that “there never will be more than a few people in America who will give the necessary time to be proficient.” He had complained to Rabold at one point that “the average American dancer seems to me to be incurably superficial.” “They like everything equally well, good, bad and indifferent.” Sharp, diary, June 21–July 13, 1918; Karpeles, diary, June 24, 1918; Sharp to Rabold, n.d., quoted in Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 135; Sharp to Lily Roberts, July 7, 1918, Conant Correspondence, VWML.

88. Sharp, diary, June 28, 1916, and June 15–16, 1918; Karpeles, diary, July 15, 1918.
89. From the first, Louise Chapin, the Boston Centre's head teacher, also taught there. Wilfert, "Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago," 3.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Flyer announcing the second season of the English Folk Dance Camp of the New York Branch, Box 1, English Folk Dance camp, 1925, Watkins Papers, UNH-MC; Wilfert, "Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago," 3.
92. Gadd, "History," 41; Wilfert, "Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago," 3; eight-millimeter tape of ECD in the United States, 1927–1950s, VWML.
93. Storrow's improvement included two-person cabins rather than tents, the separation of the two Girl Scouts camps to various ends of the campsite, camp electrification, and a separate Storrow family compound, with private cabins for the Conant family, to whom she had become deeply attached. Wilfert, "Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago," 3.
94. See the website for the Association of Research Libraries, [www.arl.org/pp/ppcopyright](http://www.arl.org/pp/ppcopyright).
95. One critically divisive event was Sharp's displeasure at Burchenal's reported behavior at the fall meeting of the EFDS branch in Boston to plan the 1916 summer school. According to the minutes of the discussion, Burchenal had urged that the school not rely on Storrow's largess and be discontinued if enrollment was insufficient. She pleaded to Sharp that this misrepresented her position; she had only proposed that plans be "scaled down." Storrow to Sharp, n.d. (ca. late January 1916), Storrow Correspondence, VWML.
96. Sharp to Karpeles, January 8, 1915, MK/3-40, VWML.
97. Rabold, quoted in Sharp to Karpeles, February 29, 1916, MK/3-70, VWML.
98. At the formation of the EFDS American Branch in March 1915, participants agreed formally to locate it in New York, but Boston was made the *de facto* headquarters, as it was there that Baker and Storrow, its two principal officers, resided. In New York, Gilman, a woman named Miss Young (who, according to Karpeles, inexplicably left the dance community after a few years), and Rabold became Sharp's principal dancers and contacts. Sharp to Storrow, January 1, 1916, Storrow Correspondence, VWML. Karpeles penciled a note on Sharp's Correspondence file (as executor of his estate) that "Miss Young dropped out of things." Sharp to Storrow, July 16, 1916, in *ibid.*
99. Burchenal to Sharp, n.d. (ca. late January 1916), Burchenal Correspondence, VWML.
100. Sharp to Burchenal, February 3, 1916, in *ibid.*; Sharp to Karpeles, February 25, 1916, MK/3-69, VWML.
101. "Race Records," PBS website, [www.pbs.org/jazz/exchange/exchange\\_race\\_records.htm](http://www.pbs.org/jazz/exchange/exchange_race_records.htm).
102. Samuel, "'Quarry Roughs,'" 162, 191, based on information from Kimber and Sharp.
103. Lausevic, "A Different Village," 53.
104. Paul Stamler, e-mail to the author, July 3, 2007, and to the ECD listserv, June 30, 2007.
105. Sharp to Karpeles, February 7 and 14, 1915, MK/3-50, 3-52, VWML.
106. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-58, VWML.
107. Sharp listed the following dances he had recorded as of March 1916: "My Lady Cullen," "Black Nag," "Grimstock," "Mage a Cree," "If All the World," "The Old Mole," "Hundsdon House," "Ruffy Tufty," "Parson's Farewell," "Hey Boys," "Merry Conceit," "Sell-

inger's Round," "Gathering Peascods," "Newcastle," "Sweet Kate," "Jenny P[luck].P[ears]," "Oranges & Lemons," "Confess," "Lady in the Dark," "Chelsea Reach," and "Live Companion." He noted that his earliest recordings were of "Flamborough Sword Dance," "Tideswell Processional Dance," "Three Meet," "The Butterfly," "Goddesses," "Jamaica," "Keibly & Sleights's Sword Dance," and "Row Well Ye Marines." Sharp to Karpeles, March 6, 1918, MK/3-73, VWML.

108. Sharp to Karpeles, March 23, 1915, MK/3-58, VWML.

109. Sharp to Karpeles, March 15, 1916, MK/3-75, VWML; Sharp, diary, 1916, July 19–21 and October 27–28, 1916; *EFDS News* 4 (1922); Mike Wilson-Jones, "Listen to the Band," program notes for the two-CD set of dance tunes from the EFDSS Archive (December 2006).

110. Sharp to Karpeles, March 26, 1916, MK/3-60, VWML.

111. Sharp to Karpeles, March 6, 1916, MK/3-73, VWML.

112. Wilson-Jones, "Listen to the Band."

113. *Ibid.*

114. "Ruffy Tufty" is track 1 on "Listen to the Band." Thanks to Gene Murrow for timing the recordings for me. The 1911 notation is reprinted in Keller and Shimer, *The Playford Ball*, 92.

115. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 95, 106–8.

116. Gadd, "English Folk Dance as Recreation," n.p.

117. To which the first speaker responded, "Ah! Well, we do all 'ave our vailin's." Strangways and Karpeles, *Cecil Sharp*, 36.

118. Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, January 6, 1928, IaB1f21, CDSS Archives, UNH-MC, quoted in Gordon, "A Pleasure Which They Can Find Nowhere Else."

119. Conant, "Interview with Jocelyn B. Reynolds," 16–23. The role of the English folk dance movement in providing public leadership roles for women is well developed in Tomko, *Dancing Class*.

120. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 96, 98, 101–2.

121. The "House"—more resembling a manor estate—is a substantial Georgian three-story building on a comfortable residential block on Regents Park Road in Camden Town, half a mile south of Primrose Hill. Patrick Schuldhams Shaw, *Pat Shaw Collection, Book II*, compiled by M. Fennessey (London: H. E. Styles, 1986). Marjorie Fennessey email, kindly forwarded to the author by Stephanie Smith.

122. Ford, "Good Morning"; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 157–63. British fascists actually wore black shirts. Some have doubted Gardiner's sympathy with fascism, but the prevailing view of historians is convincing. See, for instance, Frank Trentmann's biography in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59314>.

123. "Two Folk Dance Societies Claim Kentucky Running Set," *Herald Tribune*, May 10, 1931. R. Cohen, in *Folk Music* (15–17), notes the German, Irish, and African roots of folk music, as well as the fact that collectors such as Sharp often elided these various origins.

124. Leonard Elmsmith to the Editor, *Herald Tribune*, May 17, 1931.

125. Burchenal and Howells Burchenal, *American Country-Dances*; Burchenal, *Dances of the People*; Burchenal and Crampton, *Folk-Dance Music*; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances and Singing Games*; Burchenal and Howells Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Germany*; Burchenal, "May Day Celebrations"; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Finland*; Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Denmark*; Burchenal and Howells Burchenal, *Rinnce Na Eirann*.

126. Rath, *The Folk Dance in Education*. Rath, who was the director of Physical and Health Education, Indianapolis Public Schools, earlier published *Folk and School Dances* (Indianapolis, 1929).

127. Sharp to Karpeles, March 11, 1915, MK/3-57, VWML.

128. Karpeles, "The International Folk Music Council," 14–32; Kennedy, "Maud Pauline Karpeles," 292–94. Perhaps Karpeles's German-Jewish background also made her more receptive to "other" folk traditions.

129. Brochures and clippings from 1932, the English Folk Dance Society, New York Branch, Scrapbook 1, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.

130. Graff, *Stepping Left*.

131. Gadd, "English Folk Dancing as Recreation," n.p.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. Gene Murrow Oral History, Pinewoods Dance Camp, Plymouth, Massachusetts, August 2000, ECDDP.

2. Tom Seiss Oral History, Pinewoods Dance Camp, August 1999, ECDDP.

3. Newbold Morris to Samuel M. While, March 13, 1961, reproduced in Pertz, "The Jewgrass Boys," 107.

4. For a wonderful account of this protest and rise of bluegrass in the park, see Pertz, "The Jewgrass Boys."

5. See *ibid.*, 112.

6. Von Schmidt and Rooney, *Baby, Let Me Follow You Down*. This lovely illustrated collection is based on nearly a hundred oral histories with men and women who gathered in the Cambridge folk clubs and in Washington Square Park, including a young college girl named Joan Baez.

7. Bealle, *Old-Time Music and Dance*. Thanks to Stephanie Smith for drawing my attention to Bealle's terrifically smart book.

8. As I have suggested elsewhere, however, this liberal political orientation was not so new. Fabian socialists such as Sharp and Progressive reformers were at the center of the first revival. See D. Walkowitz, "The Cultural Turn and a New Social History"

9. Cantwell, *When We Were Good*; R. Cohen, *Rainbow Quest*.

10. See Brocken, *The British Folk Revival*; Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*; Weissman, *Which Side Are You On?*

11. *Ibid.*

12. Miller, "Segregating Sound"; L. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*.

13. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, chaps. 1–2; Malcolm Taylor Oral History, London, November 2002, ECDDP.

14. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, chaps. 2 and 3.

15. *Ibid.*, 39–49.

16. *Ibid.*, chap. 2; Baggelaar and Milton, *Folk Music: More Than a Song*; Bealle, *Old-Time Music and Dance*; Harris, *The New Folk Music*.

17. Pertz, "The Jewgrass Boys," 11; Rosenberg, *Bluegrass, A History*; Oakley and Ripic, *A History of Bluegrass in New York and Northeastern Pennsylvania*. Bealle, in *Old-Time Music and Dance*, draws on his experience in the Bloomington, Indiana, contra community to emphasize the role of old-time music in contra, but my experience at my sister's

commune in West Virginia at the time and my sense of urban folk communities suggest that bluegrass and more commercial forms of folk-rock were woven through the folk communities.

18. On folk song as an established part of left-wing functions with the rise of the Popular Front, see Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 70; Denning, *The Cultural Front*; Mishler, *Raising Reds*, 6, 136.

19. International Folk Music Conference, July 17–21, 1950, and “Members,” November 1970, 1915–, Collections 140, Series III, Box 2, Folder: International Folk Music Council (Conferences), 1950–1975, Evelyn K. Wells Papers, CDSS Archives, UNH-MC.

20. Denning, *The Cultural Front*.

21. Geduld, quoted in email correspondence with the author, February 13, 2009; Geduld, “Performing Communism in the American Dance,” 39–65; Graff, *Stepping Left*.

22. Denning, *The Cultural Front*; Mishler, *Raising Reds*, 6, 136; Graff, *Stepping Left*.

23. To be sure, the historian Georgina Boyes hints at a British version of liberalism, and it merits further study. See in particular the last chapters in Boyes, *The Imagined Village*.

24. Greene, *Square and Folk Dancing*, 16.

25. T. L. Cotton, vice chairman of the Folk Festival Council (of New York), noted the “just criticism” of “dissatisfied” audience members and stated that the council was “organizing [its] next affair so that everybody can dance and sing together.” Cotton to “Dear Friend,” October 17, 1932, Scrapbook 1, EFDS, New York Branch, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC. See also Parmelee, “New York Folk Festival Council,” 57–60.

26. Lausevic, “A Different Village,” chap. 4; “Vyts Beliajus,” Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/beliajus\\_v.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/beliajus_v.htm).

27. *Federation Folk Dancer* (Folk Dance Federation of California, San Francisco; later called *Let’s Dance*) 10 (August 1944): 1, describes Chang; Chang, “International Folk Dance in the West,” 1–3.

28. Box 1, folders 18–25, Virgil Morton Papers, SFPALM. Also see Lausevic, “A Different Village,” chap. 3; Gretchell, *A History of the Folk Dance Movement in California*; *Federation Folk Dancer* (Folk Dance Federation of California, San Francisco; later called *Let’s Dance*) 1–2 (1944–45), and *The Folk Dancer* (Chang’s International Folk Dancers; became *The Record* in 1944) 1–4 (1941–44), SFPALM.

29. Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 43–53; “Michael & Mary Ann Herman,” Phantom Ranch website, [http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/herman\\_mm.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/herman_mm.htm); Howard, “Mary Ann and Michael Herman.”

30. *New York Times*, November 1941 (Sunday edition); clippings, CDSS Archives, UNH-MC.

31. Lausevic, “A Different Village,” chap. 5, p. 26, and chaps. 3 and 4.

32. Michael Herman, *The Folk Dancer* 1 (1941): 1, quoted in Lausevic, “A Different Village,” 43–44.

33. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks*; Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*; Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.

34. Dachant, “These Folk Dancers—Who Are We Anyway?” Averaging in their late twenties and early thirties, half the respondents were married, and half were born in the United States (though many more were undoubtedly sons and daughters of immigrants).

35. Box 1, Folder 20, Folk Dance Federation, 1950s, Virgil Morton Papers, SFPALM.

36. Lausevic notes that Walter Kalaidjian made this claim for radical magazines between the wars in his book *American Culture between the Wars*. Lausevic describes International Folk Dance as “apolitical.” I admire much in her dissertation, but this characterization treats International Folk Dance as one political formation and does not appreciate the left-liberal politics that underlies “apolitical” positioning.

37. Personal observation of the author; and Lausevic, “A Different Village,” part 2.

38. Belle Bernstein, telephone conversation with the author (her nephew), October 4, 2007. Bernstein had been secretary of the Communist Party in New Jersey. Also see the annual conference reports of the Catskill Institute: [catskills.brown.edu/hcc.html](http://catskills.brown.edu/hcc.html).

39. Gornick, *The Romance of American Communism*.

40. Mishler, *Raising Reds*; and personal observation by the author as a “red diaper” baby who attended these camps. My parents both folk danced in the 1940s and 1950s at these “red” resorts and with friends at their homes and at the YMHA in Paterson, New Jersey.

41. Greene, *Square and Folk Dancing*, 174; Gilbert, *International Folk Dance at a Glance*. In a Sicilian circle dance such as “St. Bernard’s Waltz,” couples begin in a double circle with the man’s back to the center and with his partner facing in. This is a traditional dance in which couples do not change partners.

42. Mishler, *Raising Reds*. My parents and many of their friends were in and around the Communist Party until 1956 in northern New Jersey, and these included Al Shadowitz, a physicist brought before the McCarthy Committee. Al had a disability and did not folk dance, but his wife, Edith, joined in regular dances I witnessed among this group.

43. Ironically, what Kennedy witnessed was closer to the spirit championed by Sharp’s British rival, Mary Neal, but that is another story. The best account of the relationship between Sharp and Neal is in Boyes, *The Imagined Village*. See, too, Kennedy, *English Folk Dancing*, 20–21.

44. Kennedy, *English Folk Dancing*, 21. Kennedy’s introduced the concept of what he called “anacrusis” to infuse a new spirit in the dance. Debunked by Boyes as “a confused principle of rhythmic momentum which was deployed talismanically as a cure for the Society’s self-conscious arty style,” anacrusis seems to have been less significant than other changes in the repertoire (*The Imagined Village*, 179).

45. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 179.

46. Sweers, *Electric Folk*; G. Mitchell, *The North American Folk Music Revival*. The Clancy Brothers and Tommy Maken were at the center of the nationalist Celtic revival in the 1970s and 1980s.

47. Boyes emphasizes the misogyny and sexism she see within EFDSS (*The Imagined Village*, 167–73).

48. Readers wanting to read Kennedy’s explicit assault on single women and to witness its misogyny, should see *ibid.*, 152, 206–10.

49. *Ibid.*, 204.

50. *Christian Science Monitor*, August 16, 1948, Clippings, CDSS Archives, UNH-MC.

51. Kennedy, *English Folk Dancing*, 28; and Taylor Oral History.

52. Miss Reed, P.T. Organizer, and Miss Tolley, Youth Organizer in Hants, March 7, 1947, quoted in “Report on Six Months Experimental Scheme: Feb. to Aug. 1947,” Kathleen Atkins (née Church-Bliss) Papers, VWML.

53. “Report on Six Months Experimental Scheme.”



54. Nicolas Broadbridge Oral History, London, November 6, 2002, ECDDP.
55. Anonymous dancer described in Minutes, April 6, 1948, Atkins Papers, VWML.
56. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 185; and Judith R. Walkowitz's forthcoming book on Soho in the interwar years and the role of the Windmill Theatre in reconstructing Englishness.
57. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 201.
58. March 2, 1950, monthly reports by Church-Bliss and Whiteman to Kennedy, Atkins Papers, VWML. "Modern style" as referring to community dance was clear from the context in which it appears in the report.
59. Kennedy, *English Folk Dancing*, 28; Minutes of Sussex District Annual Meeting, November 8, 1947, Atkins Papers, VWML.
60. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 214–15.
61. Taylor Oral History. Taylor traces the second revival back to the 1920s with the arrival in England of gramophone records of American jazz, which after the war fed into the skiffle clubs and folk clubs. Skiffle, according to Taylor, "was a form of music very much based on people like Lonnie Donegan . . . listening to records of people like Lead Belly and putting them in the intervals between the jazz bands." See also R. Cohen, *Folk Music*, 89–97; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 214–15.
62. Filene, *Romancing the Folk*, 118.
63. Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 213–15.
64. *Ibid.*, 216.
65. *Ibid.*; Brocken, *The British Folk Revival*, chap. 5; R. Cohen, *Folk Music*, 98–100.
66. Taylor Oral History.
67. *Ibid.*; Brocken, *The British Folk Revival*; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*, 216, 231–34; R. Cohen, *Folk Music*, 133–36.
68. Sawyers, *Celtic Music*, chap. 6.
69. Schofield, "Ceilidh Roots"; Bearman, "Knees Up at Cecil Sharp House."
70. Fried de Metz Herman, on Paul B. Ross, *Fried de Metz Herman, Conversation with Paul B. Ross* (CD); see also Fried de Metz Herman Oral History, August 1999, ECDDP.
71. Allison Thompson to the author, February 28, 2008. Thompson reminded me of strong objections by one dance historian on the ECD listserv to any effort to distinguish recent dance as "modern." This dance historian considers Baroque and Renaissance dance to be "historical" and all reconstructions of country dance a "modern" activity of "hobbyists." Even if I could accept the distinction between the work of Renaissance dance "historians" versus ECD "reconstructor-hobbyists" (which I do think problematic), I use the term to distinguish the modern choreography *and* new tempi and style of contemporary dancing of older dances as "modern."
72. Personal observation by the author from the late 1970s to the early 1990s when the center closed its dance hall on Varick Street; also see Lausevic, "A Different Village."
73. "A Chronology of Country Dance & Song in New York City, 1915–1997," Country Dance \* New York website, [www.cdney.org/chronology.html](http://www.cdney.org/chronology.html).
74. "Genevieve Shimer," Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer\\_g.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer_g.htm).
75. Art and Helene Cornelius Oral History (August 1999), Emlen Cressen Oral History (August 1999), Kitty Keller Oral History (May 5, 2001), and Brad Foster Oral History (August 1999), ECDDP; and conversation-interviews by the author with Peter Fricke,

Glen Echo, Maryland, December 12, 2001, and (via telephone) February 10, 2002, and John Bremer, Glen Echo, Maryland, December 12, 2001. The 1999 interviews are at Pinewoods Dance Camp in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

76. Helwig, "Pinewoods Camp," 60–61; Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 42–43; Foster Oral History; Wilfert, "Pinewoods Fifty Years Ago"; Sue Salmons, phone interview with the author, November 10, 2007.

77. Salmons interview.

78. Murrow Oral History; Conant, "Interview with Jocelyn B. Reynolds," 16–23.

79. Josie Giarratano, for instance, joined the New York dance community after reading a February 7, 1952, *New Yorker* profile of Gadd. Giarratano interview with the author, New York City, ca. 2002.

80. Fricke, Bemer, Richard Wilson, and Giarratano conversations and oral histories with the author, 2001–7. For Shimer, who had been a schoolteacher in England during the war, see "Genevieve Shimer," Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer\\_g.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer_g.htm) (accessed September 27, 2007).

81. Elizabeth Burchenal published her collection of contras in 1918, and Sharp's and Karpeles's experiences attested to the continuing presence of these dances in indigenous rural communities.

82. Greene, *Square and Folk Dancing*, 12–14; Damon, *The History of Square Dancing*, 50. Thanks also to David Millstone for the discussion of the modern Western Squares.

83. Program, "Silver Jubilee Festival, 1915–1940," CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.

84. "Swing Your Lady for a Dos a Dos!" *Cue* (Jersey Section), September 27, 1941, J1, form Clippings, CDSS Archive, UNH-MC.

85. "Swing Your Lady"; Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, "A Brief History."

86. Murrow Oral History.

87. Country Dance Society, Boston Centre, "A Brief History."

88. Gadd, "Adventure into Television"; Gadd, "Television and the Folk Dance"; Gadd, "Television News"; Gadd, "Television Adapts to Wartime"; Gadd, "Defense Recreation"; Gadd, "Recreational Dancing and the U.S.O."; Gadd, "Country Dancing with the Services."

89. "A Chronology of Country Dance & Song in New York City, 1915–1997" Dancers were drawn from New York, Boston, and New Jersey centres but also included a few people from Kentucky (presumably Pine Mountain) and Pennsylvania as well.

90. Geduld, "Performing Communism in the American Dance," 61–65. In correspondence to the author (February 13, 2009), Geduld notes that the budget for the recreational dancers was in the range of twenty thousand dollars, about one-tenth that allocated to the high-modern troupes.

91. Casey, introduction to *International Folk Dancing, U.S.A.*, 7–8.

92. See Prevots, *Dance for Export*, 117.

93. Robert F. Jordan, quoted in *ibid.*, 159; and Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 42–43.

94. Fricke interview.

95. Graff, *Stepping Left*, 113. As early as the 1930s, New York's *Dance Observer* also employed Gadd to write on folk dance.

96. Tony Hiss, telephone interview with the author, October 14, 2007, New York. These gatherings appear to have taken place from the early 1950s through the 1960s, as Alger Hiss got out of jail only in 1954, and Tony recalls being there while his father was still in

jail. Hiss also recalls the evenings as lively, exciting affairs full of “interesting people” and hosted by Gadd and her female housemate (about which he knew nothing more).

97. Fricke interview; Bremer interview.

98. Anonymous comment to the author, True Brit Dance Weekend, Hopewell Junction, October 7, 2007.

99. *Country Dance and Song* 1 (1968): 4; also programs of the 1959 and 1967 Newport Folk Festival, Misc. Papers, CDSS Archives, UNH-MC.

100. Newport Folk Festival, July 11–12, 1959, Gadd Papers, UNH-MC.

101. Newport Folk Festival, 1967, Gadd Papers, UNH-MC. Connie Taylor and his wife, Marianne, started teaching International Folk Dance in Boston in 1953 and in the next years opened the Boston Folk Arts Center, which played a parallel role to that of the Hermans’ Folk Dance House in New York. “Conny Taylor, Co-Founder of FAC,” Folk Arts Center of New England website, <http://www.facone.org/about/conny.htm>.

102. Rosenberg; *Bluegrass, a History*, 196; Dunaway, *How Can I Keep Singing?* 247–50; Neff, “The Folk Revival”; R. Cohen, *Folk Music*, 157–62; R. Cohen, *A History of Folk Music Festivals in the United States*, 91–99. When Dylan plugged in his guitar, there was a chorus of boos from the audience, but some remember this as directed at the poor PA system and the short time given to Dylan to perform. “Dylan Goes Electric in 1965: 50 Moments That Changed the History of Rock & Roll,” *Rolling Stone* online, [www.rollingstone.com/news/story/6084576/dylan\\_goes\\_electric\\_in\\_1965](http://www.rollingstone.com/news/story/6084576/dylan_goes_electric_in_1965) (reference courtesy of David Millstone). Cohen graciously commented on the complexity of this moment in correspondence with the author, March 2009.

103. The sociologist Richard Flacks decoded the different profiles of the pre- and post-1965 New Left, with red-diaper babies playing a major role in the earlier period: Flacks, *Youth and Social Change*. Among the many books on the social history of the 1960s, see Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*; Gitlin, *The Sixties*.

104. Dunaway, *How Can I Keep from Singing?* 138–39; “If I Had a Hammer,” Wikipedia, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/If\\_I\\_Had\\_a\\_Hammer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/If_I_Had_a_Hammer). Similarly, in subsequent years, staples of the civil rights and labor movement such as “We Shall Not be Moved” were taken on by even conservative protest movements such as the Right to Life campaign against abortion.

105. Pittman, Waller, and Dark, *Dance A While*, 189–90.

106. *Ibid.*

107. *Ibid.*; on the new contra style, see Gene Morrow, March 15, 1998, email to the ECD listserv, reprinted online by Alan Winston, <http://www-ssrl.slac.stanford.edu/~winston/ecd/gmorrow.htmlx> (accessed December 25, 2005).

108. Sawyers, *Celtic Music*; Sweets, *Electric Folk*; Jackson, *Converging Movements*.

109. Fourteen dances were listed in the *New York Times* for the first week of November 1941, of which four were country dance (English and/or American), nine were International dance, and one was a Scottish Country Dance. Scottish dance mirrors English dance patterns and is also a couples dance, but it is almost wholly a twentieth-century invention with a style that is “approved” and monitored by the Royal Scottish Dance Society. The flowering of modern dance in New York of the 1930s owed a debt to either “ethnic” or English dance. For example, the socialist dancer Edith Segal drew on her experiences as a young girl with “ethnic dance” at the Henry Street Settlement. In contrast, when the radical dancer Sophie Maslow choreographed her *American Folk Suite* (1938), she took the title and inspiration for the second part from Cecil Sharp’s foundational “discovery”: the “Running Set.” See Graff, *Stepping Left*, 26–27, 138.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. Pat Shaw, in Rippon, “The English Country Dance.”
2. Jacqueline Schwab Oral History, Pinewoods, August 1999, ECDDP.
3. Ibid.
4. Foster Oral History. Gadd required Dillon Bustin and his wife, who had different last names, to produce a marriage license before she would allow them to come to Pinewoods. See Millstone, *The Other Way Back* (DVD).
5. Keller Oral History. See, too, S. Smith, “Revival, Revitalization, and Change.”
6. Murrow Oral History; S. Smith, “Revival, Revitalization, and Change.”
7. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*; Morgan, *Ancient Society*. Also see, Buckland, “Definitions of Folk Dance,” 315–332.
8. Boas, *Race, Language, and Culture* and *Anthropology and Modern Life*; Mead, *Coming of Age in Samoa*; Benedict, *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* and *Patterns of Culture*; and Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*. I witnessed the contested nature of folklore studies in a discussion of guidelines with a program officer responsible for folklore with the New York Council for the Arts. The officer averred that CDSS, as a group of people of diverse origins doing revival dancing, was ineligible for a folklore grant; they were not English villagers. In conversation with the author, the folklore scholar Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimlett noted that such views remain strong within the folklore community.
9. Murrow Oral History; Foster Oral History.
10. D. Walkowitz, “ECD Dancer Survey.” Irish Americans and new Irish immigrants were disproportionately in blue-collar construction families who would not have felt at home among the professional-technical dance community, but historians also point to the “fierce nationalism” of the Irish Celtic revival (Sweers, *Electric Folk*, 253). Gene Murrow remembers few ethnic Irish dancers and recalls May Gadd’s displeasure when he naively invited some Irish set dancers to demonstrate a dance at New York’s regular Tuesday-night ECD dance. Gadd politely but firmly let him know that the evening was only for English dance and that they were not to return. Gene Murrow, conversation with the author, New York, NY, March 2009.
11. Peter Barnes Oral History, Lincoln, Massachusetts, April 1, 2004, ECDDP; Art and Helene Cornelius Oral History.
12. James E. Morrison, telephone interview with the author, November 10, 2007.
13. Among the many who began in International Folk Dance were Gene Murrow, Anand Hingorani, Peter Ogle, Yonina Gordon, Bob Morris, Kathy Terzi, Beth Lewis, Lucy Weinstein, Gary Roodman, and the author. See ECDDP.
14. Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*.
15. Thanks to Jenny Beer for her help with this description.
16. Jackson, *Converging Movements*; Michael Frisch, email to the author, March 19, 2008. Shifting attitudes toward Israeli dance corresponded to my own experience and that of several others with whom I have spoken.
17. Jackson, *Converging Movements*. Jewish involvement in International Folk Dance can be partially attributed to the Jewish political culture and the socialist commitment of many urban Jews.

18. The final chapter will return to these origin stories. See Barnes Oral History and Tom and Anne Seiss Oral History. Their experiences and views were repeated in many other interviews.

19. Schwab Oral History and Foster Oral History, among others.

20. Salmons went to Pinewoods as a teenager right after the war as a babysitter for Bob and Kathleen Hider. She took her first morris class with Louise Chapin, and when she returned to dance in New York in the 1960s after a decade's hiatus, she soon started to teach morris, in particular. Her background was in physics and systems analysis, but later in life, she became a physiotherapist. Salmons, telephone interview with the author, November 10, 2007.

21. Morrison interview.

22. Ibid.; Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 42–43.

23. Morrison interview.

24. Ibid.

25. "Genevieve Shimer," Phantom Ranch website, [www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer\\_g.htm](http://www.phantomranch.net/folkdanc/teachers/shimer_g.htm).

26. Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 42–43.

27. Gene Murrow, email to the ECD listserv, March 15, 1998, reprinted online by Alan Winston, <http://www-ssrl.slac.stanford.edu/~winston/ecd/gmurrow.htmlx> (accessed December 25, 2005); and Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 43–44.

28. Murrow email to the ECD listserv, March 15, 1998.

29. In 1973, the Royal Scottish Country Dance Society initiated a Scottish Dance Week. CDSS added a third week in 1950 for teachers and singers, which became two weeks in 1962 that were split into chamber (Early Music) and folk music weeks. In 1967, Family Week began. Helwig, "Pinewoods Camp"; Shimer, "Country Dance and Song Society," 45.

30. Belgium's thriving ECD community, with its well-regarded and internationally acclaimed choreographer-caller Philippe Callens, can be traced to Shaw's visits.

31. Salmons interview; Heffer and Porter, *Maggot Pie*.

32. Fried had met Shaw when he was teaching ECD in Amsterdam in 1948. Emigrating in 1961, she sought a place to live in London and a modest income, and Shaw invited her to stay with him. She emigrated to the United States two years later in 1963 and in the subsequent decades became a teacher for dance groups in Westchester County (a northern suburb of New York) and New York City. She was among the most prolific and arguably was the leading choreographer of the last quarter of the twentieth century. Herman Oral History; Fried de Metz Herman, on Paul B. Ross, *Fried de Metz Herman, Conversation with Paul B. Ross* (CD).

33. Schwab Oral History; Arthur and Helene Cornelius Oral History.

34. Thanks to Jenny Beer for the description of the "canon." Beer, email to the author, July 30, 2008.

35. Pat Shaw, in Rippon, "The English Country Dance."

36. Keller Oral History.

37. Schwab Oral History; Helene Cornelius in Arthur and Helene Cornelius Oral History. Helene noted that Sharp discussed his concern that he got siding wrong in the introduction to the sixth country dance book.

38. Schwab Oral History; Helene Cornelius, in Arthur and Helene Cornelius Oral History; Kitty Keller Oral History.

39. Helene Cornelius recalled, for instance, “[He] taught us all these wonderful country dances, many of which he’d written or he researched himself. And he also taught this amazing sword dance from the Shetland Islands, called ‘Papa Stour,’ and that was the first we had ever seen of that, a dance for seven people.” Helene Cornelius in Arthur and Helene Cornelius Oral History. Thanks, too, to David Millstone and Allison Thompson for clarifying the oral transcription. More typically, longsword dances such as those Sharp had collected have six or eight dancers.

40. John Ramsey commissioned the dance. Glenn Fulbright Oral History, Lenox, Massachusetts, June 13, 1999, ECDDP. Fulbright was at Pinewoods in 1974 and at the premiere of the dance in 1975.

41. Schwab Oral History; Arthur Cornelius in Arthur and Helene Cornelius Oral History. Uncannily, Schwab repeated almost word for word much of what Cornelius said about Shaw’s impact.

42. Murrow Oral History.

43. Ibid.

44. Christine Helwig Oral History, New Haven, Connecticut, June 1999, ECDDP.

45. Herman Oral History. ECD as a “living tradition” was repeated in several interviews, for example, Tanya Rotenberg Oral History, Pinewoods, August 1999, and Andreas Horton Oral History, Pinewoods, August 1999, ECDDP.

46. Shimer, “Country Dance and Song Society,” 42–43.

47. Ibid., 46; Morrison interview.

48. Dudley Laufman, quoted in Millstone, *The Other Way Back* (DVD). David Millstone, the producer of the DVD, reminded me of the reference.

49. David Chandler, email communication to the author, November 9, 2007; Morrison interview.

50. Brad Foster, telephone interview with the author, December 4, 2007. Foster’s view was largely confirmed in interviews and communications with Sue Salmons and David Chandler.

51. Salmons interview; David Millstone, email communication with the author, July 15, 2008.

52. Salmons interview; Boyes, *The Imagined Village*; Morrison interview; Chandler communication.

53. Salmons, Chandler, Millstone, and Morrison interviews and communications; “Princeton Country Dancers: The First Twenty Years,” generously donated to the author by Judy Klotz. For a good overview of pre-1980 morris dance in North America, see Morris Dancing Wiki, [http://morrisdancing.wikia.com/wiki/Pre-1980s\\_morris\\_in\\_North\\_America](http://morrisdancing.wikia.com/wiki/Pre-1980s_morris_in_North_America).

54. There is a rich literature on whiteness, notably, Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; and Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks*. In research I did in the 1960s for a graduate essay, I recall a Baptist newspaper justifying U.S. imperialism in 1898 by observing that Italians were “not quite white folks altogether.”

55. The Philadelphia ECD teacher, choreographer, and dancer Scott Higgs is developing a history of the Philadelphia story on the Internet, “An Informal History of Perdue’s English Dance,” <http://scotthiggs.com/perdhist.htm> (accessed February 2009).

56. Liz Snowden, email to Jenny Beer on behalf of the author, July 2008. Although Germantown Country Dancers meets weekly in suburban Lower Merion, it also holds monthly meetings at a Presbyterian church in the Mount Airy section of the city. The move to the suburbs in cities where narratives of crime carry racial subtexts seems also to have been replicated in other urban areas, where white, middle-class dance groups met in poor, black neighborhoods. The Baltimore group, for instance, also moved to a suburban location from Lovely Lane Church in downtown Baltimore because of fears of crime.

57. Rachel Winslow Oral History, Peter Ogle Oral History, and Ellie Nicklin Oral History, conducted with Stephanie Smith, Landsdown and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, June 19 and 20, 2004, ECDDP.

58. Foster, conversations with the author, December 2007; BACDS Papers, SFPALM.

59. Foster, conversations with the author, and Foster Oral History; "An Interview with Jody McGeen"; and Miscellany, BACDS Papers, SFPALM.

60. Foster, conversations with the author, and Foster Oral History; Jenny Beer, email communication with the author, July 30, 2008; and interview with Jody McGeen, *Bay Area Country Dancer*.

61. David Millstone, email communication to the author, December 2007.

62. Princeton Country Dancers, "10th Anniversary Celebration," and "Princeton Country Dancers: The First Twenty Years," both in the possession of the author, courtesy of Judy Klotz.

63. Ibid.

64. Princeton Country Dancers, "Princeton Country Dancers: The First Twenty Years."

65. Ibid.; Princeton Country Dancers, "10th Anniversary Celebration."

66. Beer, email communication with the author, May 2007. Swarthmore students learned Scottish from others as well. For instance, a Swarthmore chemistry professor, Bob McNair, had Scottish dance parties in his house. For a fuller account of folk dance at Swarthmore during the folk revival and the impact of the counterculture, see "If I Had a Song . . ." *Swarthmore Bulletin*, March 1997, available online at <http://www.swarthmore.edu/Admin/publications/bulletin/archive/97/mar97/folkfestivals.html>.

67. Allan Troxler, telephone interviews with the author, December 8–9, 2007; Duberman, *Stonewall*; "Carl Wittman," *The Knitting Circle* (website sponsored by the Lesbian and Gay Staff Association, South Bank University, London), n.d.; Highleyman, "Who Was Carl Wittman?"

68. The machismo reflected an abiding paternalism among the male SDS leadership that also stimulated radical women to form women's liberation groups.

69. Troxler described the process as a result of joint conversation between himself and Wittman, although Wittman as teacher put it into practice and authored the book on it. Troxler interviews. Also see Wittman, "A Report on One Group's Pursuit of English Dance in a Non-Sexist Context." Thanks, too, to Jenny Beer for the reference to "pinnies."

70. Troxler interviews; "About the Heather and the Rose Country Dancers," *The Heather and the Rose Country Dancers*, <http://www.opendoor.com/heatherandrose/about.html> (accessed December 9, 2007).

71. Troxler interviews; Helwig's support for Wittman is noted by Allan Troxler in his oral history: Allan Troxler Oral History, interview with Stephanie Smith, Durham, North Carolina, September 16, 2004, ECDDP.

72. Pat Petersen Oral History, interview with Stephanie Smith, Durham, North Carolina, September 17, 2004, ECDDP; Troxler interviews.

73. Ibid.

74. “A Chronology of Country Dance & Song in New York City, 1915–1997,” Country Dance \* New York website, [www.cdney.org/chronology.html](http://www.cdney.org/chronology.html).

75. Foster interview, December 2007.

76. Jenny Beer argues that the reason these dances are no longer done is a function of “class-based ‘taste,’” noting that “we have lots of people who sit down when a rant is on the program but who are Scottish dancers and seem to have no trouble doing skip change (the same step really) for 32 bars in THAT context!” Beer Oral History, Pinewoods, August 30, 2000, ECDDP.

77. Chandler, email to the author; personal observation by the author.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. Nugent, “Who’s a Nerd, Anyway?”

2. Fulbright Oral History.

3. Ibid.

4. Thom Yarnal Oral History with the author, Pinewoods, August 28, 2000, ECDDP; Murrow Oral History.

5. Murrow interview.

6. Sharon Green Oral History with the author, Pinewoods, August 28, 2000, and Mary Alison (pseudonym) Oral History with the author, Pinewoods, August 29, 2000, ECDDP.

7. Bealle, *Old-Time Music and Dance*.

8. Brooks, *Bobos in Paradise*.

9. Jennifer Beer, email to the author, December 11, 2000.

10. The documentary film *Mad Hot Ballroom* (2005) illustrated exactly that appeal. The film also showed how ballroom dance was used by middle-class teachers to uplift “urban urchins” and transform them into “little ladies and gentlemen” in ways both Cecil Sharp and Jane Addams would have understood.

11. D. Walkowitz, “ECD Dancer Survey.”

12. See *Country Dance and Song Society 2000–2001 Members List* (Haydenville, MA: Country Song and Dance Society: 2000). The society lists about thirty-six hundred individual and family members spread over every state in the Union and every province of Canada. It has members in fifteen other countries, though mostly in England and Denmark.

13. D. Walkowitz, “ECD Dancer Survey.”

14. My survey found one person who listed herself as mixed race, and she was dancing for only the second time. Ibid.

15. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*.

16. D. Walkowitz, “ECD Dancer Survey.” Although some had since retired, only a single person interviewed had an occupation outside this profile. Christine Helwig had been a town manager in Westchester County, New York.

17. Robin Hayden, email to the author, October 13, 2002.

18. The estimated twenty-five hundred new dances written since 1930 must be seen against the estimated twenty-seven thousand country dances and tunes that were published in England between 1700 and 1830. Thompson, “Exploring Modern Choreographies in English Country Dance,” 16, and posting to the ECD listserv, February 21, 2006. Thompson starting using the term MECD around the same time as I did, and she uses it in this listserv posting.



19. Thompson, "Exploring Modern Choreographies," 6–7.
20. Paul Stamler, tabulation posted on the ECD listserv, July 25, 2007.
21. Barnes Oral History; Schwab Oral History. See also the Canis Publishing website, [www.canispublishing.com/](http://www.canispublishing.com/).
22. Thompson, in "Exploring Modern Choreographies," writing as a musician, dancer, and historian, describes the modern dance style.
23. Colin Hume, email to Gene Murrow, June 5, 2007. Thanks to Gene Murrow, who produced Bare Necessities' recordings, for sharing Hume's email with me.
24. Barnes Oral History.
25. See back-page advertisements in *CDSS News*, ca. 1995–2009.
26. Fulbright Oral History.
27. In conversations with me at the Stanford Humanities Center in 2001–2, the ethnomusicologist Mark Perlman usefully suggested distinguishing national dance traditions from those in which people do "other" people's dances. My sense of the diverse and non-Scandinavian background of this dance community in the 1980s and 1990s comes as a participant-observer in Southern California, New York, and elsewhere.
28. Participant observation by the author.
29. Bob Archer Oral History, Pinewoods, August 1999, ECDDP.
30. Pat Ruggiero Oral History, Pinewoods, August 2000, ECDDP.
31. My collaborator on the ECD Documentation Project, Stephanie Smith, develops this discourse further in a coauthored essay, Smith and Beer, "The Dancer Within," 1–7.
32. Yarnal Oral History.
33. Alison Oral History.
34. Ruggiero Oral History.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Jennifer Beer, conversations with the author, July 2008, New York City and email.
38. Beer Oral History.
39. Ibid.
40. Godwin, in "City Folk Who Feel the Call of the Do-Si-Do," describes gay square dancing in New York City. In 2008, gay square dances flourished in Boston, New York, and San Francisco, but the International Association of Gay Square Dance Clubs (IAGSDC; website [www.iagsdc.org](http://www.iagsdc.org)) listed sixty-one clubs across the United States, ranging from Phoenix and Seattle to Milwaukee and Memphis and Burlington and Ft. Lauderdale. Gay contra dances were less extensive but still outpaced those for English Country Dance. Again, Boston, New York, and San Francisco were mainstay groups, but the Lavender Country and Folk Dancers website ([www.lcfd.org](http://www.lcfd.org)) also listed groups in Albany, Syracuse, and Atlanta.
41. D. Walkowitz, "ECD Dancer Survey."
42. Beer Oral History.
43. Barnes Oral History; and participant observation by the author of Barnes's dancing and reactions of the community for the past fifteen years. Also Beer, in various conversations with the author.
44. Troxler Oral History.
45. Beer Oral History and conversations with the author.

46. Much has been written on the relationship between race and liberalism. See, for example, Stein, *Running Steel, Running America*; Fraser and Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*; and Stromquist, *Reinventing "The People."*

47. Murrow Oral History. Also see Ruggiero Oral History; Green Oral History; Broadbridge Oral History; Alison Oral History; Beer Oral History.

48. Ruggiero Oral History; Beer Oral History; Murrow Oral History; Alison Oral History.

49. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness*; Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*; Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*; Brodtkin, *How Jews Became White Folks*.

50. I develop the idea that the cities were "blackened" in public imaginings in the 1950s with the rise of suburbs as safe white alternative spaces in Walkowitz, *Working with Class*, chap. 7.

51. Nugent, "Who's A Nerd, Anyway?"

52. Ruggiero Oral History; Yarnal Oral History.

53. Yarnal Oral History; Ruggiero Oral History; Green Oral History; Murrow Oral History; Alison Oral History; Beer Oral History.

54. Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*; Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*.

55. Thanks to Jennifer Beer for the formulation of these people as "reluctantly modern."

56. George Whitesides Oral History, Lenox, Massachusetts, June 14, 1999, ECDDP.

#### NOTES TO THE CONCLUSION

1. Stephanie Smith, in one of many conversations with the author.

2. Broadbridge Oral History.

3. Colin Hume Oral History, London, November 6, 2002, EDDDP.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Participant observation by the author, confirmed in conversation with many dancers on both sides of the Atlantic.

7. Allison Thompson, posting on the ECD listserv, March 30, 2006, with a response from Michael Barraclough, March 31, 2006.

8. Brinkley, *The End of Reform*; Stein, *Running Steel, Running America*; Plotke, *Building a Democratic Political Order*. Also see Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*; Fraser and Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order*; Gerstle, *American Crucible*.

9. Reiser, "Secularization Reconsidered," 143.

10. See Tompkins, *Sensational Designs*, xi, xvi; Foucault, *History of Sexuality*. These citations appear in Volpe, "Cartes de Visite," 157–69.

11. Putnam, "Bowling Alone," 65–78, and *Bowling Alone*. In the defining anecdote of the introduction to Putnam's book, a thirty-three-year-old accountant, Andy Boschma, presumably with little in common with John Lambert, a retired hospital worker almost twice his age, "casually" learns of the latter's need for a kidney and donates one of his. The two men knew each other only through their participation together in a bowling league. Putnam's punch line: the bowling association allows Boschma, a white man, to traverse the United States' racial chasm in aiding Lambert, an African American.

12. In the award-winning documentary film *Mad Hot Ballroom* (2005), which chronicles a ballroom dance competition among New York City schoolchildren, teach-

ers' descriptions of the dance floor as an alternative to the enticing pitfalls of street life echo language used by Cecil Sharp and Jane Addams almost a century earlier about the palliative effects of folk dance on urban immigrant youth. The teachers gently prod the eleven-year-old boys and girls into the formal postures, dance holds, and etiquette of the ballroom dance. As the children dance, bow and curtsy, and walk arm in arm onto and off the dance floor, one teacher proudly and tearfully summarizes their transformation from urban street toughs to "ladies and gentlemen."

13. Molotch coined the term NYLON to describe the three-year, twice-annual seminar of London and New York urbanists that met between 2004 and 2007. Molotch and the author organized the American participants. The sociologist Richard Sennett ran a parallel graduate seminar at the time that may have used the same acronym.

14. Many British dancers pass through New York City and show up at the CD\*NY dance that I attend. There are also regular tours to England and elsewhere by at least three American dance leaders. Advertisements come through email solicitations and can be found on the back page of the *EFDS News* and the *CDSS News*.

15. Herman Oral History.

16. Judith Hanson and her husband, Michael, and their two sons live in St. Johns Wood, a fashionable north London inner suburb a couple miles from Cecil Sharp House. Michael was a Labour government economist; Judith took primary responsibility for child rearing.

17. Judith Hanson, in conversation with the author at CD\*NY's Weekend Whirligig in Spring Lake, New York, October 2008. Judith and Michael had returned to the States to experience higher-quality English Country Dance.