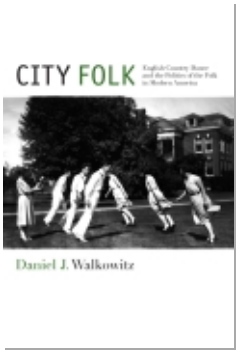
1 Revival Stories



1

Revival Stories

> These old forms of dancing, which have been worked out in many lands and through long experiences, safeguard unwary and dangerous expression and yet afford a vehicle through which the gaiety of youth may flow. Their forms are indeed those which lie at the basis of all good breeding, forms which at once express and restrain, urge forward and set limits.
>
> —Jane Addams, 1910[1]

Boxing Day 1899. Cecil Sharp, the music master at Ludgrove, a boys' preparatory school mainly for Eton, was spending the Christmas holiday with his wife's family at Sandfield Cottage, Headington, just east of Oxford. Sharp's career up to then had been one of modest achievement; the son of a London slate merchant, he could, in fact, have been described as downwardly mobile. Ill health and a nervous disposition, from which he seemed to suffer throughout his life, forced him to drop out of public school in 1874. He subsequently completed a degree in mathematics at Clare College, Cambridge, but with little enthusiasm or any particular distinction. Seeing him at sixes and sevens, his father sent him to Australia to sort out his career. There, apparently having inherited his mother's love for music, he found his métier as a music teacher, at one point briefly teaching the royal princesses. Now, as Sharp looked out the window at the snowy Christmas scene before him, an extraordinary musical sight came into view that would forever transform him and the history of English Country Dance. His biographers describe what Sharp would always refer to as "the turning point of his life": "eight men dressed in white, decorated with ribbons, with pads of small latten-bells strapped to their shins, carrying coloured sticks and white handkerchiefs; accompanying them was a concertina-player and a man dressed as a 'Fool.'" The concertina player "struck up an invigorating tune, the like of which Sharp had never heard before," and as the men jumped and cavorted, waving their handkerchiefs, "the bells marked the rhythm of the dance."[2]

Sharp was witnessing the morris dance "Laudnum Bunches." When the quarrymen finished, they picked up their sticks and danced "Bean Setting," followed by three other dances. Their performance having concluded, the men apologized for being out that day; they knew the proper time was Whitsun, but they were out of work and danced in the hope of gaining a few pennies. There is no record of how Sharp responded to their need, though one imagines he understood the rules of deference, class, and charity, especially at Christmas. It was the dancing, however, and not the men's need that captivated Sharp: according to his collaborator and secretary, Maud Karpeles, "He felt that a new work of beauty had been revealed to him." The concertina player, a young man of twenty-seven named William Kimber Jr., agreed to help Sharp transcribe these five dances and more the next day, and the rest is, as they say, history. Sharp, usually credited as one of the leaders, if not the leader, of the folk revival in England and the United States, spent the rest of his life collecting folk song and dance; William Kimber was his first and foremost informant.[3]

Like all good foundational stories, the Boxing Day revelation has taken on a life of its own in the history of the folk revival. The site even has a historical plaque commemorating the event. In the following decade, Sharp emerged as the head of the English folk dance movement, and in the subsequent struggle over leadership and authority over the movement, the story stands as a tale told by the winner, as history usually is. To be sure, Cecil Sharp was an extraordinary man who embarked on extraordinary adventures in England and the United States. He was also a man who did remarkable and pioneering work in documenting, transmitting, and building English Country Dance on both sides of the Atlantic. Although he was never particularly rich, he had all the advantages of an elite Cambridge education and combined the traits of a thoroughgoing bourgeois with those of the intellectual mandarin class: that is, his materialism was tempered by a patrician disdain to be too public about the need for money. Lingering effects of his provisional association with Fabian socialism meant he brought a fundamental sympathy with the working class and rural folk to his work, but he did so with more than a patina of paternalism. This tension was also at the core of the liberal problematic in the United States in the Progressive Era, and it makes Sharp's career a metonym for the culture of liberalism.

Sharp's achievements in collecting song and dance should not be minimized, although historians have disagreed on the nature and impact of his political attitudes toward his respondents. At one end are the critics who see Sharp as a misogynist, elitist, and Puritan. These views range from criticism

William Kimber, Jr. (Reproduced courtesy of EFDSS)

by the historian David Harker that Sharp's project was less about folk revival and recovery than about social control and fabrication—the invention of the folk as a reductio ad absurdum. Critical but more appreciative is Henry D. Shapiro's patronizing portrayal of Sharp's collaboration in the United States with the folklorist Olive Dame Campbell and his proselytizing for the "inherent value of the naïf culture of Appalachia."[4] Against these views, folklorist-historians Archie Green and David Whisnant have put forth compelling evidence of Sharp's progressive views. They paint a picture of Sharp the collaborator as consistently evenhanded and responsible, and noting his Fabian socialism, both reference his 1920 letter to the Russell Sage Foundation's John Glenn in support of the Welsh miners' strike. The miners had struck, Sharp wrote, because of their "determination not to work for anybody's profit. . . . Capital they say should be well rewarded but no more, and should not make surplus profits." Continuing on a personal level, Sharp wrote, "I feel that the

organization of industry has somewhere or other to be radically changed. Men won't work like slaves with the fear of unemployment constantly before their eyes." With the memory of events in eastern Europe fresh in mind, he concluded that there was "enough discontent to lead a dozen revolutions."[5]

However, Sharp's biographers (hagiographers is probably more accurate), Maud Karpeles and Fox Strangways, were the first to acknowledge the limits of Sharp's Fabian socialism. Sharp supported the Liberals and, later, Labour. But Karpeles remembers that he liked to "air his Radical views and 'pull the legs of the Tories,'" and his characterization of himself as a "conservative Socialist" seems spot on. He joined the Fabian Society in December 1900, but he also enrolled in the Navy League. His intellectual tastes further reflected the lengths and limits of his progressive cosmopolitanism: he loved Schöpenhauer and Ibsen and admired the modern dancer Ruth St. Denis and the Diaghilev Ballet. At the same time, he opposed capital punishment and female suffrage, though Karpeles, his devoted assistant and ever his defender, insisted he mostly opposed the suffragettes' militancy.[6] The record is less equivocal: he gave token support to his sister, the bohemian and militant suffragist Evelyn Sharp. They infrequently corresponded, but she wrote him upon her release from Holloway prison, where she had been force fed: "I quite agree to the absurdity of quarrelling because we differ on Woman Suffrage; but then, I never thought of such a thing. For one thing, I have yet to be convinced that you are a confirmed 'Anti.'"[7] In fact, though Sharp may have supported suffragists in theory (and if they assumed passive, deliberative roles), he opposed their assertive practice. His one letter on the subject reveals his wariness. His hostility and anxiety about the subject was sufficiently pressed on Helen Storrow, a benefactor to Sharp and the American Country Dance movement and grande dame of the Boston English Country Dance community, that she felt compelled to warn him in 1915 about the women he would meet when he was to teach country dance at Wellesley College. Writing Karpeles about the forthcoming encounter, Sharp mused nervously, "The W. [Wellesley] people are all suffragists Mrs. Storrow says and have behaved like the maniacs of that persuasion!"[8]

Indeed, the historian Georgina Boyes's view of Sharp as one who "politically, philosophically and in personal terms . . . disliked change" seems on the mark. Boyes, though focused on the folk revival in England and not in the United States, provides a careful feminist and radical analysis of Sharp and the contested political world of prewar London. She reminds us that the traditions he transmitted, as in all such conversions, were inventions shaped by his frustrated social aspirations and class and gender prejudices. Still,

though he never appeared out of character as the English gentleman, this often quite sickly man nonetheless completed a series of remarkably rigorous travels through Appalachia to gather folk songs. Sharp's social distance from his respondents never seemed to stymie his collecting: walking the mountain valleys, the collector continually established rapport—and even won affection—with rural poor people who shared their tunes with him. But, then, having learned their songs and dances, Sharp would replicate the strategies he had followed in England, a hint of which is evident in the paternal deference that characterized his Boxing Day meeting with the Headington quarrymen: he might give them a few "honest pennies" they sought, but he would return to the metropolis, put on his waistcoat, and present the folk songs and dances in respectable dress both actual and metaphorical; in a remarkable class transmogrification, he took "tradition" from the "peasantry," dressed it up, and trained "respectable" elite women to teach immigrants from "peasant" backgrounds in settlement houses the "proper" form that supposedly conveyed the innate spirit of the country folk.[9]

This was Sharp the missionary to others; what is striking about his travels in the United States between 1914 and 1917 is the equal passion he generated among recreational dancers committed to English Country Dance for their own pleasure. To be sure, the bourgeois elite whom Sharp attracted to his emergent dance community shared the sociopolitical mission that had driven Sharp. They, too, were impelled to preserve the "authentic," "natural" spirit of the "peasantry" and reinvigorate the English "race." Yet at the same time, many of these same devotees worked in the playgrounds and settlements to help immigrant children preserve and respect their own cultures, in good part as a way of teaching them respect for their parents and tradition. Against these cultures, the folk dance teachers trained by Sharp and his acolytes asserted the majesty and vitality of Anglo-English culture in English Country Dance—and by extension, the vigor of English political and social institutions.

Cecil Sharp is a central player in this story, but he properly belongs aside the story of many others. Although the Boxing Day foundational story places Sharp at the center of the folk revival, where he surely belongs, it obscures the way he got there and the significant role of some important other figures he sought to diminish in order to establish his own authority, women such as New York's Elizabeth Burchenal and London's Mary Neal. Such women went on to have distinguished careers, but often despite rather than because of Sharp. Still, these conflicts dramatize the significance of gender to this story—both in the traditionally coupled structure of the dance and in the significantly new public roles taken on by women in the dance revival that

is highlighted by Burchenal, Neal, and many other women, most notably Boston's Helen Storrow and Louise Chapin, Sharp's collaborator and assistant Maud Karpeles, Chicago's Mary Wood Hinman, and two Sharp student-teachers who settled in the United States after his death to direct his efforts there, Lily Conant (née Roberts) and May Gadd.

But first, I turn to the transformations of the city that excited Progressive reformers such as these women to seek the renovation of the urban spirit and the "race" in the revival of English Country Dance. Because the culture of liberalism is both personal and political, this chapter focuses on the social and economic conditions at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century that drew the liberal professional class in the United States and England to this project. It also illustrates the larger transnational context for the revivals that Cecil Sharp helped organize in both England and the United States around English Country Dance.

This chapter does not proceed with a strictly historical account. It introduces some of the major threads that weave together to provide the complex fabric that is the history of English Country Dance in the twentieth century. After a review of the material conditions in the industrial city at the end of the nineteenth century, in which calls for revival echoed, the chapter moves between themes that interweave at different stages in the history, and often to different effect. The discussion moves from discourses on the body to histories of reform to the folk revival, but one theme is never far from another. Concerns voiced by Progressive reformers over dangers from and to gendered bodies cross with interests in social control and cultural amelioration. And the romantic views of peasants and the folk mix with Anglo-Saxon and white imperial ambitions to revitalize the "race."

City Trouble

The transformation of England and the United States into urbanized centers of industrial and finance capital by the beginning of the twentieth century disrupted familiar patterns of daily life, social relations, and public culture and generated new social and cultural anxieties. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the rise of industrial capitalism and the market economy transformed independent artisanal work relations into dependent wage labor in routinized workplaces. Historians' images of "Satan's Strongholds" in industrial villages and of the grinding poverty that accompanied metropolitan industrialization in New York and London have captured the disruptive character of this transformation.[10]

After 1880, as industry became increasingly characterized by oligarchy and monopoly, industrialists and manufacturers continually fought to lower costs to survive in the increasingly competitive marketplace. They had a range of strategies, but most came down to either increasing production quotas or employing cheaper labor. Taylorism, the breaking down of tasks into "efficient" small pieces that could be easily learned and repeated at faster and faster speeds, was one answer; deskilling work, displacing work with machines or employing low-paid women, African Americans, children, or immigrants desperate to earn some money, was another. Migrants from the South, often African Americans, provided one source of cheap labor, but the massive influx of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe to cities such as Chicago and New York provided the largest source of such labor. Many of them were "swarthy" Mediterraneans or Semites; moreover, often they were Catholic or Jewish and spoke foreign tongues. Some were people who had been pushed off failing farms in Ireland or New England; others arrived to avoid repressive political regimes, whether it was conscription into the Czar's army, pogroms, antiradicalism (e.g., accompanying the Revolutions of 1848), or southern lynch mobs. Often desperate, they were simultaneously attracted by the promise of a new life and decent job. Of course, as often as not, the job was not so decent, because under the ruthless pressures of competition, manufacturers continually cut wages, increased production quotas, and displaced anyone who objected with someone who would be more compliant (and, not uncommonly, who was willing to work for less).[11]

As significant as the transformations in economic life were the class tensions they unleashed. The working class had been "made" in the 1830s in both countries, but as manufacture expanded, class differences became the grammar of the everyday struggle for daily survival for majorities of the population at the end of the century. The economic crisis of the 1870s in both countries—the first industrial depression—hastened the decline felt by workers and emphasized awareness of the differences between dependent labor and the elites and middling sorts above them. For example, following on the fears excited by news of the Paris Commune in 1871, business-oriented city fathers enacted vagrancy laws, transforming the respectable tradition of the tramping artisan into the new figure of the disreputable tramp.[12] Workers, not surprisingly, resisted what they understood as encroachments on their jobs and their ability to feed their families with militant trade unions and bitter strikes. Indeed, as the century drew to a close, populists and socialists (and anarcho-syndicalist movements on the horizon) raised concerns of class warfare—the "classes versus the masses"—in both England and the United States.

Equally important to the class antagonism were heightened gender anxieties that accompanied the changing social relations wrought by industrialization. Financial need both attracted and pushed working women into factories during early industrialization; by midcentury, those who had no such need created an ideology that condemned such work outside the home as immoral, what historians have called the Cult of True Womanhood. True Womanhood ideology of the privileged class complained about the suspect morality of "factory girls," while it took the luxury of celebrating woman in the hearth as mother and wife. Of course, working-class parents, dependent on their own and their children's labor to survive, also worried that their young daughters working in factories, no longer under their daily supervision, were at risk from dangerous machines and lecherous male overseers.

By early in the twentieth century, and regularly thereafter, the shift from production to service work, distribution, and consumption unleashed new anxieties about the role of women at work and at home. The rise of white-collar clerical and service, such as the burgeoning of the garment industry to meet the rising consumer ethos, gave women new visible roles both in the sweated labor and in the social-service industries that arose to redress it. There were class inflections to gendered policy, to be sure, as affluent wives and daughters joined with trade-union women to advance maternalist protective legislation for factory girls and children (but not for working-class men, whose leaders were themselves often only too happy to remove the threat of cheap female labor).

The class and gendered anxieties set in motion by the turn-of-the-century industrial transformations had one more characteristic critical to this story: ethnic identity. Industrial capitalism's intensifying drive for more and cheaper labor also transformed the urban character of England and the United States, and the role of foreigners in the city only increased old-timers' anxieties about the changes. In the United States, new immigrants from eastern, central, and southern Europe took the place of the Irish, Scots, English, Germans, Nordics, and French Canadians who had dominated earlier immigration. The Irish as foreigner continued to occupy a large place in the English imaginary, but he was joined by the Jew and the Italian by the end of the century. These newcomers, one seen as "swarthy," the other as "olive-skinned" Mediterranean, were thus racial "others" with accents, languages, and customs that those who were already present found strange.

The influx of migrants and immigrants also intensified the pace of urbanization and renewed the traditional romance with rural values on both sides of the Atlantic. In England, the 1851 census reported that as many people

lived in cities as in the country, with 8.95 million in each sphere; in 1881, it reported that two-thirds of the population was urban.[13] In the United States, the federal census announced the split seventy years later in 1920, but the census pronouncement that the frontier had disappeared in 1890 was equally momentous. As Frederick Jackson Turner warned historians in his presidential address to the American Historical Association in 1893, the end of the frontier sounded the death knell to the foundational American democratic experience as it closed the "safety valve" that had provided release from the pressure of overheated urban life.[14]

The putative end of the frontier and coincident growth of cities quickened the interest in the recuperative power of rural idylls, represented in images of the Village Green and the Yeoman Farmer that had long been seen as the repositories of national virtue. The early asylums of the 1830s, for example, were described as "retreats" located on the city outskirts in rural settings where they were thought to provide a relief from urban anomie, neurasthenia (which was more often diagnosed for upper-class women), and crime induced by the pressures of city life. And most famously, of course, Foucault has highlighted the supervisory character of the inmate body in these institutions in his analysis of the architecture of the Panopticon.[15] The development of the immigrant city (whether it be Chicago and New York or Manchester and London) over the course of the rest of the century further threatened the historical importance Englishmen and Americans credited to rural life and, if anything, intensified these rural idylls. Thus, revivalists across northern Europe and the United States embraced folk traditions, in all their art forms, to capture a vital "pure" essence from the countryside that could rejuvenate the dissipated modern urban industrial body.

Bodies at Risk

By the turn of the century, many urban reformers had come to understand urban industrialization as a crisis of the body. Cramped factory conditions characterized the new mass-production industries in which workers remained tethered to machines for upward of twelve hours a day, six days a week, in debilitating conditions. Seen as "teeming hoards," the urban bourgeoisie worried about immigrants who crowded the streets of London and New York and filled cramped tenements, strained the educational system, and taxed sanitation and public services. To be sure, reformers moved to implement new tenement laws and city planning, but changes did little to alleviate the cramped conditions of those who continued to crowd into

them. Teenagers and young adults continued to work ten or more hour days in confining factories. Labor legislation increasingly freed many children from factories, but the new kindergartens and public schools now confined them in regimented days at cramped desks. Thus, reformers saw working-class bodies massed in dank rooms, confined into factories, and crowded into schools for long hours in small cramped desk spaces. And leisure-time activities were no less worrisome. Unchaperoned girls and boys gadding about in the streets were one problem; of greater concern was the temptation of the dance halls, where liquor and the vertigo of the "spieling" (fast-turning pivot) dances threatened loss of control.[16]

These worries, which were compounded by fears about the fragility of the female body, radical politics, the suspect moral values of a militant working class, and the imperial needs of the nation, gave increased urgency to the new Progressive reform movement. A complex movement, Progressives sought to ameliorate the ways in which urban industrial life confined bodies and jeopardized democracy. Progressives' answers employed "efficient" plans implemented by "experts," at the same time as they sought to bring their own sense of order to control over it. Their concerns, often focusing on play in all its physical and moral varieties, took them from considerations of Physical Culture to Modern Dance and then to Folkdance and English Country Dance in particular. Worried about the debilitating effects of city life, factories, and immigrant "peasant" cultures for urban success, they focused on those for whom they thought they could have the greatest impact: children, who were thought to be more easily organized and malleable than adults.[17]

Working men had fought for shorter hours and public schools since the 1830s and '40s, but many families depended on labor from their children. Starting in Massachusetts in the early 1880s, professional educators and industrial reformers, with scarce attention to family economy, led the fight to get children out of factories and into schools. Appropriately, that same decade witnessed the development of the kindergarten movement to give working-class children an early introduction to American urban socialization. Subsequent protective labor legislation during the Progressive Era completed the process of requiring public education for children.

Getting children out of factories merely raised other questions: What was to be done at school to counter the debilitating conditions of constricting desks and day-long confining routines? What was to be constituted as a "meaningful," that is, "constructive," form of play? and Who was to teach it? The questions, like the answers to them, were transatlantic. One set of answers combined beliefs in the rehabilitative power of nature ("fresh air")

and survival skills rooted in handcraft and ingenuity with imperial ambitions of the American and British empires. Thus, reformers such as Sir Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell (1857–1941) initiated the Boy Scouts in England in 1908; Girl Guides were established there two years later. Meanwhile, in the United States, Daniel Carter Beard (1850–1941), in order to keep the spirit of the pioneers alive, in 1905 created Boy Pioneers (it had evolved from his Society of the Sons of Daniel Boone), the largest boys club in the country. And in 1911, Beard organized the American Boy Scouts.

Organizations for girls soon followed. Juliette Gordon Low met Baden-Powell in 1911, the same year the Girl Guides were established. A year later, Low established the Girl Scouts of America, and that same year Luther Halsey Gulick Jr. (1865–1918) and his wife, Charlotte, held the founding meeting of the Camp Fire Girls of America in Vermont.[18] These groups were part and parcel of movements to create "productive" play based on notions of craft tradition drawn from the virtues of "pioneer" life. The groups were also integral to the imperial moment as they created reward systems (badges) for completing skills seen as essential to muscular Christianity for men and domestic Christianity for women. So, not surprisingly, these groups and the people such as Gulick and others who joined him, played important roles in various efforts to develop folk dance as a feature of healthy play for young boys and girls in the city during these same years.[19]

Two other major Progressive Era sites were the center of reformers' focus on children's bodies: the settlement and the playground or schoolyard. The Settlement House movement began with the establishment of Toynbee Hall in 1884 by Samuel Augustus Bennett, the canon of St. Jude's Church in the Whitechapel district of London's East End. Named for the social reformer Arnold Toynbee, its origins reflected the combination of Christian and socialist missions to the poor that characterized much transatlantic Progressive Era reform. The social reformer and Ethical Culture leader Stanton Coit (1857–1944) visited Toynbee Hall in 1886 and the next year opened the first settlement house in the United States, Neighborhood Guild, on the Lower East Side in New York. In 1888, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr visited Toynbee Hall, and by the next year they had opened Hull-House in Chicago to provide education and social services to the immigrant communities there. Within a decade, the settlement movement had spread widely in both countries; the United States counted over a hundred settlements by 1900 and more than four times that number a decade later. Many of the most famous were led by socialist-inspired women such as Lillian Wald and Mary Simkovitch, who pioneered public-health efforts and public-housing reform; the major-

ity operated in the shadow of the Charity Organization Society and focused more on self-help. All sought to be "helpful" in teaching immigrants how to adjust or survive better, combining skills in language and budgets with lessons on interclass dialogue and cooperation as the basis of democracy.[20]

The second reform space created at this time—the schoolyard or playground—was equally significant as a site for play. Boston opened the first playground—three piles of yellow sand in a yard of the Children's Mission—in 1885. By 1899, thirteen cities had opened them. New York City opened thirty-one supervised playgrounds between 1899 and 1906, when Gulick and Henry S. Curtis organized the Playground Association of America (PAA).

Curtis has been credited with originating the idea of a Playground Association. A student of the renowned Clark University child psychologist G. Stanley Hall, Curtis traveled to England in 1902 to study the recreational system there. He found its reliance on gymnastics too militaristic and determined to create an American system more oriented toward team play that would be more democratic. Appointed director of the New York City playground system, he found himself working closely with the director of the city's public-school physical-education program, Luther Gulick.[21]

Gulick, the New York medical doctor who, as I have already noted, with his wife established the Camp Fire Girls in 1911, had taught at Springfield International YMCA Training School when James A. Naismith, at Gulick's request to create an indoor game that was not too rough, invented basketball there in 1891.[22] A decade later, Gulick found himself in the modern city, "where there is as much need for fighters as there ever was" but where boys have "been made lax." The "modern city," he complained, produces "ease, mushiness, softness" in the world. Adults have baseball, yachting, and hunting (though presumably not in the city!); hence, he continued, boys need boxing and football: "If there ever was the need for a stiff-backed boy, it is in the modern city."[23] Gulick's initial response was to found the New York Public Schools Athletic League (PSAL), for which in 1903 he became the first director of physical training. But Gulick also realized that his major problem was not the boys: most schools already had the physical education programs in place for boys. Rather, the pressing need was a program for girls. As Curtis stated, "From every point of view the girls are our great national problem." Man's work has become more subject to mechanization, but not women's. Girls tend to "sit about and gossip or play jackstraws" if no provision is made for them; "vigorous health and a good physique are always among the chief charms of women, . . . [and] childbirth has become more and more difficult with succeeding generations." The result for women, he warned, is greater sterility,

dread of childbirth, and less ability to nurse babies. And the answer is play: "the school and community need to put very much greater emphasis on play and physical activity for girls, especially during the period before puberty."[24]

Gulick's answer was the Girls' Branch of the PSAL. Founded by Jessie Bancroft in 1905, with the support of two prominent wealthy reformers, Grace Dodge and Ellen Speyer, much of the leadership fell to Elizabeth Burchenal, a woman who as a pioneer of the American folk dance movement is a major part of this story.[25] But Gulick had a second institutional response as well: in Washington, DC, on April 12, 1906, Gulick and Curtis founded the Playground Association. The president of the United States, Teddy Roosevelt, was made honorary president of the association, and the muckraking reformer Jacob Riis was made honorary vice president. Gulick served as president and Curtis as secretary and acting treasurer. The group quickly moved to enact legislation in New York State mandating minimums for school recesses and physical education. And within two years, they had national results: by 1907, fifty-seven cities reported that they had 836 playgrounds for which maintenance costs were $904,102.[26] The New York Branch, headed by Gulick, was an eclectic group that counted among its leaders Curtis and Progressive settlement leaders such as Lillian Wald and Mary Simkovitch, as well as the conservative Boston philanthropist James Lee, who supported the Immigration Restriction League.[27]

What, however, was to be done in the playgrounds? For possible answers, reformers looked to various programs for enriching the culture of the body through movement that had emerged in the nineteenth century, both in Europe and North America: exercise and dance.

Physical Culture

Most working people could not escape to the countryside, so reformers sought alternatives to fresh air and rural space in exercises that could be practiced in relatively small internal facilities. The answer, drawn from strong, "manly" conceptions of the northern European (and white) body, came from physical culture and what in the schools came to be known as physical education.

Luther Gulick emphasized how muscular exercise could address the twin problems of urbanization and industrialization on worker bodies. Urbanization had transformed daily life: less than 4 percent of Americans had lived in cities and villages in 1790; 40.2 percent in 1900 no longer lived in "country districts." Certain eastern states had become virtual urban enclaves with no

green space: in Massachusetts in 1900 only 8.5 percent lived in rural areas, and in New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, the figure was only about 25 percent. At the same time as Gulick bemoaned the lack of rural space for exercise, he observed that the growth of machine production resulted in fewer muscular movements by workers, and those they did make were often repetitive. Trade unionists might complain about routinized work in confined spaces, but Gulick's concern was that modern industrial life had replaced more arduous farm labor with work that involved little more in his mind (as he did none of it) than "tending machines."[28]

Gulick rehearsed the gendered systems of gymnastic practices that had grown up in the United States during the nineteenth century, on which one could draw for training the male and female body.[29] The earliest forms, attributed by Gulick to the Germans and Swedish, emphasized gymnastic exercises that could produce the healthy male body in particular. The first of these, pioneered by the Prussian "father of gymnastics," Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), early in the nineteenth century, was introduced to the United States (and presumably to England) by German refugees from the failed revolution of 1848.[30] A second system, named after the founder of Swedish Gymnastic Movements, Peter Henry Ling (1776–1837), gained favor in the 1870s. In contrast to the German emphasis on muscular development for men, the Ling system focused on suppleness.[31] By the turn of the century, a third form of exercise emerged, an "American system" pioneered by Harvard medical doctor Dudley A. Sargent. Celebrating the "well-rounded body," Sargent worked with his male students at the college and developed a system of weight machines to tailor physical training to an individual's body shape and needs.[32]

Finally, a fourth exercise system that followed the work of the Frenchman François Delsarte (1811–1871) gained currency at the turn of the century as a system of "harmonious gymnastics" for the female body. Less a form of physical exercise than a set of gentle movements and breathing techniques, the Delsarte method reflected how gendered and class-specific routines came to characterize turn-of-the-century concerns with the healthy body: it was thought most appropriate for elite female bodies, for which hard physical work was considered neither appropriate nor usual.

The Americanized form of the Delsarte system produced gendered "relaxed harmonious bodies" in keeping with concerns that had emerged over the course of the nineteenth century about what the physician Edward H. Clarke in 1873 had warned of as emotional and physical dangers to women's reproductive organs. In his 1873 book, *Sex in Education: A Fair Chance for Girls*, Clarke warned that exercise routines and coeducation more gener-

ally stressed women's unique fragile physiognomy. Women, he explained, are distinguished from men in reproductive organs, and these organs are at their most formative stage in the early teens. Citing seven cases of young women who exerted themselves in study and work (trying to succeed "like a man"), in which he found reproductive systems suffered, Clarke concluded that girls between fourteen and eighteen years old should not study as much as boys. Young women, he continued, jeopardize their "special apparatus" when they use as much "brain work as boys." Woman is "dowered with a set of organs specific to herself," and therefore, in the "interest of the race," coeducation should proceed with different regimes for boys and girls.[33]

Turn-of-the-century reformers embraced the gentle movements of the Delsarte exercise regime as an alternative bodily regime. After studying with Delsarte in Paris, theater innovator Steele MacKaye (1842–1894) developed a program for training actors in his New York acting company that replaced gymnastics equipment with deep-breathing exercises and training in graceful methods of reclining and fainting. Genevieve Stebbins (1857–1914?), a onetime actress and collaborator with Steele, popularized this system of techniques in her book, *Delsarte System of Expression*, and institutionalized it in the New York School of Expression, which she founded at Carnegie Music Hall in 1893. Her book, reprinted six times by 1902, reflected the substantial popularity of the system among the educated reading public. As important, as the focus on fainting suggests, the Delsarte method mirrored the gendered and class nature of emerging physical education. Even as reformers mobilized to teach immigrant girls to combat the enervating effects of industrial urban living, the Delsarte system addressed the neurasthenia-prone elite female body.[34]

Educators worked to institutionalize these developments in physical culture in the last quarter of the nineteenth century as physical education tailored for men and women. In the United States, Sargent's programs become cornerstones of new Normal Schools that began as single-sex schools for girls or for boys in the 1860s. By the 1880s, these new schools were training teachers for public-school physical-education programs. Such training became an integral element of teacher education generally and explains how it is that college-level dance programs became institutionalized in schools of education.

Reformers emphasized that bodily education was important for those who were beyond school years as well, and exercise became a cornerstone of the YMCA movement that emerged on both sides of the Atlantic during this era. Writing in 1920, Gulick approvingly noted that five hundred YMCA gyms

with one hundred thousand members had been established in the United States since 1870. The underlying goal of moral virility may have meant little more than cold showers and clean living, but these gyms provided planned regimes of exercises that varied by the person's age, individual needs, and targeted muscles.[35]

Gymnastics, military training, and manly sport produced the healthy, more elite male body, whether that of the Harvard boys or the upper ranks of the growing white-collar managerial and professional labor force. And the Delsarte system taught graceful contained body movement to the comparable class of women in women's colleges and female academies and to the burgeoning numbers of "middling" white-collar would-be professionals—the growing corps of teachers, social workers, and nurses in the new service economy. The Delsarte techniques, however, also informed an emerging movement in modern dance that heralded a new respectable public role for women's bodily display at the turn of the century. As a socially acceptable form of activity, modern dance was also the one dance form that many young affluent women of the new middle classes brought with them when they first encountered English Country Dance.

The origins of modern dance also lay in this period and constituted a variation on physical exercise, albeit for elite women in particular. Modern dance provided an alternative model to the manly physicality associated with gymnastics on the one hand and the questionable (at best) morality of risqué music hall burlesque on the other. Women who pioneered this dance, such as Loie Fuller (1862–1928), Ruth St. Denis (1879–1968), and Isadora Duncan (1877–1927), in order to claim respect for their performance as an aesthetic art form rather than as a debased erotic, had to negotiate the male gaze and the often thin line between traditions of burlesque and music hall "hootchie-kootchie" dance and their "art." "Aesthetic" dance, they averred, emphasized grace, often combining Delsarte fluidity with the allures of the scantily clad burlesque queen, representing classical figures such as Salome. But as important as their bodily movement, these artistes, as historian Linda Tomko points out, established a new sanctioned public role for women. These modern dance pioneers, speaking with their bodies in a respectable manner and capitalizing on the traditional role of woman teacher in primary schools, won the authority to teach the modern dance as well.[36]

Gymnastics, sports, and the military for men and Delsarte exercises and modern dance for women gave elites a range of bodily exercises, but they did not address the social question of the age: how were working-class immigrant bodies to be disciplined? These exercise regimes could counter the stultifying

monotony of office life and the country club or the impersonal and imposing brick-and-concrete urban metropolis that Fritz Lang so graphically represented in his 1927 film of that title. What bodily regimes, though, could meet the needs of the working class cooped up much of the day in factories and tenements? What practices and institutions could revive the spirit of working-class girls and boys? For while the atrophying effect of rote mechanical movements of modern industry worried reformers, their concern extended to the larger effect of monotony on the spirit of the race. And, to be sure, many reformers deemed these twined concerns of bodily and moral degeneration to be critical matters for all—young and old, native and immigrant—at a time when British and American business tycoons were justifying imperial roles by holding themselves aloft as beacons of "civilization." But the imperial vision found the domestic imperial subject—the working class—an equally vexing source for the fin-de-siècle degeneration. Some Progressive reformers focused on providing immigrants with skills to increase their opportunities; others worried more about their attraction to radical politics; for yet some others, the two concerns overlapped. Whether they were a domestic colonial subject or the subject of paternal reform, migrants and immigrants, recognized as usually coming from rural and peasant backgrounds, needed to be instilled with democratic lessons of citizenship, respectability, and cooperation.

Ironically, the rural and "peasant" pasts were both a problem and a solution. At the same time as reformers organized to teach these urban newcomers how to make budgets, adjust to factory rhythms, and behave like burghers, reformers (sometimes the same reformers) came to believe these newcomers had a vibrant, curative "peasant" past in their blood that only had to be awakened. A new cadre of folklorists, the new profession committed to the revival of a "peasant" past, had emerged in the past decade, and reformers now turned to them in the hope they could help revitalize the urban and national spirit with the curative "essence" of the American and English "race" embodied in English Country Dance.

The Folk Revival: Folklore and Song

Folklore as a scholarly discipline arose as one answer to increasing elite and middling anxieties about the immigrant industrial city. Folklorists and anthropologists—among the emergent social sciences—set out for the countryside to find, recover, and preserve what they imagined to be solutions to the maladies of urban-industrial life in the vital cultural remnants of a simple and pure peasantry. For the folk revival at the turn of the century

was a phenomenon of the urban, industrial city. Moreover, it centered in the cosmopolitan capitals of England and the United States—London and New York—where social and cultural doyens were in place to try to ameliorate, as they understood it, the more intense transformations of daily life. To be sure, in the United States, Boston, which had historically been the center of Brahmin culture, played an important role in English Country Dance as well. But metropolises such as London and New York were logical places for these efforts to take root. These cities overwhelmed in scale and population other cities in each country, especially as New York was poised in 1898 to absorb Brooklyn, then the fourth-largest city in the United States. Each metropolis was a cultural and financial capital—the media center of the nation and home to its economic engine. As such, each stood as a national symbol of the urban transformation of the nation, and with their large immigrant populations, they provided a visible basis on which national identity was imagined, represented, and constructed.

The revivals also took place in the North Atlantic world. This is not to minimize the role of the colonial Atlantic in fueling the revival imagination. The heyday of imperialism in the United States and the United Kingdom, where the Anglo-American folk tradition on which we focus was rooted, shaped the revival in two ways: the imperial project demanded a virile race, often encapsulated in the idea of muscular Christianity, to "civilize" heathen others; and the creation of a Anglo-American identity, as in the case of all identity formation, required an other against which it could be advanced. Poor and black Caribbean and African peoples were seen as an uncivilized primitive other without a usable past or tradition. Thus, the folk revival that swept northern Europe and the United States at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries was a fundamentally nationalist movement.

This movement also reflected European and Anglo-American imperial ambitions and, as such, had a colonial cast: against the backdrop of the immigrant city, the folk celebrated were white northern Europeans; Swedish, Danish, and British dances constituted most of the repertoire. Imperialists moved into India, Africa, the Caribbean, and Asia, but folklorists, whose racist, imperial vision could only imagine the folk as European peasants, never ventured far from home.[37] In the case of English Country Dance, a group of reformers mobilized English folk song and dance as expressions of Anglo-Americanism—what they saw as essential native American culture embedded in and privileging the nation's English heritage as white—in order to inculcate the "spirit of the race" in immigrant working girls and boys. It was

many decades before folklorists seriously broadened their conception to encompass dances from Africa, Asia, or the Caribbean.

In England, the Folklore Society organized in 1878 and published the first issue of its journal, *Folk-lore Record,* the same year. A decade later, the *Journal of American Folklore* published its first issue (1888). Although the role of the collector in the early folk dance collecting is unclear, as early as the seventeenth century, music publishers such as John Playford provided important source material for later folklorists. It should be noted, however, that most early folklore study focused on song, not dance. In that regard, folklorists generally traced the origins of the field to the collecting work of Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who worked a century after Playford. Herder pioneered studies of the *Volk* (folk) and published in 1778 a collection of song lyrics he had collected in the then German town of Riga (in present-day Latvia) using a new term of the day, *volksleider* (folk songs).[38] Less iconic but no less significant work parallel to Herder's collecting folk songs took place in England and Scotland at almost the same time. Thirteen years earlier, in 1765, Thomas Percy (1768–1808), an English clergyman, published a collection of broadsides, *Reliques of English Poetry*, which fueled the imagination of many Romantic poets. Joseph Ritson's (1752–1803) *A Selected Collection of English Songs* followed soon after in 1783. And in 1802, the Scotsman Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) published his ballad collection, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border.*

Folkloric interest in folk songs took off in the nineteenth century, however, and on both sides of the Atlantic.[39] Increasingly seeing urban culture as rowdy, sordid, and vulgar in music halls, some people began to celebrate folk song as the unsophisticated, primitive, genuine, simple beauty of common emotion. The rise of the Chartists in the 1830s and 1840s stimulated the need for a unifying national culture in England, and well-to-do gentry pursued "folklore" as a "genteel hobby"; at the same time, as philanthropists, they developed "rational recreation." John Broadwood (1798–1864), for instance, who in 1843 published *Old English Songs, as now Sung by the Peasantry of the Weald of Surrey and Sussex,* was the grandson of pianoforte manufacturers and squire of a family estate on the Sussex-Surrey border.[40]

By the end of the century, a small band of enthusiasts-antiquarians had emerged to satisfy the growing interest in folk songs. In England, the gentry industry in folk song collecting took off in the late 1880s, in the decade before Cecil Sharp's Boxing Day epiphany with morris dance. Twenty-seven song collections between 1888 and 1925 used "folk" in their title, most with simple piano arrangements easily used in schools. The most prominent of these collectors were Sabine Baring-Gould (1834–1924) and Lucy Broadwood

(1858–1929). Sabine Baring-Gould was the niece of John Baring-Gould, a Church of England clergyman who was squire of Lew Trenchard, Devon. A prolific writer of religious books, and most famous as the author of the hymn "Onward Christian Soldiers," he moved on in 1888 to collecting folk songs. The historian Stefan Szczelkun has noted how, assisted by the German émigré Carl Engel, Baring-Gould emphasized folk music to advance the national rather than the popular interest. Publishing "Songs of the West" between 1888 and 1891, he was in his later years one of the few collectors to develop a working relationship with Sharp.[41]

The other major folk song collector of the era was Lucy Broadwood, a gifted singer and pianist who had been inspired by her uncle John. Traveling about the countryside, she collected folk songs from old-timers in rural villages. In 1893, she published with a relative, the music critic John Maitland (1856–1936), the influential collection *English Country Song*. In 1898, she was one of the 110 members at the founding meeting in Mayfair of the Folk-song Society, a group that included major musical figures of the day such as Antonín Dvořák (1841–1904), Edward Elgar (1857–1934), Edvard Grieg (1843–1907), and Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958). In tribute to the esteem with which members held her work—and consistent with hierarchical gender stereotypes—the society in 1904 made her its honorary secretary.[42]

The development of folk song studies in the United States followed a similar trajectory. Although it initially took a more academic turn than its British cousin, the Americans, too, focused on British folk song. In part, this was because the early folklorists were Anglophiles and themselves of British origin; increasingly though, the British ballad became implicitly recognized as part of an Anglo-American folk tradition. Two Harvard Shakespeare scholars steeped in the lore of "Merrie England"—Francis James Child (1825–1896) and his successor, George Lyman Kittredge (1860–1941)—trained and inspired the first generations of American folklorists, giving the early work a Brahmin academic cast. Having a passion for British ballads, Child published a renowned ten-volume collection, *The English and Scottish Ballads*, between 1882 and 1898. The books had a modest 305 titles but provided in meticulous detail every known textual variation—over thirteen hundred in all.[43]

The research methods and idea of the "authentic" folk ballad that Child deployed established important but not unproblematic standards for song collectors of his and subsequent generations. First, Child worked primarily as a literary researcher, rather than as a field collector. Considering ballads "narrative song," he treated folk song as popular poetry and analyzed songs as texts, largely dismissing the music. Second, Child believed commercial

and aristocratic taste had corrupted songs produced after the emergence of the printing press; he was only interested in "uncorrupted" ballads from before 1475 that were distinguished not as Literature (with a capital L) but as "low art." With this perspective, Child's ballad "collecting" required travel no further than Harvard's Widener Library. Third, Child, ever the scholar, established new standards for folk song scholarship based on meticulous editing and research. However, he was also ever the eminent Victorian and not so different from many of his contemporaries. While he moralistically cited his own work as a model against the work of others who "altered" and "edited," he himself omitted stanzas he found tasteless or too bawdy.[44]

Child himself did not collect in the field, but his research was appreciated by others who moved to do so in the 1890s. In 1888, Child was elected the first president of the American Folklore Society. That same year, the society's journal began to publish the work of the new breed of folklorists; some of the first songs collected by Lila W. Edwards in the mountains of North Carolina appeared in 1893.[45]

In the following decade, although the settlement movement remained an urban phenomenon, rural settlements began to be established in the mountains, and word of "mountain ballads" began to spread. Berea College in Berea, Kentucky, was established in 1855, and the Log Cabin Settlement in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1895. Recognizing rural needs for organized recreation and social services, in May 1899, the Progressive journalist John P. Gavit urged the formal development of rural settlements that could, among their services, provide clubs and traveling libraries and teach cooperative farming and dairying. That same month, the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs met and heard a report from its traveling-library committee of the need for programs to teach mountain women sewing, cooking, and other domestic skills. A year later, in 1900, six of these well-heeled women, including Katherine Petit and May Stone, pitched tents in Hindman, Kentucky, with supplies for social programming. Well received by the locals, in 1902, Petit and Stone established the Hindman Settlement School, and the movement for rural settlements was under way.[46]

Southern mountain settlements such as Hindman Settlement proved to be vital repositories for folk collectors. Cecil Sharp, for instance, made what he considered his major American folk dance discovery at the Pine Mountain Settlement, which was organized in 1913. But the Hindman Settlement was the site of an equally important epiphany, that of Olive Dame Campbell (1882–1954). Olive Dame Campbell visited Hindman late in 1907 while accompanying her husband, John C. Campbell, on his Russell Sage Foundation–spon-

sored research in the mountains documenting social conditions. While there, she heard one of the students, Ada Smith, singing "Barbara Allen." Transfixed by the haunting tune of the British ballad that was "old as the hills," Campbell, then only a twenty-five-year-old recent bride, decided to become what a 2001 Hollywood movie based (unevenly) on her experience called a "song-catcher." In the next few years, she traveled throughout Kentucky, Georgia, and Tennessee collecting folk songs from old-timers, an experience for which she developed a passion that in time found her visiting folk schools in Denmark and that subsequently took her to England, Sweden, and Scotland.[47]

In tracing this history of folk song collectors, it is important to remember that these people were as much creating as discovering a tradition. This was an "imagined folk," a "peasant" folk as seen through the class perspective of an elite, as most historians have come to appreciate.[48] Thus, Ritson's 1783 collection excluded songs he felt were offensive or misrepresented the culture. Ritson, seeing the culture of the common folk as debased, corrected grammar and "senselessness" in order to preserve "authenticity." Baring-Gould modified song lyrics he found "too much" for Victorian taste. Child, as I have noted, elided stanzas he found "tasteless." Cecil Sharp omitted playful kisses from dances he reconstructed and famously changed the name of "Cuckolds All A Row" (Playford's title for what Samuel Pepys in his diary, in 1662, called "Cockolds All Awry") to "Hey, Boys, Up Go We," never realizing that the new name was a potentially indelicate political reference to hanging.[49]

Sharp's "invention" also involved what dances were authorized as part of the tradition and in what manner. Thus, as the historian Georgina Boyes has noted, Sharp omitted step dancing and clogging from his repertoire and dismissed the Lancashire morris tradition carried forth by factory hands as "modern" and inauthentic.[50] And notably, as pointed out by Douglas Kennedy, Sharp's student and subsequent leader of the English Folk Dance and Song Society, William Kimber, the concertina player whom Sharp (and others) claimed as the authority on morris dancing—to assert his own authority in turn—had a very particular style. Kimber taught the Headington tradition as he knew it, but "he enforced a military precision which he prized as a result of his own army experience. The result was that our [Kennedy's morris side] interpretation of the Headington tradition was very four square and measured."[51]

The Revival Expands

Appreciation for the recuperative power of folk traditions rose as industrial capitalism intensified and concerns about its effects mounted. Even in

its first stages, the folk revival in both England and the United States was part of the "immense transnational traffic in reform ideas, policies, and legislative devices," as described by the historian Daniel Rodgers, for the United States to address "the problems and miseries of 'great city' life, the insecurities of wage work, the social backwardness of the countryside, or the instabilities of the market itself."[52]

Americans and the English looked to northern European celebrations of the folk—to Germany and Scandinavia in particular. Jacob (1785–1863) and Wilhelm (1786–1859) Grimm published their first collection of children's folk tales in 1812. Scandinavian folk song, children's games, and folk schools especially attracted the attention of Anglo-American folklorists, who, in turn, learned from one another as well. As Rodgers has noted, as early as the 1880s, Danish folk schools in particular infatuated some American reformers as an answer to southern rural poverty. As important, they saw renovated rural traditions—both of a revived Danish folk and, then, the hoped-for revival of the American folk in the highlands—as the basis of a vital national culture that could invigorate the urban immigrant city. U.S. Commissioner of Education Philander P. Claxton chanced upon a Danish folk school in 1896 and actively promoted them in the American South. A few years later, perhaps as early as 1904, Elizabeth Burchenal traveled to Denmark and soon after published the first of her many folk collections, two-thirds of which were Danish folk songs and games to be taught in playgrounds in settlement houses across urban America.[53] In point of fact, as Rodgers notes, Danish schools were *Folkehøjskoler,* which actually translates as "people's high schools" but was falsely translated as "folk schools" and bore the anthropological burden of the era.[54] Not surprisingly, most of the first books published of folk dances primarily consisted of dances from other lands—not of dances collected from the home country. Two volumes published in 1908 and 1909 featured dances and "singing games" from Scandinavian countries; they were followed by two 1915 books on the dances of Finland and Denmark.[55]

Much of the spirit, mission, and curriculum of the folk schools and that of the broader folk revival itself was expressed, however, in the Arts and Crafts Movement popular in England and the United States. It, too, spurred a renewed transatlantic appreciation of simple artisan craftsmanship and an enthusiasm for going "back to the land." Working in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Pre-Raphaelite English painters, often considered the first avant-garde movement in art, rejected what they saw as mechanistic approaches. The art and social critic John Ruskin (1819–1900) applied their critique to industrial labor for its dehumanizing impact on workers. As man-

ufacturers raced to replace (expensive) skilled manual labor with machines, workers were turned into machines, routinized and lifeless: in Ruskin's words, "You must either make a tool of the creature, or a man of him. You cannot make both." Noting the integration of art with craftwork in Gothic architecture, Ruskin urged manufacturers to renew artisanal work as a way of bringing creativity and pleasure back into labor.[56]

The designer, poet, and visionary socialist William Morris (1831–1896) transformed Ruskin's belief in the redemptive potential of craftsmanship into what became the basis of a movement: the Arts and Crafts Movement. Morris was not a Luddite: machinery should "be used freely for releasing people from the more mechanical and repulsive part of necessary labor," not to "cheapen labor." But for a "healthy body," the worker "can not be continually chained to one dull round of mechanical work." Despairing that the capitalists' drive for profit would never permit a renewal of work and art, Morris and some friends started a decorative-arts firm that drew on the belief that there was an inherent joy in labor, especially in handiwork. Seeing beauty in simple labor evidenced in nature, he drew inspiration for his designs from the leaves of trees or the fruits and flowers of gardens. Reviving hand weaving, for instance, he rose at dawn to take advantage of natural light when working at his loom. By the 1880s, Morris's appreciation of the value of artisan labor had become a celebration of the value of labor itself, as informed by Marxism, and he became a revolutionary socialist. Coauthor of the Socialist League manifesto in 1884, Morris took to the streets on behalf of workers' rights. At the same time, arts and crafts societies sprang up across England and Scotland. When the first exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society was held in 1888, Morris's work was prominently on display. He attended as well, lecturing on tapestry weaving. More a form of sentimental than revolutionary socialism, the Arts and Crafts Movement, in expressing the dignity and aesthetic value of handcraft work, took its inspiration rather than its leadership from Morris. As such, the movement was consonant with Fabian socialism and the emerging liberal reform sensibility associated with Progressivism.[57]

Even as the Arts and Crafts Movement enjoyed wide appeal in England, it thrived especially in Scandinavia and the United States. Ruskin's criticism on art and architecture and Morris's poetry, criticism, and lectures on decorative arts were not published in the United States for decades, but news and versions of them quickly appeared in American athenaeums and libraries. At one point Ruskin was more popular in the United States than at home. Oscar Wilde's American tour in 1882 championed the work of Morris and the

Pre-Raphaelites and gave a wide audience to the Arts and Crafts Movement. Soon after, a veritable cottage industry of artisans and workshops began producing designs for wallpaper, carpets, and architecture modeled on or in the style of Morris's work. The extraordinary impact of the movement on U.S. design and architecture is reflected in the development of mission oak furniture by Gustave Stickley, the Prairie School of architecture led by Frank Lloyd Wright, and the popularity of both the bungalow house and the neo-Colonial home.[58]

The folklorist David Whisnant has described the Arts and Crafts Movement as primarily an urban phenomenon. In London, this was particularly the case: the architect and designer C. R. Ashbee (1863–1942) opened his Guild and School of Handicraft in 1888, and that same year artists rejected by the Royal Academy created the aforementioned Arts and Crafts Exhibition Society. London settlements also early on incorporated into their curricula theories and programs ideas put forth by Ruskin, Morris, and their contemporaries that a revival of handcraft could counter the dehumanizing effects of the industrial revolution. In the United States, the impact was more diverse, however. Reformers saw rural depopulation and decline as a problem in both countries, but the American problem had a distinguishing scale and name—Appalachia—and no redeeming legacy of the village idyll on which to draw. The United States also had a distinct counterlegacy of slavery. Not surprisingly, then, American reformers and craftspeople mobilized elements of the Arts and Crafts Movement to meet all these rural challenges in a variety of southern and rural institutions. Mountain folk settlements everywhere began to introduce new programs incorporating craft work. Vassar graduate Susan Chester's Log Cabin Settlement opened in Asheville, North Carolina, in 1895, and Berea College started its "fireside industries" craft program the same year. In the following decade, Fireside Industries, workshops based on the craft revival, spread to half a dozen settlements in the southern Appalachians, from the Berry School in Rome Georgia (1903) and the Pi Beta Phi School in Gatlinburg, Tennessee (1912), to the Hindman (1901) and Pine Mountain settlements in Kentucky (1913). Finally, in a similar commitment to the educative value of the "industrial arts," Booker T. Washington opened the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute in 1881 to teach craft skills to former African American slaves.[59]

In the United States, the Arts and Crafts Movement was no less important in informing the curriculum in some northern urban settlements. Settlement workers shared the movement's foundational beliefs in the enervating character of industrial labor and bustling urban life and the redemptive role

of artisanal handcraft. Accordingly, settlement curricula often embraced the Arts and Crafts Movement, from running Ruskin study clubs for members to emulating the clean decorative lines in their furnishing and décor. Tomko notes that the movement won especially strong support from Chicago's Hull House, where Ellen Gates Starr "opened a bookbinding workshop upon her return from study in England with T. J. Cobden-Sanderson." There was, of course, a paternalist cast to settlement workers' use of such "redemptive" work and craft skills in that the homespun prepared immigrant women more for domestic work or the needle trades than for entry into the more remunerative "semi"-professions such as social work, nursing, and teaching or new clerical trades.[60]

The settlements' embrace of folk crafts and ballads met reformers' desire to instill in immigrants and urbanites generally the lost values, attitudes, and spirit of the rural idyll and the pioneer. This spirit also needed to be embodied, both in space and in demeanor. Thus, girls and boys had to be taken out of the compromising moral morass of the music hall and given an alternative to the jazz or "animal" or "rough" dances in which unchaperoned "spieling" girls and boys, pivoting wildly—a move that required intimate physical contact—experienced vertigo, the giddy dizziness of being "out of control," out of one's "senses." Playgrounds, settlements, and schoolyards sanctioned competitive team sports in various gymnastics systems and sport as one set of alternatives, especially for boys.[61]

Yet, as Henry Curtis reminded reformers, it was not boys but "girls [who] are our great national problem." At the turn of the century, as the fear of the dance halls and "tango craze" escalated, the general answer for Curtis was "play and physical activity for girls, especially during the period below puberty."[62] Gendered attitudes, however, were also classed. Thus, more affluent parents encouraged "refined" daughters to choose Delsarte movements, and modern dance reformers sought an alternative for immigrant working girls who had neither the leisure time nor, it was thought, the predilection for the aesthetic dancing. The more specific solution, however, came from Luther Gulick, and it promised to combine the strengths of "peasant" folk traditions with the need for appropriate movement: folk dance.

Gulick understood the problem to be the dance hall, not dancing. "Dancing is in itself not only innocent, but good exercise. Its surroundings are often bad." Dancing is "language, particularly of the feelings," "the most universal of the arts." But in the United States, its "deeper possibilities" have been reduced to "a man and a woman holding each other and performing an exceedingly simply whirling movement to music set in four-four or three-four time"

(i.e., the two-step and the waltz). Its "abuses" in rough dancing were legion; rather, one had to focus on its "uses" as "excellent exercise." Dancing schools for modern and ballroom dance teach "good posture of the body and grace of movement," but for Gulick, "dancing as a bodily discipline" is evident in "the old folk-dancing."[63]

No less significantly, for Gulick, body discipline also provided a lesson in democracy. Democracy requires the sand box for small children, the playground for youths, and "folk-dancing and social ceremonial life for the boy and girl in their teens," for "development of that self-control which is related to . . . the corporate conscience that is rendered necessary by the complex interdependence of modern life." Folk dances express the ties of the individual to a community, so they are important for immigrant children to know of their roots; at the same time, the dances express "mass feeling" and bring about a "consciousness of the whole."[64]

These were lessons especially important in the new immigrant city. National and folk dances, Gulick continued, traditionally existed to celebrate holidays and special events in older and rural societies. The United States at that time had occasions such as Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July that demanded celebration, but the country had no traditional form of group expression other than passively watching fireworks: the country has, he complained, a "poverty" of traditions or "social forms in which to express our common emotions." Immigrant children of so many diverse backgrounds can share only the simplest folk dances and lore that are common to all. Thus, "the great folk-dances and folk festivals are gone," and we need play leaders as "tradition carriers . . . capable of transmitting the social and moral traditions of the race."[65]

But who was to teach folk dance, and who was to train the "tradition carriers" to "transmit" the "traditions"? Contrary to conventional accounts, the answer did not come from Cecil Sharp: his encounter with William Kimber and the Headington Morrismen translated into an immediate fascination with song; he put dance on a back burner. Instead, a North London settlement worker, Mary Neal, and a New York folk dance aficionado and collector, Elizabeth Burchenal, initiated the study and teaching of the old rural and village dances. But as important, they renewed interest in a particular form of folk dance that expressed "gay simplicity" in a contained, respectable body thought to embody national civic values. This dance form, English Country Dance, they came to see as having special value for their urban subjects in particular and for the English and American nations in general.