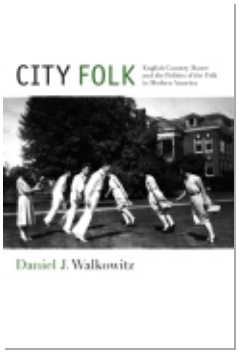
2 Orderly Bodies:Dancing New York, 1900–1914



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Orderly Bodies: Dancing New York, 1900–1914

Bodies never lie.

—George Graham, to his daughter Martha[1]

Folk-dancing offers . . . possibilities as a Democratic Socializing Agent, and . . . value as a form of *real* Americanization.

—Elizabeth Burchenal, 1920[2]

Anglo-American exchanges in the decade before World War I, both of Americans traveling to the United Kingdom and of the British visitors to the United States, shaped awakenings of a folk revival in both New York and London. But, of course, English Country Dance was not new to America then; transatlantic crossings had brought country dance to the British colonies in the eighteenth century. At issue is how that past was remembered and the role of that past in the present.

Colonial Americans danced, and as a British colony, they inherited English dance traditions; historians are only beginning to unravel the regional, class, and ethnic variations of their dance experiences. Elites favored the minuets and the country dances historians have associated with the gentry, although the category had varied meanings and porous boundaries and the country dance appears to have engaged more plebian sorts as well. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, New England and middle-Atlantic colonies tended to prefer the English dances, whereas the southern colonies, which maintained stronger allegiances to France, were more loyal to the minuet favored by their French allies. As important, English country dance traditions were reshaped by their encounter with ethnic American cultures, both religious and secular. Thus, the historian Rhys Isaac notes how "New Light" revivalists forced dancing underground in late-eighteenth-century Virginia and how African American dance culture informed the lively jigs. Isaac quotes the Virginian Andrew Burnaby, who found plebian country folk in 1759–60 challenging one another

with jigs, "a practice originally borrowed," Burnaby was informed, "from the Negroes." Thus, both a young Virginian and Jack Tar, the archetypical Revolutionary War–era sailor, might on any given evening have kicked up their heels at a local dockyard tavern or a rural schoolyard with a jig or hornpipe (the two were not distinguished in the eighteenth century). Improvising with exuberant steps, each would show off his skill and would strut his manliness to the assembled crowd.[3] Meanwhile, across town or elsewhere in the county, in a plantation ballroom or one of the assembly rooms, George Washington—well known for his fancy footwork and grace—might have been opening the evening ball by dancing a minuet with the ball's hostess. The minuet, an elegant showpiece ceremonial dance with steps characteristic of the Baroque period, was developed for the French court in the 1660s. It had complex and precise stepping with formal upright carriage and was performed by couples for the assemblage, each in descending rank taking a turn.[4]

It was English Country Dance, however, the dance tradition colonists shared with the mother county, that dominated most venues, whether it was the village taverns or the assembly halls of the growing metropolises, and most especially in the middle-Atlantic and northern regions. The jig was a solo dance, and the minuet required well-rehearsed training and skill for a couple dancing alone; in contrast, the country dance was a social dance for the assemblage and more easily accessible, demanding relatively little practice. As in England, by the eighteenth century, as the dances moved from the village green to the ballroom and upstairs into more elite quarters, set dances for three and four couples and rounds fell out of favor, and longways dances "for as many as will" predominated. These were typically *triple minors,* in which the top three couples danced together, and after a turn of the dance, the first couple progressed down the set one place to activate another couple. The dance would continue until all couples in the line were dancing. Moreover, English Country Dance, as dance historians Kitty Keller and Charles Hendrickson describe, was not wild and unstructured: "Despite the informal-sounding name, country dances were not undisciplined romps."[5] Eighteenth-century ECD in America was formal, celebrated composure and "complaisance" with a graceful elegance of carriage, and honored society's local hierarchies.

The dance also had its American inflections, much as folk traditions would often adopt local village characteristics. For instance, "Sir Roger de Cloverly" simply took on an American name, "The Virginia Reel." Local choreographers wrote tens if not hundreds of dances to celebrate American events and historic sites, dances with names such as "Vernon Forever," "Washington's Reel," "Liberty," "Burgoyne's' Defeat," and "Saw You My Hero,

George" (which was also known as "Lady Washington"). Historians have counted over twenty-five thousand longways English Country Dances published just in England between 1700 and 1830, and Keller and Henrickson have counted over twenty-eight hundred published on the American continent within that period.[6] Dancers favored triple minor longways dances for three couples because they offered the couple dancing the third-couple role, which stood out a round, the opportunity to socialize. (Many of these dances were rechoreographed as longways duple minors "for as many as will" in the late twentieth century for "modern" dancers who had other opportunities to socialize and little patience for standing idle, valuing instead as much movement as possible throughout the dance.)[7]

But although English Country Dance was a vital part of colonial America, other country dance forms emerged in the late eighteenth century as the new country began to establish its own identity, dances that came to shape a diverse Anglo-American country dance tradition in the United States. Not surprisingly, the new nation looked with an admiring eye to its French allies. The court of Louis XIV had developed intricate couple dances, *danses à deux* like the minuet, as entertainment and for displays of status. As courtiers moved about, they brought dance vogues and status aspirations as baggage, and the minuet soon became popular also in the restoration court of Charles II in England. Indeed, the minuet remained a popular courtly dance of elites through the eighteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic.[8]

But the transmission process went both ways. The minuet crossed the channel northward, while the longways dances of the English gentry moved across the channel southward to be taken up by the French. The French called their dance *contredanse*, perhaps because partners stood in long lines across from one another, and gave them a French esprit. Over the course of the next century, *contredanse* morphed into a lively, less fussy sibling of the English Country Dance in ways little understood—perhaps as a variant of a *danse à deux*, the gigue. In colonial America, the dance assumed the Anglicized name, contra dance. One historian sees the minuet emerging as the favorite of the Virginian court, while the English dances, many of which Playford had published, predominated in the northern colonies.[9] But social class may have been as important a determinant of popularity as geography: minuets were the dance of the elites, English longways dances (the Playford dances) were the dances of the gentry or middling classes, and everyone did contra dances. Thus, when the French encamped for the winter of 1780 in Newport, a contemporary observer noted that they built a "French Hall" and "had their minuets and *contredanses*."[10] At the Newport ball that same year,

however, when General Washington danced with Miss Margaret Chamberlain and asked her to "call the tune," they danced "A Successful Campaign," the popular country dance of the day.[11]

New American dance forms reflected the locals' appreciation of their French allies. By the end of the century, in the new nation, both young and old could increasingly be found celebrating weddings, barn raisings, or harvests by dancing vigorously to reels, hornpipes, and jigs. Many were zesty fiddle tunes from England—"Money Musk," "The White Cockade," and "Speed the Plow"—but increasingly others were new tunes that celebrated local places and events, dances such as "Portland's Fancy," "Jefferson and Liberty," and "Hull's Victory."[12] The infatuation with things French could be seen in the 1799 publication of new longways country dances called the "Spirit of France" and "Lafayette."[13]

In the last half of the eighteenth century, a new square form of the *contredanse*, called the *cotillon* (and soon Anglicized as the cotillion), quickly became all the rage, first in the French court and by the 1770s in the American colonies. The cotillion, a nonprogressive dance for four couples, dominated the urban American ballrooms from 1780 to 1810. Constructed with established patterns of different figures that alternated with repeated choruses, the cotillion was the direct ancestor of both the ballroom quadrille and the modern square dance. In the United States, the baroque steps of the French *cotillon* gave way to simpler, livelier steps of the quadrille (which also moved from France to England and the United States) in the early-nineteenth-century American ballroom.

By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, new exciting couple dances such as the waltz, the schottische, and soon after, the polka, each of which allowed for greater physical intimacy and the exciting vertigo of spinning, displaced the quadrilles and longways country dances in the ballrooms of the metropolis. It was the longways dances derived from the historical publications that revivalists largely sought to resurrect a century later as part of an Anglo-American political project to invigorate "the race." But although country dance disappeared from the urban dance floor, it continued as a vital part of rural American culture, albeit in two distinct variants. With the social upheaval following the French Revolution, out-of-work French dancing masters traveled to the New World, bringing quadrilles to French settlements such as that in New Orleans. At the same time, immigrants in the early National period took the four-couple dances with them into the West, where they evolved (and persisted)—enlivened by Cajun, Scotch Irish, and African American influences—as the square dance of rural America. Mean-

while, longways contra dance, which had thrived in the Northeast, where settlers long had ties to Britain, evolved as a distinct dance tradition of rural New England, where it continued to flourish as well.[14] By the late nineteenth century, French Canadians, Cape Breton Scots, and Irish immigrants who settled in New England mill towns had given New England longways contra dance its own unique musical character. In one folklorist's evocative words, the local ethnic communities added "Celtic and French Canadian bowing and fingering techniques, as well as tunes, to the Yankee dance bag."[15]

In England, villagers outside London continued to do traditional jigs, hornpipes, and reels. Recall that Sharp, before moving on to transcribing Playford dances from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, began his collecting by recording traditional dances that were a living tradition in West Country villages. But for the American story, it is important to note that country dance continued as well, especially outside the cities in New England, the West, and the southern mountains. Urban sailors and immigrant workers might still rise in a local tavern or neighborhood club to do a jig, and some of these steps probably continued in the shadows of urban nightlife in minstrelsy and "low-life" culture.[16] But the country dances that persisted and flourished in these backwoods areas—variants that have come to be known as square and contra dance—have roots in seventeenth-century English Country Dance and helped constitute (with ECD) the modern Anglo-American dance tradition represented today in the Country Dance and Song Society of America (CDSS). The origins of contra and square dance may be only partially understood, but it is clear that salient elements of these forms are an important part of the American country dance story.

Ritual dances such as the morris, which began the folk revival on both sides of the Atlantic, also existed in the United States and right up to the moment of the revival. Morris dance enthusiasts and historians Rhett Krause and James C. Brickwedde suggest the possibility that morris dancing was done by Sir Humphrey Gilbert's settlers in Newfoundland as early as 1589. More convincing is evidence that at least three morris tunes were written by Americans in the mid-nineteenth century and that a New Hampshire May Day celebration as recently as 1898 included a morris dance, although these were more likely to have been music-hall performance groups than recreational village sides.[17] Morris dance was not a social country dance; limited "teams" or "sides" practiced the various ritual and ceremonial dances as performance dances.

In any case, the morris revivalists of an English dance tradition also did not understand the transnational and heterodox influence of the American minstrelsy tradition on the morris, most particularly in the use of blackface by the

Puckish character who usually danced playfully around the side. To be sure, the conventional historical view has been that blackface has primitive origins in efforts to disguise one's identity; but Krause notes the inconclusiveness of this evidence, and he seems quite right to suggest that "the American minstrel shows, if not the actual origin of black face among some morris dancers, at least contributed to its popularity." As he notes, minstrel shows were extremely popular in England from 1843 through the early twentieth century, and morris was part of a New York City minstrelsy show in early 1861.[18]

English Country Dance as the basis of an American national identity, then, belies the complicated transnational exchanges of cultural forms that informed dance in England and early America. French and Italian dancing masters traveled to London to introduce dances such as "Jacob Hall's Jig" into the local repertoire. Renaissance dance from the Continent also influenced the basic forms ("Up a Double," "Siding," and "Arming")[19] of the earliest Playford dances. And the process of transmission traveled back and forth among the nobility, for much as they fought, they also intermarried and danced together. Over the course of the nineteenth century, square and contra dances further developed and flourished, taking on their own style and meter. Local variants emerged as well, shaped by French Canadian music in New England and by Scotch Irish, Cajun, and African American music in the West and southern mountains. Finally, reels owed much to Scottish dance, and vernacular jigs such as the eighteenth-century "Negro Jig" probably had African American influences if not roots.[20]

Oral traditions and a fragmentary record of dance as experienced by people have passed on the little that is now known of these histories, but there are two important facts that must be recognized. First, different but rich contra and square traditions existed throughout the nineteenth century and drew on the diversity of American immigrant and migrant cultures. Second, the Anglo-American folk dance tradition moved between English Country Dance and contra and square dance, making the broad range of country dances that came to fall under the umbrella of ECD in the twentieth century as much a native as an imported dance.

The Revival Imperative

Chapter 1 detailed how in the late nineteenth century, confining and alienating urban life, rural depopulation and decline, and foreign immigrant cultures threatened cities, the nation, and the healthy body and animated the search for vital physical-culture regimes to relieve anxieties. Leaders of the American folk revival knew of the colonial prehistory of ECD, but their

redemptive project did not appreciate, understand, or find its heterogeneous origins useful to the new political and social imperatives of the age. Rather, as Progressivism piggy-backed on the imperial ventures that justified acquisition or dominion over places such as Cuba and the Philippines as Christian mission to "little black brothers," so did ECD, as imagined with roots in a "pure" Anglo-Saxon white peasantry, serve as a domestic colonial mission to the immigrant other. In the new century, the pace, intensity, and dimension of these changes, rather than easing, quickened and similarly accelerated the embrace of folk dance as a rehabilitative technology of the body. And as the industrial city became the wartime city, the fear of bodies at risk intensified.

Cecil Sharp's initial voyage to New York in late December 1914 on the SS *Lusitania* was prophetic of the dangerous times; no less so was his return to England four months later. As war fever heated up, Sharp set sail for England on the SS *Adriatic* on April 21, 1915. The last day of the voyage, April 29, in the "danger zone," men paced the deck all night, and he described everyone as "rather tense and excited." Indeed, friends had convinced him not to delay his return a week and to return on the supposedly faster and safer *Lusitania*. The decision to sail early, of course, saved his life and, in turn, ironically, gave life to the American Country Dance movement. Home in Uxbridge, Sharp learned on May 7 of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.[21]

Many others, including some prominent young male dancers, were not so fortunate. The war decimated Sharp's demonstration team, much as it did the young male population of the British Isles, the United States, and the Continent. Four of the seven male members of Sharp's demonstration morris side (six danced at a time; one was a spare)—Perceval Lucas, George Wilkinson, George Butterworth, and Reginald Tiddy—were killed at the Battle of the Somme in August 1916; Sharp's own son, Charles, was seriously wounded, although he did recover.[22]

The horrors of trench and gas warfare in World War I brought home to many families, in the most personal way, the physical dangers to men's bodies. But Americans had only to look at their own cities during the half decade in which Sharp and his protégés established ECD on American soil to feel that the body politic was as much under siege on the domestic front as on the foreign one—and women's bodies as much as men's.

Immigrant Bodies and Respectable Bodies

The history of the folk revival directly engages bodily comportment, but the context for that discussion again requires weaving together several of

the threads—themes—of the story: the imperatives of Progressive reform, the politics of the folk, the political culture of liberalism, and what we might call "reluctant modernism."[23] The combination of these themes shows how in patrolling the boundaries of popular culture, the revival story engages broader aspects of American culture that are often treated, if at all, as distinct.

First, the disruptions of urban industrial life generated anxieties about bodily expression and control. Three sets of related transformations at the turn of the century—in social relations of production and consumption, in the cultural fabric of the city, and in the organization of urban space—came together like a triple witching hour on the stock market to heighten social fears of establishment citizens that disorderly bodies would undermine the new American empire and the promise of industrial progress. Changes in work and social relations undermined familiar workplace traditions and hard-won trade-union prerogatives at the same time as they opened up uncertain possibilities in new labor sectors. In earlier stages of capitalism, owners had focused on economies of production—of scale, wages, hours, and the like. But continued profit squeezes made owners seek new efficiencies in production and new markets—both abroad and, through advertising and sales, at home. The latter saw manufacturers increasingly shift resources into selling rather than making goods.

The capitalist quest for new markets coincided with the rise of new technologies to create leisure industries for dance. New technologies of electricity and petrochemicals put in place a "second industrial revolution" with new industrial sectors such as auto, film, and radio. But music halls, dance halls, playgrounds, and ballrooms—all venues in which social and folk dance could be done for fun and profit—were a central part of this new leisure world. In these industries, people who every day struggled to work under demands of capital for greater productivity had to learn to play for capital as well.

The leisure industries were as much testimony to the rise of a new white-collar labor force as to a site—a social space—where white-collar workers' bodily identities as respectable citizens were molded. Managing workers and selling products and services became essential adjuncts to the production of goods, but these new trades also became the core of a "new middle class" that sought to distinguish itself from the immigrant working class. Good workers also had to be taught to be good consumers. But the challenge for manufacturers, and the managers, advertisers, and industrial-relations experts hired by them, was to naturalize these new relations of production and consumption in a new immigrant labor force. The folk dance revival (and other forms of social dance in cabarets) were part of this project. Folk dance was a part of

the new leisure industry, and immigrant workers and Progressive reformers were the subjects and agents, respectively, of its mobilization.

Dancing bodies, then, were a political project of and for Progressive reformers in the new middle class. The working class (or its "peasant" progenitors), however, was both the object and subject of their project. The culture of containment and the culture of liberalism were embedded in Progressives' political culture—in their concern with respectable bodies in space and in motion, whether in streets, factories, or dance halls. The reformers' focus on immigrant workers and concern with space came together in folk dance, where the immigrant "problem" was to be solved in the celebration of immigrant culture. English Country Dance in the United States, like other folk dances, was celebrated by revivalists as an expression of the pure folk traditions of a simpler past that peasant peoples had left behind, which could now be revived to build an inclusive American identity. Jane Addams caught the essentially conservative spirit of this urban liberalism in her 1909 volume *Spirit of Youth and City Streets*: "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."[24]

Thus, economic and social transformations animated reformers' concerns with the body, both personal and political. Immigrant worker bodies called on to make the industrial machine work could be disruptive and dangerously unhealthy. Against them, these elites celebrated the "respectable" body. It would be orderly, disciplined, and genteel, albeit with gendered distinctions. Respectable female bodies would be nurturing and express refined grace and elegance of movement and demeanor. The respectable body would also not agitate or vote Socialist. And in contrast to both the swarthy southern and eastern European immigrants and the poor African Americans migrating north to cities such as New York, respectable bodies would be white.

New York's Body Impolitic

New York, the city in which Cecil Sharp arrived to advance his cause, was the belly of the industrial beast. By the turn of the century, the United States had displaced Great Britain as the world's leading producer. New York, quickly emerging as the manufacturing and corporate capital of the new economy, was transformed in kind. One in every eight Americans dwelt in the city at both the beginning and end of this period, but the population

Socialist women delivering *The Call*. Photographer unknown. (UNITE Archives, Kheel Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853-3901)

mushroomed exponentially. Over 4.75 million people filled streets that had accommodated less than 1.9 million in 1880, a gain of 255 percent. The city, which had been consolidated into its present five boroughs in 1898, was in 1880 still a mercantile city; by 1910, it had been transformed, in the words of the historian David Hammack, into a corporate city "more extensively involved in management of American industry than in the Atlantic trade."[25]

The new industrial machine was directed by a new corporate bureaucracy, the backbone of the expanding professional white-collar class. Immigrants did the physical labor in the city's factories, ran its printing plants and its transport and construction industries, increasingly made up the low-paid clerical and service sector, and, in due course, became the subject of the revivalists' crusade.

The largest share of the newcomers consisted of Italians, eastern European Jews, and African Americans. Two-thirds of the African American population of the city lived in Manhattan, and new migrants from the South more than doubled their numbers there between 1890 and 1910 to 60,534. The number of New York City's foreign-born population grew at a comparable

rate. Their percentage tripled between 1880 and 1910, coming to comprise nearly two million of the city's population. Of that number, 340,770 were born in Italy, 445,625 in Russia, and 242,545 in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A handful from each country had been in the city thirty years before, but the social profile and culture of newcomers was often very different from that of landsmen who had preceded them. For example, German Jews, often wealthy and urbane, made up about 5 percent of the city's 1880 population; by 1920, Jews, now predominantly working-class eastern Europeans from small shtetls, constituted an astonishing 29.2 percent of the city. In contrast, Irish and German-born populations remained fairly constant between 1880 and 1910, with about a quarter million recorded at each census.[26]

These new immigrants and migrants reinvigorated nativism, which had never been far from the surface in American politics. The story of the Jim Crow South is familiar; less so is that of the reracialized northern cities, where infamous race riots that erupted in St. Louis and Chicago in 1919 only dramatized more pervasive discrimination and violence against urban blacks across the North. Moreover, old-timers racialized immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, often swarthy or Mediterranean, as a debased caste that was "not quite white." Indeed, many of them spoke strange languages and appeared alien. Some wore unusual clothing or had a custom of long beards or sideburns; some practiced Judaism or Catholicism. Fearful of what they did not understand, many old-timers thought these immigrants seemed content to live in crowded and unsanitary conditions.

In *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), the journalist Jacob Riis constructed in word and picture what became for contemporaries the paradigmatic image of squalid tenement life—that of the Lower East Side in New York City. A conservative reformer who believed in self-help, Riis exaggerated poverty and drew on ethnic stereotypes of his subjects. Nonetheless, his images thrived well into the twentieth century, too, shaping urban social policy wherever immigrant workers lived. The density of the Lower East Side was infamous: over half a million people crowded into its 2.3 square miles. Seeing the city in contrasting images of dark shadow and bright lights, Riis averred that "the tenements to-day are New York, harboring three-quarters of its population," and if some lived in elegant Fifth Avenue mansions, more than half lived in tenements that were dark, foul, and disease ridden.[27]

The Lower East Side was not just disease ridden; it was filled with immigrants—and the two were inseparable in many people's eyes. Indeed, in 1901, only 14,014 of its half a million residents had American-born parents.[28] But the sickly bodies of these newcomers were isolated, stigmatized, and con-

tained from the moment they set foot on American soil, as the historian Daniel Bender has so graphically detailed. Inspectors, in a "performance" of medical pathology, quarantined one in five immigrants who passed through Ellis Island at the turn of the century. Thousands more were denied entrance entirely. Settling in, the stigmas of class, ethnicity, religion, race, and gender continued to be inscribed on their bodies. Thus, in November 1914, just as Cecil Sharp prepared to disembark in the city, the U.S. Public Health Service (PHS) completed its nine-month study of the industrial hygiene and health of two thousand male and one hundred female garment workers in New York's garment industry. The PHS discovered 4.36 defects or diseases per worker, with the largest threat coming from tuberculosis. And while such diseases set "respectable" minds imagining far worse, workers organized their own response to the problem, and they recognized the same relationship between health and play that reformers came to champion. Francis Cohn, who helped design a health plan for the New York local of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), recalled, "We considered play as important . . . for health." Also like the reformers, the ILGWU understood disease as gendered, affecting women differently than men. The union pioneered then in establishing gynecological clinics for women workers, if only to help them return home to fulfill what the male trade unionists (and many women leaders too) saw as their primary roles as wives and mothers. The union led the way as well, however, in creating family resorts such as Unity House, where workers' families could recuperate (with International Folk Dance) in the clean, country air upstate. The union motto was "Playing, Thinking, Acting."[29]

To reformers, however, "playing" was one thing; "acting," especially if it came in the form of trade-union agitation, could be quite another. In that sense, for many bourgeois New Yorkers, emaciated, tubercular bodies were but the physical display of the more pervasive and insidious infections of the body politic threatened by radical immigrant workers. The United Hebrew Trades represented the unions dominated by Jewish employees in the garment industry as early as 1888. By the end of 1910, when English morris dance teachers Mary Neal and Florence Warren arrived in New York, Jewish garment workers, with their Italian trade-union brothers and sisters, had already initiated a series of the largest and most dramatic strikes in the city's and nation's young history. A year earlier, on November 23, 1909, twenty thousand women from Local 25 of the ILGWU had walked out for a 20 percent wage increase and fifty-two-hour work week. The "Uprising of the Twenty Thousand" lasted three months. The strike resulted in a major union victory, notably after suf-

Young woman victim of the Triangle Shirtwaist fire lying dead on the ground. From the *New York Evening Journal.* (UNITE Archives, Kheel Center, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853-3901)

fragists (a movement that also plays a role in the folk dance story) joined the fray. Large manufacturers led by the owners of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory conceded only after receiving adverse publicity when prominent wealthy suffragists such as Alva Belmont (first wife of William Vanderbilt) and Anne Morgan (the daughter of J. P. Morgan) joined the women garment workers' cause. Later in 1910, over one hundred thousand male cloakmakers were back out on the street to win improved conditions in their branch of the trade. And finally, just around the time Neal and Warren were returning to London, a terrible fire swept through the Triangle Factory, sending 146 of 500 mostly young immigrant Jewish and Italian girls employed there to their death when the fire ladders could not reach them. Management on the floor above them escaped down the stairwells, but to the outrage of the city, the girls had been locked in to prevent their taking work breaks.[30]

Two additional well-publicized labor protests led by the radical syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) followed soon after, furthering the climate of urban disorder and upheaval, and of women's (and men's) bodies at risk. In 1911, a train brought starving children of Lawrence, Massachusetts, strikers to the city, and in 1913, the "Paterson Pageant" at Madison Square Garden celebrated IWW Paterson strikers in 1913. None of the labor protests was violent, and indeed, the major group victimized was

the immigrant working girls at the Triangle Factory. But business leaders and the mainstream press painted a very different picture of the United States on the brink of insurrection.

The Modernist Historical Crisis

The dislocations and culture of protest associated with Progressivism triggered what historians have called a "modernist historical crisis," "the yearning for orderly, scientific solutions" to the chaos of industrial protest and disorderly bodies.[31] In this regard, although folk dances looked back to "peasant" origins and are easy to pigeonhole as antimodern,[32] folk dance enthusiasts embraced folk dancing as a critical element in educational reform and as integral to the development of physical culture for building the race.

Greenwich Village, where Sharp often went to teach—and where the Country Dance and Song Society was based until 1986—was precisely the kind of liminal modernist cauldron in which folk dance could thrive. The Village brought working-class activists cheek to jowl with bohemian, radical, middle-class intellectuals. Christine Stansell has described the emergence of the cultural dominance of leftists in the Village at this time and notes how they informed a culture of modernism. But modernism, as Stansell notes, is about more than machines; it is about "the pressures of democracy and the claims of women"—that is, about new "modern" social roles associated with demands for broadened opportunity and the emergence of the New Woman. For Stansell, the dancing figure of the New Woman is represented by Isadora Duncan, the pioneering modern dancer.[33] But the New Woman could become the Rebel Girl like radical labor organizer Elizabeth Gurley Flynn or evolve into the comfortably bourgeois flapper. And likewise, folk dance offered opportunities with complicated social meanings: it afforded many young women the opportunity to express their bodies in respectable public spaces. It also gave public roles to many women folk dance teachers, even as they taught dances that expressed traditional gender hierarchies.

The road to modernism, then, had many twists and turns. Missionaries and many corporate leaders and politicians saw the United States' new role as global, imperial power as the future for the Christian West. Dancing bodies could be an opportunity to build muscular Christianity to achieve the imperial mission and meet the needs of the "race"—or they could be threats to disorder. Women's bodies were as much at risk as men's, as the mothers of America's future, and their plight drew particular concern from Progressive reformers. The danger was evident everywhere—from unsupervised frater-

nizing on the street and in the libidinous social spaces of dance halls and cabarets to the dangers of lecherous bosses in workplaces.

Differently Dancing Bodies

Dance, as the rise of modern dance and gymnastics suggests, took many forms in the opening decades of twentieth-century urban America. Nowhere was it more varied and richer—and for the growing bourgeoisie, more worrisome—than in New York. "Respectable" elites preparing for society balls could go to the fashionable Dodworth Dancing Academy on Fifth Avenue. Allen Dodworth, whose family was known for founding the New York Philharmonic Society, had written the leading book of the time on social dance, *Dancing and Its Relation to Education and Social Life, with a New Method of Instruction, Including a Complete Guide to the Cotillion (German) with 250 Figures* (1885). His nephew, T. George Dodworth, who took over the academy in 1887, continued to teach the Dodworth Method that had been the bible for New York society since the 1830s—a series of measured steps that emphasized discipline for stately dances such as the pavane, the court quadrille, the minuet, and the polonaise.[34]

The rise of the two-step in the Gay Nineties gave a new spring to the national dance step, leading society matrons, according to one dance historian, to "smart hotel and drawing room classes."[35] But when it came to dancing the new rhythms of urban dance, the children of these matrons began to cross or blur the class boundaries of the venues. In this regard, the story is again transnational—both New York and London theatrical impresarios negotiated censors' concerns with scanty dress as part of the new commercialized leisure industry by importing exotic barefoot dancers back and forth across the Channel and the Atlantic. Americans such as Maud Allen, Ruth St. Denis, and Isadora Duncan, for instance, transformed the erotic into the aesthetic as "modern" dancers in both cities.[36]

The new nightclubs of the urban metropolis epitomized these liminal social dance spaces. In New York, "The Follies of 1907" inaugurated twenty-one revues over the next quarter century. Produced by Florenz Ziegfield—along the lines of the *Folies Bergère* in Paris—Ziegfield's follies displayed Parisian cosmopolitan wickedness in scantily clad young, svelte women for bourgeois audiences, not as working-class vice.[37] A dance craze—not as performance but as participation—took hold of New York between 1911 and 1916, and the cabarets removed the boundaries of the theater, encouraging the audience to participate. The dance floor became a staging area in the new

cabarets and lobster palaces that seemed to spring up overnight. By accounts, there were over five hundred dance halls in the city in 1910, and another one hundred academies enrolled over one hundred thousand students. Jesse Lasky observes that dancing in public was "still scandalous" in 1911, but such stigma only seemed to add to the allure and excitement of all who flocked to these places. The liberal use of alcohol added to the breakdown of inhibitions, and dances, contests, and drink made for public sociability at the cabaret. During the next two years, the number of nightclubs and cabarets mushroomed, and many of them installed dance floors.[38]

To be sure, as Lasky's observation suggests, "respectable" New York had already in the first decade of the century consigned dance halls—and the working boys and girls who flocked to them—to a place in hell.[39] The historian Kathy Peiss has recounted the complaints of wild dance-hall "spieling," in which dancers seemed to lose their sense of balance and propriety. The dance, which may have migrated from the German beer hall to the broader immigrant dance hall, was probably a version of the zweifacher, a fast turning dance in which a couple has to be glued together to execute alternating pivot and waltz steps.[40]

New dances arose to scandalize New York in the second decade of the century, most infamously, the tango. The "tango craze" inaugurated a popular dance mania that came to include a host of animal and jazz dances that swept the nation and attracted participants across social lines as perhaps never before. First danced in Europe around 1910, the tango's introduction in the United States has been credited to Joseph Smith, a ballet master, and the American dance teacher Maurice Mouvet has been credited with popularizing it. Mouvet brought it from Paris to New York in 1911, and he and a partner opened a studio and offered tango lessons for twenty-five dollars per hour.[41]

In 1912, cafés inaugurated *dansants,* or tango teas, with enticements for working people. The cafés had low admission fees (or perhaps a one-drink cover charge), and unescorted women could dance with men hired by management. At the same time, "respectable" women could thrill to a dance in the afternoon or evening with immigrant Jews or Italians, scandalizing their parents and putting their reputation on the line. As the historian Lewis Erenberg has observed, cabaret was a "direct challenge to the cult of domesticity," with close physical contact, suggestive bodily display and movement, and "risky" cross-class interactions in a "dangerous" space where "tango pirates" were seen as using drugs (cocaine) to force women into sexual wantonness. The dance won the additional cachet of being banned in Boston from 1911 to 1919.[42]

The tango craze had already ebbed by 1914, but the craze of animal and ragtime dancing continued in its place. Notably, in dances such as the black bottom (early 1900s), fox-trot (1912–14), cakewalk (1915), and Charleston, the craze borrowed from African American dance, not from more formal European steps. Ragtime also stimulated a lot of new dances as Irving Berlin popularized the music with publication of "Alexander's Ragtime Band" in 1911. The major emphasis of these dances was rhythm, not steps—moving the body in tune to the music. The one-step (1911), also known as the turkey trot, with 2/4 or 4/4 meter and a step for each lively beat, was the first ragtime dance of 1911. Others followed: the grizzly bear (1910), the monkey (1911), the crab (1911; in 1916, it became the American crab, a 4/4 ragtime dance), the camel walk (1912; similar to the stroll of the mid-1950s), the Texas tommy (a fast pivoting fox-trot, with the woman hanging on the man, as in the grizzly bear), and the lame duck (a 1915 ragtime waltz). There were also novelty line ragtime animal dances: the gabby glide (1911), the bunny hug (1912), ballin' the jack (1913), the funky butt (n.d.), the chicken scratch (1915), and a simple two-step, the snake dip (1915).[43]

Some reforming dance teachers, rather than flee from these cabaret dances as dangerous and wanton, sought to domesticate the dances and the spaces in which they were performed. In 1914, Flora Voorhis, who taught at the Hotel McAlpin, and Dodworth formed the New York Society of Teachers of Dance to try to systemize society dance teaching. They had little success, and Dodworth closed his school in 1920, convinced that "cutting in, bad manners, and vulgar dancing were apparently here to stay."[44] Two of the stars of the cabaret, Irene and Vernon Castle, both of New York, tried instead to work within the new dance forms, but to refine them. Reflecting the new use of the dance floor, they began their performance of social dance by coming out of the audience. The Castles had returned to New York in 1912 from the Paris musical stage, where they had developed a café dance act doing new animal dances that they heard were the rage in New York. After dancing to success at Louis Martins's café, they opened a string of their own cafés and established a national reputation, soon producing their own instructional dance films. A well-groomed, married couple, they came to represent respectability and became known as "society dancers" (later, "café society") because of their ties to the upper class.

The Castles' refined air legitimized the social dance by easing the concerns over its lower-class, sensual origins.[45] Irene Castle demonstrated how the couple, even as they created a "safe" alternative cabaret space for society, did so in the modern spirit. She was the first woman to bob her hair (albeit for surgery), and her look, the "Castle clip," became the flapper style of femi-

nine independence, a New Woman who could flaunt her sexuality as boyish androgyny.[46] The couple also soon added a mix of European, Latin, and waltz dances to their repertoire. The fox-trot, introduced in 1914, became their leading dance, although they gradually replaced it with the one-step. In 1913, they entered a dance of their own devise into the craze, the Castle walk.[47] Finally, as Erenberg has noted, they made "black dances" over into respectable "white" dances, obscuring their origins. Irene Castle said of the shimmy, "We get our new dances from the Barbary Coast. Of course, they reach New York in a very primitive condition, and have to be considerably toned down before they can be used in the drawing room. There is one just arrived now—it is still very crude—and it is called 'Shaking the Shimmy.' It's a nigger dance, of course, and it appears to be a slow walk with a frequent twitching of the shoulders."[48]

The Folk Alternatives

Café society was neither affordable not necessarily attractive to the immigrant working class and its children, yet reformers who ran the settlement houses and playgrounds agreed that people had a "legitimate desire" for drama, music, and dance. Needing merely to find an alternative to the "exploitative" form of "commercialized amusements," they looked to play and gymnastics.[49]

Pageants and festivals, most notably popular annual May Day celebrations organized around the maypole dance, quickly became a staple of the settlements, playgrounds, schools, and colleges of the United States. Quoting the dance critic Joan Acocella to the effect that modern dance arose from primitivist impulse to "heal the split the modern world was thought to have created between nature and the human soul," the dance historian and critic Janice Ross notes that the fêtes "illuminate a pervasive primitivist yearning at the time."[50] Thought to originate in medieval England, these May Day festivities contrasted with the parades of working-class solidarity that had marched through the city every May 1 since the Haymarket Massacre in 1886, parades in which, perhaps not coincidentally, parents of many of the children would have participated.

In contrast, the folklore May Day began with excursions to woodlands so that girls could pick flowers for garlands and boys could find sticks for bows and arrows. The children, attired in white frocks or slacks, then marched to city parks for folk games, songs, and dances. The day culminated in crowning the Queen of the May and the maypole dance, a serpentine dance with ribbons around the pole. Little is known of the first event, but the second

annual Folk Dance Festival for Manhattan and Bronx took place in 1900 and found twenty-five hundred girls dancing the "May Pole Dance" in Van Cortlandt Park on May 29. (In this case, their parents could have brought them to the May Day parade earlier that month!)[51] By 1909, only three years after the founding of the Playground Association, tens of thousands of city children across the United States were participating in the dances: over twenty-five thousand spectators were reported to have watched twelve thousand children dance and frolic in Pittsburgh's Schenley Park in 1909, and New York's Central Park hosted equally impressive numbers each year. In 1914, for instance, a *New York Times* article entitled "Schoolgirls Seen in Folk Dancing" reported Burchenal's efforts to have the 22,915 girls who were enrolled in the Girls' Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League learn and do folk dances in Brooklyn's Prospect Park and New York's Central Park. And on June 8 that year, the Sheep Meadow in Central Park saw between seven and eight thousand children—including some who were blind and deaf—entertain fifteen thousand spectators with their dance around one hundred maypoles. The event concluded with the girls singing the "Star-Spangled Banner" and cheering their head teacher, "Miss Burchenal," who was joined at the reviewing stand by the French and Danish consuls, the chair of the Norwegian Woman's Suffrage Society, and ladies and gentlemen from society who supported the physical-education movement.[52] Indeed, the country dance historian Allison Thompson has catalogued annual May fêtes, with young women in layers of white, ankle-length loose gowns, in cities and at eighty women's colleges and land-grant universities across the country, most beginning early in the century. Undoubtedly, women physical-education teachers, such as Wisconsin's Margaret H'Doubler, initiated many of these activities, and in turn, the dance events fed into the emerging development of dance education in the nation's new schools of education.[53]

The maypole dance was the staple of the early Progressive Era folk dance diet. Dance educators valued it as a democratic experience in that it required teamwork, fostered harmony, and had no "star" performer. But dance educators and teachers felt the need to fill out the diet with dances that reflected the immigrant cultures of their students. They did have a few publications to which they could turn, but the pickings were slim and emphasized some of the European couple dances that had made their way into the ballroom repertoire—the waltz and the polka, for instance—and rural American dances. A Brooklyn-based aficionado who went by the name of C. H. Rivers had published two volumes of reels, squares, contras, polkas, and waltzes that he (mis)titled *Modern Dances* (1885) and *New Dances* (1891). A book of

Girls of the Public School Athletic league folk dance in Central Park at the turn of the century. (George Grantham Bain Collection, Library of Congress)

quadrille (square dance) calls, *The American National Call Book*, was also published in 1893.[54]

Along with the formation of the Playground Association, Luther Gulick's appointment of Elizabeth Burchenal to be executive director of the Girls' Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League in 1906 was a foundational moment in the development of the American folk dance movement. Burchenal's background was not unlike that of those who developed and led the dance revival on both sides of the Atlantic: she had the privileges of a college education, was reared in a progressive tradition, and had a particular interest in dance and the body.

Elizabeth Burchenal was born in 1876 in Richmond, Indiana, the second of six children to Judge Charles Burchenal and his wife, Mary. She had a close relationship to at least two of her sisters, Emma and Ruth, both of whom collaborated with her later in life when they all seem to have moved to New York. Elizabeth attended Richmond's Earlham College, a Quaker liberal arts college with traditional progressive commitments to equality and peace studies. Earlham was the first accredited college to have a May Day celebration in 1875 and sometime soon after introduced the maypole dance—according to Thompson, "performed to a sedate march suitable for Quaker maidens."[55] She graduated with a bachelor's degree in English literature in 1896, but having developed a passion for the healthy bodily movement, she promptly enrolled in the day's most well known program in physical education and dance, the Sargent Normal School of Physical Education (later affiliated with Boston University). By 1889, she had earned an advanced degree in

Elizabeth Burchenal in folkloric costume that reflected her commitment to the importance of all forms of folk dance. This photo originally appeared in the *Cincinnati Enquirer* (March 1929). (From the Burchenal Collection, Howard Gottlieb Archival Research Center at Boston University)

physical education and, after a brief interlude teaching (presumably physical education) in Chicago, moved to New York, where she studied at the Gilbert School of Dance. By 1903, she had won a post teaching physical education at the Horace Mann School, a premier preparatory school experiment run by Teachers College of Columbia University. Horace Mann catered to the children of wealthy New York, undoubtedly many of whom had English roots, but it also had a pool of scholarship students, many of them Jewish, drawn from the city's immigrant population.[56] Believing that the spirit embodied in folk dance was exactly what her young women needed to be teaching urban girls, Burchenal set out to Europe to develop a curriculum of international and English folk dance.

In organizing the curriculum of the Girls' Branch, Burchenal drew heavily on the Danish and Swedish folk songs and games, as well as the English maypole dances, she had seen. Her reliance on Scandinavian folk traditions was in a venerable American folklorist tradition: she was replicating both the itinerary and programs created by highland and southern mountain settlement reformers based on Danish folk schools; after all when Mary Wood Hinman

sought folk dances to teach Chicago's immigrant girls, she also started in Scandinavia in 1907. Burchenal's *Folk-Dances and Singing Games* (1909) was the initial publication of the American Folk Dance Society, which Gulick and Burchenal collaborated in founding in 1906 and of which Burchenal served as president and director. The publisher's blurb for the 1938 reprint credits Burchenal for having "inaugurated" the folk dance movement "in the City of New York," and she certainly merits at least a shared credit (with Hinman) for its national beginnings.[57]

Burchenal began teaching folk dance at Horace Mann around 1905, and the next two years, 1906 and 1907, were seminal years that saw the development of an American folk dance movement. Gulick had invited the former ballet master of the Odessa Government Theatre, Louis H. Chalif (1877–1948), to start his Normal School of Dance in New York in 1904. Gulick then in 1906 hired Chalif to teach folk dance at the New York University Summer School, where he was introduced to many local folk enthusiasts. Chalif subsequently taught folk dance at Felix Adler's Ethical Culture Society of New York. He directed the Grand Harvest Festival of All Nations at Van Cortlandt Park in September 1908, an event sponsored by the Playground Association. And he taught at settlements, including Henry Street, whose head, Lillian Wald, testified to his "wonderful folk dancing." Chalif years later published three volumes of European folk dances, some of which are actually stylized classical dances drawing on folkloric traditions (character dances).[58]

The years 1906 and 1907 also witnessed a significant set of Atlantic crossings. Twelve dancers and two fiddlers from Sweden, the Skansen Dancers, self-organized a tour of the United States. Arriving in New York in January 1906, the group parlayed successful visits to Chicago and Minneapolis into a fifty-seven-city tour of the country and a return trip the next winter.[59]

Fledgling American dance researchers made return visits to Europe. A volume called *Swedish Folk Dances*, translated by a Swedish American physical-education instructor in the Staten Island public schools, appeared in 1906, but it seems to have only whetted the appetite for more dances. The next year, two intrepid and pioneering American folk dance researchers took off for Europe.[60] Dance historians believe that Mary Wood Hinman took a research trip to several European countries, including Sweden, in 1907 and based her four-volume *Gymnastics and Folk Dances* (1923) on it. That same year found Elizabeth Burchenal in England in quest of morris dances.[61] Burchenal's first collection of twenty-six songs and dances consisted predominantly of material from Sweden and Denmark. The one English dance included was the "May-Pole Dance."[62]

Dance leaders across the country seemed to have moved quickly to incorporate folk dances "from many lands," although, in fact the dances were primarily from northern Europe. An interesting exception was the 1907 May Day program at the University of Wisconsin; it presented German, French, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Russian, Irish, and Spanish dances, but the day also included "Negro" and American dances.[63]

University dance programs served a relatively elite young constituency, however, for whom "peasant" folk dance was gendered recreation and exercise through exposure to the culture of "others." Urban settlement and playground workers were equally eager to build on the modest early work to build folk dance programs, but their programs carried an additional moral and missionary class valence with political meaning. Chicago's Hinman introduced folk dance at Hull House in 1897 and, shortly after, at the Dewey School, where John Dewey actively supported the program. Writing twelve years later, Hinman waxed about how folk dance had had two major results: "The men gained the American attitude of respect for women, which they knew nothing of in the other country; and second, they learned the value of self-respect." Young people, she noted, "lose the desire to go elsewhere"—presumably the music hall. And she was surprised to note that many of them, having learned to be more "reliable," get job promotions. By 1909, folk dance had become a part of the regular curriculum at all the leading Chicago settlements and for girls at four Chicago elementary schools, including the Latin School for Girls and the University School for Girls. Dance programs were concentrated in girls' schools, but they were also introduced for both boys and girls at University of Chicago Elementary School and High School, where fourth graders learned their first folk dance: the sailors' hornpipe from England.[64]

Efforts in Baltimore and Boston were more modest, but local program directors offered no less glowing reports of the impact of folk dance on children. Mary B. Stewart, supervisor of the Children's Playground Association of Baltimore, wrote of the "beneficial" effects of the dance on the children's "poise, [and] lightness of step." She noted also its social and moral benefits: it "broadened their interest in each other" and made them happier, kinder, and "less selfish."[65] Boston's Helen Storrow, a wealthy grande dame who came to play a leading role in the American movement, was equally effusive. The classes at her Boston dance academy had taught both aesthetic and folk dance, but they had begun to stress the latter, "as it encourages sociability."[66]

New York, where Elizabeth Burchenal was based, had the largest dance program. Burchenal used her organizational roles in both the Public

Schools Athletic League and the Playground Association to good advantage. By 1907, 253 New York City teachers were teaching folk dances, virtually all of northern European origin, to 8,219 girls in 128 city schools.[67] A 1909 letter to Gulick from Margaret Knox, principal of PS 15 on Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, testified to the impact Burchenal had on her school alone. Burchenal had directed folk dance classes at the school in 1907, and the fifth-grade girls had since formed a folk dance club, the Burchenal Athletic Club. Forty of the sixty girls in the club took part in folk songs and games, and the "healthy, happy girls" performed fifteen of the dances. All the dances originated in northern Europe, and most were British or Scandinavian.[68]

Folk dance was more than exercise, however, and it was the political import of the practice that impassioned reformer-educators such as Gulick and Burchenal and gave them their sense of mission. This was especially the case as the second decade of the century unfolded and labor struggles heated up in the immigrant city. The enthusiasm in the nineteen-teens for "Americanization" drove reformers' desires to impart roots of American nationalism that could both redeem and transform foreigners into Americans, albeit hyphenated ones. Folk dance was social dance, but it was also an orderly form of sociability. Unlike the tango, for which there was no single tune and people improvised as a couple within a set of moves to the beat, every English Country Dance had a name and a particular piece of music (or in some cases, a couple of tunes) associated with it. Each dance also had an ordered set of figures, each with taught embodiments that constituted a turn of the dance. Dancers were not free to move about the floor at will, but as a couple and within the unit of the set. ECD was an ordered and orderly *communal* dance event. Indeed, beyond its sense of decorum, both Gulick and Burchenal believed folk dance taught a cooperative spirit that spoke to core American democratic values. Diversity of immigrant cultures risked dividing urban peoples, thought Gulick. In folk festivals, children dance national dances, but at the same time they are "uniting with other citizens in a spirit of civic unity." Folk dances, he argued, express the ties of the individual to a community. It is 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." Democracy, then, requires a sand box for small children, a 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."[69]

Elizabeth Burchenal was even more pointed in establishing the connections between folk dance, democracy, and Americanization. In their countries of origin, folk dances, she wrote, "*are the traditional rural community recreation of the people*, and contain the very essence of *social group play.*" They have "universal appeal . . . as an innocent, wholesome, happy form of relaxation and social enjoyment." She particularly wanted to "emphasize the large opportunities, as yet not generally realized, which folk-dancing offers as Recreation for Adults, its possibilities as a Democratic Socializing Agent, and its value as a form of *real* Americanization." In this sense, folk dance, for Burchenal, is no less than a path to citizenship: it familiarizes people with other peoples, establishes a common ground, broadens their education and culture, and most importantly allows immigrants to "appreciate the spirit of cooperation and good fellowship engendered by this social contact in play." Burchenal understood these lessons of cooperation as not just for foreigners but to teach all "folks" how to "develop citizenship . . . in a friendly and democratic way." That, she noted, would be "*real* Americanization."[70]

The infusion of the Americanization project gave new purpose and direction to Atlantic crossings. English Country Dance could do double duty as expression of the folk and of Anglo-American national culture. In the second decade of the twentieth century, then, England rather than Scandinavia became the new destination of choice for a growing cadre of Anglophiles and folk dance enthusiasts.

Anglo-American "Roots" as Revival and Invention

In traveling to Europe, and especially to England, early U.S. revivalists, ironically, for the most part imagined their revivalist project, especially in dance and in the urban context, as primarily the reinvigoration of a European tradition, not that of a longstanding American activity. This was as true for those who worked in rural America in what came to be known as "Appalachia"—both American folklorists and, famously, Cecil Sharp—as it was for those who labored in northern urban settlements. As noted earlier, early folklore collecting focused on highland ballads of English origin and generally ignored the complicated origin stories and multinational, transnational, and urban histories of dance in the United States that had roots in colonial America.[71] Thus, when folklorists such as Elizabeth Burchenal focused on Scandinavia and England for American settlers' roots, the "revival" they helped lead was partially a process of historical amnesia. Burchenal's fifth book, *American Country-Dances* (1917), focused on the con-

tra dances of New England, which she acknowledged were "slightly reminiscent" of English country dances but were "the products of . . . one of the old, most truly American sections of the country, where many generations have grown up undisturbed by foreign influences."[72]

But Burchenal also embraced and welcomed Cecil Sharp to the United States as the fount of "genuine" folk dance for the United States and, at least initially, welcomed and promoted his teaching of English dance. And in doing so, American folk revivalists generally forgot America's historical experience with English Country Dance, and they underappreciated the polyglot cousin forms that flourished in the American countryside, if they did not discount them entirely, and scurried off instead to find and experience their English folk "roots."