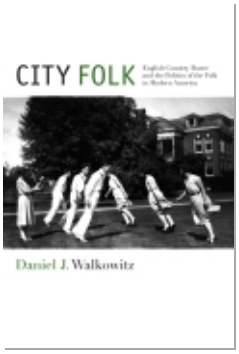
6 The Second Folk Revival



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The Second Folk Revival

> In this country, English Country Dancing in the '30s and '40s and '50s was definitely an American upper-class snooty activity. It was done at the Metropolitan Club in New York, things like that. . . . It did loosen up in '60s, as many other things did.
>
> —Gene Murrow, ECD caller and musician, 2000[1]

> I guess we came at it from folk singing actually. We were products of the folk revival of the '60s. . . . We ultimately opened a folk club, and one of the people . . . got interested in this strange ritual called morris dancing. . . . And then we decided to do some country dances. . . . And it's been downhill ever since.
>
> —Tom Seiss, past president of CDSS, 1999[2]

"Freaks" are destroying conditions in Washington Square Park, wrote Newbold Morris, the New York City commissioner of parks, in March 1961, denying a renewal of the permit to folk sing in the park. "I want to emphasize I am not opposed to the wonderful symphony concerts, bands, quartets or chamber music"; rather, he opposed the "fellows that come from miles away to display the most terrible costumes, haircuts, etc. and who play bongo drums and other weird instruments attracting a weird public."[3] But from the rise of a bohemia in the teens to the beatniks of the fifties, cultural and political radicals had long congregated in the Village and its main park on Washington Square to socialize, organize, and rally; Morris's polemical response to the folk singers reflected something new: a growing culture clash between affluent, middle-class, Anglo-Saxon whites and the young, ethnic denizens of the park. Thus, when a "Right to Sing" protest movement led by Alan Lomax and a new young Village politician, Edward I. Koch (who himself sang in the park and later served the city as its 105th mayor for three terms from 1978 to 1989), held a mass protest demonstration in the park, police met passive resistance with billyclubs in what the press (mis)characterized as a "riot." Although a committee that was formed to protest Morris's

denial of their permit to sing in the park won a reversal from Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr. several months later, notably absent from the controversy was a neighborhood organization with an aligned set of interests, the Country Dance Society of America.[4] May Gadd, national director of CDS, lived only three blocks east of the park, and the society's weekly dance events were held a few blocks further north in the West Village, at Metropolitan-Duane Church at the corner of West 13th Street and Seventh Avenue.

The folk singers and CDS did share some characteristics that distinguished them all from the new migrants to the city from the South and Puerto Rico. Both groups were relatively well-off and mostly "white"—though the folk singers, as white ethnics, had won that identity only as they became more affluent second- and third-generation immigrant Americans. But the two groups were divided by political world views, class, and ethnicity. The folk music spoke to and for a growing political movement committed to social action on civil rights and for nuclear disarmament. With roots in the beatniks and bluegrass, though, the new movement had cultural as well as political dimensions.

In truth, both Newbold Morris and CDS dancers could view the park folkies as "freaks." Morris's social profile and disposition resembled that of the folk dancers at Duane Hall—mostly well-to-do Anglo-American elites—rather than the scruffy folk singers in the park, many of whom were middle-income secular Jews.[5] Morris was a Yale-educated descendant of a wealthy colonial family (the Bronx area of Morrisania was their original fiefdom). CDS's social profile and the outlook of its members were not so different. In 1961, in Boston (where the countercultural scene around Harvard Square mirrored developments in Washington Square Park) and New York—still the two main centers—CDS remained a socially conservative, elite group.[6] Like Morris, the members were liberal on social issues such as race—Morris had taken progressive public positions on controversial civil rights issues—but they remained socially conservative. As important, both Morris and CDS members lived in the shadow of the Cold War, in which association with "reds" was suspect if not dangerous. In addition, to social conservatives, long-haired, "disheveled" New Left radicals and hippies, many of them ethnic Americans, lacked proper social manners.

However, ironically, the social distance between CDS and the folk "freaks" could mask cultural affinities, for they shared interests in country musical idioms. At the same time as folkies in the park sparked the urban development of modern bluegrass, they helped nourish a revival of what the folklorist John Bealle valorizes as "authentic," "old-time" (and antimodern) traditional

southern Appalachian music dear to CDS: the music for the "Kentucky Running Set" that Sharp that had "discovered" in 1917 and American contra and squares.[7] Indeed, a decade after the Washington Square Park "riot," some children of the folk participants (and others from similar folkie haunts) migrated into CDS, unleashing a culture conflict within the organization itself and a fundamental shift in its character. But in the United States in 1961, the two movements remained apart. The folkies in the park represented an intermediate moment in the second folk revival that only later came to have an impact on the American Country Dance movement in schooling a generation of young people who moved laterally into ECD in the seventies from a late-sixties contra revival. Significantly, the second revival had an earlier and more direct impact on the Americans' English brethren. The reasons for the difference illustrate once again both the transatlantic character of the twentieth-century folk revivals and how the Cold War and the local political culture of EFDSS and CDS/CDSS took each organization into very different directions.

The twentieth century witnessed two folk revivals, and the markedly different political and social meaning of each for the folk dance movement divides this study. In the second half of the century, the English Country Dance movement took on a new geographical reach and political valence. Geographically, the movement, which had been largely rooted in New York and Boston, became truly transcontinental. As important, though, a new young generation of dancers that was shaped by the postwar folk song and dance revival entered ECD and broadened the ethnic and class base of the community into the professional, white-collar strata. In turn, this series of political and cultural transformations offers a metacommentary on the history of left-liberal political culture at the end of the twentieth century. So while this chapter contrasts the histories of the second revival in both countries, it does so with an eye to the larger focus on ECD and the politics of the folk in the United States.

The two twentieth-century folk revivals were Atlantic World experiences involving the transnational flow of ideas and peoples, but they differed in some fundamental ways. The earlier revival at the turn of the century traveled from the Old World to the New; the second reversed the flow. Originating in the United States, the second revival moved eastward to Britain. But while both revivals established roots in urban dance venues, they did so with different political valences. In the first, revivalists often sought to renovate city life by "educating" immigrants or teaching them to respect their parents' culture and tradition; in the second, revivalists promoted a multidimensional and

ever-changing left-liberal "popular" political culture as an alternative to what they saw as a hegemonic, hierarchical, and materialist bourgeois culture.[8]

The second folk revival, which occurred in midcentury, unlike the first, has largely been studied as a music revival, but it transformed dance as well as song.[9] Moreover, it did so with surprisingly different effects on English Country Dance on each side of the Atlantic. Indeed, by the end of the twentieth century, commentary on the distinct styles and trajectories of the country dance on either side of the Atlantic had become commonplace in public dance forums and within each community. In England, people came to English dances as couples and danced with a certain British reserve. American dance etiquette required that dancers regularly change partners, and the style urged eye contact. Most interesting, by the end of the century, many well-traveled and knowledgeable dancers on both sides of the Atlantic came to see Playford-style historical dances as thriving in the United States and languishing in England. This chapter examines the origins of this ironic history in the overlapping but distinct sounds, styles, repertoires, and legacies that emerged out of the differing experience of the second revival in England and the United States.

Folk Song and the Origins of the Second Folk Revival

Historians and folklorists have tended to date the second revival to the late 1950s, when the Newport Folk Festival began and hints of a counterculture emerged in the mobilization of folk music by the civil rights and anti-nuclear-bomb movements.[10] The second revival has a longer history, however, with at least two distinct phases: beginning in the 1930s, the first phase ends in the late 1950s or early 1960s; the second phase, associated with "the Sixties," extends into the early 1970s, although recent historians of folk song carry the revival into what could be considered a third phase during the next decades: a national turn focuses on discovering "roots" in the 1970s (i.e., Celtic, Israeli, Balkan, and other roots) and then on World Music of the 1980s.[11] Regardless of the precise dating, the key is that the Cold War complicates this genealogy, especially in the United States. The second revival transformed the English Country Dance movement in England as early as the mid-1930s, but its effects on ECD were more muted in the United States because of the virulence of the Cold War here. Only when the United States finally emerged from outside the oppressive shadow of the Cold War in the closing years of the second phase did the revival transform English Country Dance in the United States.

The roots of the second revival lie in the interwar years, when radical political culture and new commercial interests in ethnic radio and "race" records combined to stimulate and spread an increased love affair with "common folk."[12] The historian Benjamin Filene's work on prewar "roots music" demonstrates the seminal place of the three Lomaxes—John Lomax and his two sons, John Jr. and Alan—in the awakening of new voices and conceptions of the folk during the Great Depression. In the preceding decade, record companies increasingly popularized vernacular music—cowboy songs collected by the senior Lomax, "hillbilly" music, Negro spirituals, and jazz—and some of the music, especially the jazz, found enthusiastic but select urban audiences in both the American North (the Harlem Renaissance) and London's Soho nightclubs. These infatuations won audiences, but on the whole, the "myth of the British ballad" remained well entrenched as the main repository of "folk" culture.[13]

With the outbreak of the Depression, the stage was set for a renewed interest in the folk with new emphases, and the American folk were at the center of this new revival. In publishing *The American Songbag* in 1926, the renowned poet and biographer Carl Sandburg gave credence to the idea that there was an indigenous American music tradition, and two years later, the appointment of Robert Winslow Gordon as the inaugural director of the Archive of American Folk-Song in the Library of Congress institutionalized this belief in the country's national library. But as important as the American roots of this revival was the reinvigorated cult of authenticity it promoted. To be sure, in Cecil Sharp's debates with Mary Neal and others, each side had advanced its own vision of the "authentic" dancer and referenced or challenged the authority of a dancer-source such as William Kimber. The second revival, however, gave much greater voice to the source than just to the collector. Unlike in Sharp's days, folklorists such as the Lomaxes continued the troubling practice of claiming copyright of songs they "collected," even as they shared the stage with native singers such as Muddy Waters, Jean Ritchie, or "Lead Belly" (Huddie Ledbetter).[14]

The "roots" music and collecting during the 1920s constituted an important prehistory of the second folk revival, but as Filene points out, the cross-country collecting trip of the three Lomaxes in 1933 laid its "groundwork."[15] The Lomaxes' trip, funded in part by both the American Council of Learned Societies and the Library of Congress's Folk-Song Archive, pioneered the use of electronic recording machines in collecting, giving the collectors considerable authority and power in the dissemination of their findings. Ironically, their collecting strategy replicated Sharp's belief in how the Anglo origins

of the "Running Set" had been "preserved" in pristine "backwoods" settlements. On the assumption that prisoners' isolation from corrupting commercial pressures would have helped "preserve" their music, the Lomaxes focused on recording black singers in prisons. This belief took them to Louisiana's Angola Prison, where they "discovered" the man who was to shape the American folk music revival: Lead Belly. Lead Belly became the best known of the coterie of "authentic" folk singers given voice by collectors such as the Lomaxes and Woody Guthrie. Subsequently, folk singers such as Pete Seeger and the groups for which he was a lead singer, the Almanac Singers and the Weavers, popularized their songs (such as Lead Belly's "Goodnight, Irene") and inspire a generation of urban folk singers.[16]

The revival sound was characterized by its music, both in the twang and down-home intonations of singers and in the instrumentation and rhythms. Folk music was the umbrella term for a series of musical traditions with southern, western, and mountain country roots that came together in a folk-jazz-blues triad. The music incorporated aspects of earlier jazz music with ballads, folk songs of social significance, cowboy songs, blues music (e.g., Muddy Waters), and the gospel songs that accompanied civil rights protest. In contrast to the "authentic" music sung by native singers, bluegrass was a high-energy, modern ensemble form that gained enormous popularity during the 1950s with five- and six-member bands accompanying songs on acoustic guitars, mandolins, banjos, and dulcimers or autoharps. Bluegrass instrumentation and tunes bore a family resemblance to southern mountain music, but the band gave the music its own character, and like many of the folk songs of this era, bluegrass musicians freely wrote new "folk" tunes. Categorized by record stores as Country/Western Music until 1960, bluegrass and "old-time" music coexisted uneasily in the next decade as two strains in a second revival phase and fueled new interest from the counterculture in country music and dance. "Folk" in this new revival became a modern idiom based on an imagined past with a rural or country tradition, and the city folkies became the folk.[17]

The folk music movement—collectors, singers, musicians, and enthusiasts—in pressing the "authenticity" of its sources, romanticized and exoticized singers from the mountains, as Filene and others have pointed out. But how folklorists, "folkies," performers, and commercial producers of records and concerts constructed and patrolled definitions of "the folk" always riddled folk revival controversies, and continued do so. More important to the particular character of the second revival folk project than its "authenticity" were its left-liberal politics, the political values of a spectrum of groups that

spanned liberalism and radicalism with different permutations and connections at different times.

Among the most distinguishing characteristics of the revival's politics was its "internationalism." Revival events featured international folk singing or dancing—that is, though songs and dances had national origins, they were sung, danced, or performed as part of international events, where they shared the stage or floor with dances or songs "from many lands." In fact, the audience as a nonnational conglomerate was crucial: people sang *other people's* songs, and significantly, in doing so the song became transnational or international, a song of the "common man [*sic*]."

The roots of the left-wing core of the second revival lay in the interwar years. Radicals, who had looked to Russia ever since the Russian Revolution of 1917 for alternatives to capitalist culture, saw the international proletarianism of folk cultures as an inspiration and source for nurturing "Socialist Man [*sic*]." Folk song and dance became an integral part of a radical alternative socialist culture. By day, left-wing socialists and communists organized and protested, whether in cotton fields and mills of the South or in the steel, auto, or garment factories of the industrial city; at night, they took inspiration from, built unity with, and relaxed listening to the records of folklorists such as Alan Lomax and Woody Guthrie, or they sang along with the songs of "the people," of the same rural and urban working class for whom they fought by day. The coming of the Great Depression only quickened radical Americans' commitments to the "common man," a person who bore a family resemblance to the figure at the heart to the New Deal imaginary, FDR's "forgotten man."

The midcentury folk revival that emerged in both Britain and the United States in response to the Great Depression was, then, the cultural side of socialist and communist social and political movements. In contrast to the first revival, it included a fundamental left-wing celebration in song and dance (and other cultural forms) of the dispossessed or, in more orthodox terms, of the proletariat. Much like the first revival, it gave voice and body to the cultural legacy of peasant traditions as pristine and uncorrupted by the materialism and decadence associated with urban life. (Of course, this idea had long fueled a nationalist context for celebration of the folk as carriers of national heritage, for which Nazi National Socialist claims of the purity of *volk* were an alternative to the communists' internationalist celebration of the same songs and dances.) In the United States, folk singers such as Pete Seeger and the Weavers, Lead Belly, Woody Guthrie, Burl Ives, and the Almanac Singers all spawned a new revival of what Seeger tellingly called "songs

of social significance." Published in *The People's Songbook* and monthly editions of *Sing Out!* a few were the old English ballads that the folklorist and Harvard professor Francis James Child had first "discovered" in archives in the 1880s; others were Wobblie labor songs written by Joe Hill and others in the opening decades of the century and now recycled for a new Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) labor movement; others still were spirituals, "hillbilly" songs from the mountains (and not British ballads), and "common people's" songs of work, protest, love, struggle, and survival. And still others were new songs of protest written for ongoing social movements for peace, civil rights, and social justice. The songs, then, were more than clarion calls for the labor movement: they were the revivalist spirit for the cultural critic Michael Denning's "cultural front," a left-liberal social movement that extended, for instance, to summer camps, hootenannies, and in time, to the civil rights and antiwar peace movements of the 1950s and 1960s.[18]

Of course, much of the second revival did not fit so neatly into either radical or liberal camps, and many revival groups were more equivocal and expressed a contradictory hybrid of a left-liberalism. The International Folk Music Council, for instance, an offshoot of the League of Nations, was a social-democratic forum that attracted, on the one hand, people such as May Gadd, Elizabeth Burchenal, and Maud Karpeles, who avoided taking public political positions and were quite conservative socially, and on the other hand, activist folksingers such as Pete Seeger and Burl Ives and folklorists such as Charles Seeger and Alan Lomax. The groups' annual meetings radiated a Fabian socialism that spoke more of peace, friendship, and understanding than of anticapitalist economic restructuring.[19] The cultural production of the Popular Front in the late 1930s occupied a similarly anomalous left-liberal political space.[20] Folk song and dance at the left-wing overnight camps was unequivocally internationalist, but other cultural expressions—murals sponsored by the Works Progress Administration or "Left" modern dance based on folk motifs—could be polemical political statements, more moderate gestures in alternative forms, or national celebrations.

Composers such as Ralph Vaughan Williams in England and Charles Ives, Aaron Copland, and Ira Gershwin in the United States turned to folk song to inform the spirit of classical music (e.g., in *Appalachian Spring, Ode to the Common Man,* and *Porgy and Bess*). Similarly, in modern dance, choreographers reflected the gamut of possible political invocations of the folk. At one end of the spectrum were radical dancers such as Edith Segal, who the historian Victoria Geduld notes "was inspired by the CPUSA agitprop department in the 1920s." Segal had several troupes, and the more professional

dancers did agit-prop "modern" dance (workers at work and in struggle), while folk dancers met in other dance groups. Other choreographers, such as Sophie Maslow and Helen Tamaris, also used the folk to express political protest but ultimately paid for their choice in the next decade: they were blacklisted (Maslow from mainstream television) or kept from any government funding opportunities (e.g., postwar State Department tours discussed later in this chapter). Their experience contrasted with that of the "queens of using folk in high modernist/theatrical forms": Agnes de Mille and Martha Graham. They used highly trained professional bodies to perform highly abstract folk themes (as in *Rodeo* and *Appalachian Spring*) to celebrate the nation. While Maslow and Segal were debunked, ignored, or persecuted in the Cold War, Graham was awarded the Presidential Medal of Honor, and de Mille was tapped to be a cultural ambassador for the State Department.[21] In sum, while some cultural expressions were radical and oppositional, others were reformist and, like Earl Robinson's modern folk cantata "Ballad for Americans," could be a uniquely alternative form of American nationalism.[22]

The International Folk Dance movement also varied and, significantly, tended to be more liberal and less unequivocally populist and internationalist than the folk song movement, although the commodified form of the revival that moved forward from the late 1960s encompassed liberalism in folk song as well. However, in the United States during the Cold War—and in contrast to the British experience—the liberal version of internationalism that characterized much of the dance revival movement had special resonance, for it often served a nationalist agenda that the left-wing version eschewed. Liberal revival groups or individuals, often claiming to be nonpartisan or nonpolitical, celebrated the diversity of song and dance they performed as a testimony to uniquely American pluralism and democracy—a version of American exceptionalism that was popularly advanced by anticommunist liberal cold warriors. In the Cold War climate of the postwar United States, those trying to distance themselves from the radical side of the second revival, which had strong communist and left-wing socialist affinities, welcomed this liberal safe haven.[23]

In the United States, ECD was one such safe haven until the late 1960s. Only then did newcomers come out of the folk dance revival and into country dance, and in doing so, they reshaped the social profile, values, and traditions in the ECD community. The legacy of International Folk Dance, then, bears special attention, both for the impact it came to have and for the fact that in the immediate postwar era, International Folk Dance was the path that English Country Dancers in the United States, as part of a national dance tradition, for the most part *did not take*.

International Folk Dance

While the internationalism of the second revival was, for the most part, populist and left-wing in song, it had both liberal and radical political expressions in dance that had historical precedents. Through the mid-1930s, the dances that were to become the International Folk Dance repertoire were taught and performed as "character" or ethnic dance. Folk dance teachers such as Louis Chalif, Elizabeth Burchenal, and Mary Wood Hinman (who left Chicago for New York in the 1930s to take a leading role in teaching folk dances "of many lands" in settlements) did not present these dances as international expressions of a common peasant or "common people's" experience so much as windows into rich national cultures, much in the mode of the International Folk Music Council. The New York City Board of Education recommended Chalif's four 1914 dance texts, and Burchenal and Hinman organized folk festivals with dances from many lands across the country during the first third of the century.[24] The New York Folk Festival Council—the 1931 brainchild of Elba Gursay, an Italian folk dancer, and the Foreign Language Information Council—was also not an "International Dance" per se, as each group performed dances from only its "own" land; it was an international *occasion* in that different ethnic dance groups from across the city came together and demonstrated their dances to one another. Indeed, audience complaints that they wanted to dance rather than just to observe transformed the occasion in the next years. Audiences began to dance "other people's" dances, and the event became fundamentally an "International Dance."[25] The coming of the Depression and the rise of the "cultural front" enhanced this new meaning of the dances as an expression of "international proletarianism." And in the shift of both practice and meaning, International Folk Dance became the dance centerpiece of a second folk revival.

The International Folk Dance movement emerged in three different urban centers across the United States in the 1930s—San Francisco, Chicago, and New York—to become the dance core of a social movement. The ethnomusicologist Mirjana Lausevic has described the leading roles played by three men, two immigrants and an immigrant son, in developing the American International Folk Dance movement. All three men experienced discrimination in their lives, and the movement they built was characterized as both participatory and inclusive, both of dancers and national dance traditions. In Chicago, the movement was led by Vytrutus ("Vyts") Beliajus (1908–1994), a Lithuanian American who immigrated to the United States in 1923. Beliajus seems to have been introduced to international dance at Chicago's settle-

ment houses, but it was New Deal programs that spurred his programmatic work. Hired by the city's Park District to teach folk dance in 1936, he edited the folk dance magazine *Lore* as a WPA project. The years between 1937 and 1940 found him touring and teaching International Folk Dance at over two hundred universities, colleges, and institutions, establishing the base for a national and regional International Folk Dance movement.[26]

In San Francisco, where the movement took root in California, the leading figure was Song Chang, who the local folk dance journal as early as 1944 described as "the father of the folk dance movement in the west." Chang, who may have been introduced to folk dancing on a boat traveling from Germany to France around 1930, came by internationalism naturally: a Chinese immigrant who had lived in Europe, his wife, Harriet, about whom little else is known, was Scandinavian. Settling in San Francisco in the 1930s, he hooked up with a Swedish group, and after an enthusiastic reception greeted his teaching a range of Scandinavian dances on his honeymoon voyage to China, he resolved to start a recreational group in the city. International dances had long been taught in area schools, colleges, and community centers—the legacy of folk dance as a missionary activity—and he felt the need to create a "public" site where all people could come together to dance voluntarily as a recreational and social experience. As important, in the spirit of the era, he wanted to break down the national barriers in ethnic dance (indeed, ethnic groups constantly worried that international dance groups would butcher their dances) and organize on a "true democratic basis." In contrast to the insular and narrow social profile of the ECD communities on both sides of the Atlantic at the time, and inspired by the efforts of the New York Folk Council, Chang wanted to create a "democratic" public dance venue.[27]

Chang's International Folk Dancers began in 1938 with a small group of writers, artists, and artisans. The Treasure Island World's Fair in 1939 stimulated further interest in International Folk Dance and jump-started what became a West Coast social movement. By 1942, the Folk Dance Federation of California had formed with an "authoritative" repertoire, dance camps, training sessions, and new groups scattered throughout the Bay Area, and Chang's dance group remained a major focus for northern California International Folk Dance until the mid-1960s.[28]

Beliajus and Chang played major regional roles in the development of a nationwide International Folk Dance movement, but the "father" of this movement in the United States was New York's Michael Herman. Born in Cleveland in 1910 of Ukrainian parents, Herman was reared on ethnic dance. Herman and his wife, Mary Ann, with whom he spearheaded International

Folk Dance in New York, were both active in the New York Ukrainian community and in the late 1930s began to join other ethnic dance groups, notably Danish and French, to learn their repertoire. Together they built a movement: they created and taught a repertoire, they brought an enthusiasm and standard of excellence to the practice, and they institutionalized the dancing at their Folk Dance House.

Much as the World's Fair in San Francisco had helped kindle International Folk Dance on the West Coast, the New York World's Fair of 1939 stimulated international dance for Herman on the East Coast. Herman's reputation as a folk dance leader won him an invitation in 1940 from a Folk Festival Council leader to teach folk dance on the "American 'Common.'" The space was dedicated to "nationality days"—the liberal nationalist idea—but Herman took the opportunity to introduce International Dance sessions and, significantly, as participatory events, not performances. Building on the momentum from the dances, in which Herman estimated over five thousand people took part, he rented a room in the Ukrainian National Hall on East 6th Street on the Lower East Side and on October 15, 1941, held the inaugural session of his Community Folk Dance Center. That year, adopting the model of the EFDS summer schools, the Hermans also held the first International Folk Dance camp in West Virginia, and in March 1941, they began the publication of *The Folk Dancer*. (Chang's magazine with the same title had begun a month earlier, but the two coasts were worlds apart then.) The camp later moved to Maine, where the Hermans continued to run it for the next four decades, and in 1951, they opened on Sixth Avenue and 16th Street what American enthusiasts came to view as the citadel of International Folk Dance in the United States: Folk Dance House.[29]

Thus, the folk dance movement that emerged in the wartime and postwar eras was a complex folk village with many houses. The *New York Times* listing of "folk dance events" in New York for a week in November 1941 is illustrative. It announces sixteen different sessions, with decidedly different venues and, presumably, audiences. The listings for Monday, Friday, and Saturday suggest that the social geography of the dance community had class boundaries. On Monday, Italian folk dancers met at the YWCA on East 17th Street, while two blocks away on East 15th Street another group met to do "general folk dancing." A third group, led by Gene Gowing, inaugurated a new series of weekly ECD and American squares in Rockefeller Center's Rainbow Room. On Friday, Michael Herman's group met at Arlington Hall on St. Mark's Place in the Village, while May Gadd's CDS group offered an evening of American squares called by Adrian Hall at Steinway Hall on West

International Folk Dancing, ca. 1950. A line dance snakes around the room (a gymnasium). The "authentic" costuming was Balkan, though the dance could have been Greek or Balkan. (Used by permission of the Country Dance and Song Society Archives, www.cdss.org; Milne Special Collections and Archives Department, University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH)

57th Street. The Scottish Country Dance Society met two blocks to the north on 59th Street. Finally, on Saturday there were four sessions for beginners and more advanced international or "general" folk dancers, ranging from Elizabeth Burchenal's session at the Folk Arts Center in Midtown at 650 Fifth Avenue to those at the YWCA and Steinway Hall. CDS held sessions of "mostly English Dances" on Saturday as well, at a hall in the Russell Sage Foundation building on East 22nd Street.[30]

The many venues for International Folk Dance meant that there was an evening that might appeal to almost anyone's particular social or political inclination, whether it was liberal, radical, or some hybrid formation. The variation and possible political overlaps could, for instance, be seen in the contradictory messages involved in Herman's World's Fair dances. As Lausevic has noted in her study of the roots of International Folk Dance, Her-

man's celebration of internationalism at a time of world disunity held great irony: "the American Common was created by the Soviet Union's withdrawal from the Fair with the outbreak of the Second World War, and as an ideological Cold War paean to 'democracy' against totalitarianism." One did ethnic dances, Lausevic points out, as Americans.[31] Thus, the celebration of diversity (what a later generation called multiculturalism) and nationalism underpinned the appeal of International Dance to both liberal and conservative participants.

But, of course, the New York World's Fair experience was not the whole story. Lausevic has described the significant local and regional differences: California's movement was more oriented toward teaching and performance than the New York or Chicago groups, for instance. The East and Midwest cities also drew on larger white ethnic communities, and New York had a strong left-wing community with roots in Left secular Jewish culture. It is important, though, not to allow the domestic nationalism of the Cold War International Folk Dance movement to obscure the more left-liberal meaning of International Folk Dance for many of its proponents, especially in East Coast cities such as New York, where ECD was also headquartered. Although some dancers belonged to more than one group, those in the wartime and postwar eras for whom International Folk Dance became a passion chose it rather than join an ethnic national group. International Folk Dance was populist, although dancers could be liberal or radical or Popular Front or communist or social democratic. Herman's appreciation that "all walks of life" and "every nationality and race was represented" at the World's Fair dances was a radical commentary on class and racial inclusion, even if it was somewhat overstated.[32]

Chang's Chinese heritage testifies to the diversity of the movement, and it did encourage ethnic inclusiveness, but photographs, oral history, and available data suggest that the racial and class social profile of the movement was, with some important differences, remarkably similar to that of the ECD community. First, although both communities had few if any dancers of African American, Hispanic, or Asian background, the "whiteness" of the international community was "colored" by the presence of large numbers of white ethnics, who only more recently had "become" white.[33] Second, a 1946 survey conducted among 117 California Federation dancers attending a folk festival found the occupations of dancers to be white-collar workers and predominantly professionals and semiprofessionals. The surveyor did suggest that the questionnaire may have had a bias because semiunskilled and unskilled workers known to be in the dance community may have chosen

not to respond. Of those responding, clerks, engineers, teachers and professors, chemists, and secretaries constituted the largest number, although the crowd also included students, housewives, students, and three carpenters.[34] By 1950–51, the California Federation reported that it had forty to fifty thousand members—a number that included ethnic and international dancers—suggesting that the social base of the American folk dance community during this pre-1960s era was generally broader and more democratic than the ECD community. No folk dance group seemed to have many industrial workers, but the second folk revival also increasingly brought people from the growing middle class into its ranks.[35] Thus, while International Folk Dance was a more varied political expression than folk song in this first half of the second revival, it provided an alternative racial, class, and transnational experience to that of the dominant American political culture. Henry Glass, the first president of the Folk Dance Federation of California, captured the fundamental populist spirit of the dance community: International Folk Dance was a "chance to live brotherhood."[36]

Populist sentiment was the broadest expression of the International Folk Dancers, but their ranks also included a significant left-wing cadre with more formal political affiliations and programmatic interests. Left-wing groups of International Folk Dancers, many made up of communist and left-socialist sympathizers, if not party members, constituted a vital core of the International Dance community. The left-wing community was not without its contradictions, however. Committed to social justice, ideals of world peace, and brotherhood, their identification with the peasantry as a socially redemptive force meant that the cult of authenticity in the International Folk Dance community led to frequent obsessions with costumes and styling. And as was so often the case among those transmitting folk traditions across time and generations, the imagined folk bore a less precise relationship to the peasantry than acknowledged. Moreover, while the left-wing dance community also spoke of equality and cooperation, the dance floor was a competitive and hierarchical space where leaders and "experts" held and expected to be given pride of place.[37]

Still, left-wing International Folk Dance groups offered a distinct alternative vision of social relations and political engagement to that proffered by either the dominant Cold War culture or the more elite ECD community. By day, International Folk Dancers organized trade unions, led rent strikes, and dreamed of socialism as they imagined it was being built in the Soviet Union; at night, they joined together at one another's homes or in left-wing resorts in the Catskill Mountain region such as Camp Unity, Camp Nitge

Daiget ("I Don't Worry"), Chester's, Crystal Lake, Arrowhead Lodge, Camp Kinderland, White Lake Lodge, and Nature Friends to sing "songs of social significance" and do International Folk Dance.[38] And in the summer, they sent their children to radical overnight camps where Pete Seeger and other left-wing folksingers would lead them in song one evening, and counselors would bring them together to folk dance another. In this way, the "romance of American communism" was embedded in the romance of the folk and the romance of International Folk Dance.[39] These groups celebrated in their dances the shared struggle of the oppressed and dispossessed—the common man—as, to borrow the title of a film that they admired at the time, the "salt of the earth." Surviving and struggling outside mainstream culture during the Cold War, folk dance events drew left-wing partisans together in a supportive alternative culture that, in welding them together for the fight for social justice, was also oppositional.[40]

A select few country dances, including some English dances, were part of the International repertoire, of course. Most children learned "Turkey in the Straw" and "The Virginia Reel" in school, and International Folk Dance leaders frequently also programmed the Scottish dance "Road to the Isles," the longways English dance from 1696, "The Hole in the Wall," and the traditional couples dance done in a circle, "St. Bernard's Waltz."[41] Beyond those, little English dance was done. The fact of the matter is that International Dance and the politics of "brotherhood" and internationalism was the path *not* taken by ECD participants on either side of the Atlantic. EFDS and CDS members were decidedly more conservative socially and politically than those attracted to International Folk Dance. The more apolitical public stances of ECD dance leaders inoculated them from the very public anticommunist attacks and persecutions suffered by folk song icons such as Paul Robeson and Pete Seeger, but the chilling effect of the Cold War still made any association with the International Folk Dance community suspect. Indeed, folk dancers per se were not persecuted and blacklisted, but folk dance venues—clubs, resorts, camps, and union halls, many of which in the United States were forced to close during the McCarthy era—were frequented by folk dancers and their friends who were attacked and persecuted.[42] In this context, EFDS and CDS dance halls were "safe spaces," and both groups stuck with their national tradition through most of the second revival.

The second revival in dance did play a role in shaping ECD, however. The impact was made, though, as much by the revival of another dance movement that had a tangential relation to the second folk revival—square dancing—as by International Dance. Square dancing as it revived in the late 1930s

and took off in the next two decades shared little of the Left political spirit at the heart of the second folk revival; it was a nationalist movement in keeping with the patriotic temper of the war and Cold War eras. In any case, though it blossomed on both sides of the Atlantic, it altered the ECD dancing body and repertoire quite differently in England and in the United States.

The Second Folk Dance Revival in England

In England, American square dance transformed the postwar country dance scene, but not before International Folk Dance had left its mark. The expressive difference between ECD and other nations' dances was quickly apparent at the inaugural International Folk Festival in 1935 at Cecil Sharp House, to one important observer in particular. Douglas Kennedy, the director of EFDSS, was enthralled by the liveliness of European "peasant" dances. There was a "fire" in the folk dance performances from abroad that Kennedy recalled "set fire to the ambition of the English dancers." Part of the problem with the less energetic British style he attributed to British "reserve": "a wonderful economy and dignified reserve hid the latent fire" in English dance, although he acknowledged that "latent fire" was more prominent in sword and morris dance. Kennedy understood and appreciated Sharp's responsibility for what had emerged as the English "style" as part of his "educational mission," his concern with propriety and "dressing up the dance" for his Edwardian middle-class market and classroom.[43] But, in 1964, writing twenty years after the event, Kennedy concluded that the International Folk Festival had a transformative effect. "Everyone," he noted, had a new picture of an English dance form and of the linkage with folk customs of a vast antiquity."[44] Indeed, in the years to come, Kennedy drew on the "new picture" he had from the festival to reshape the content and spirit of ECD in England in unique ways that distinguished it from the sound and spirit of its American cousins for the rest of the century.

The reshaping of ECD did little, however, to reconstitute the social profile of the EFDSS dance community. As noted in the previous chapter, the dance community in England remained liberal, at most; some of its leading members, such as Kennedy, were in fact quite conservative, and in the case of Gardiner even reactionary. On the whole, EFDSS was elitist and professional, its leadership patriarchal, and its exclusiveness de facto continued to make it inhospitable to the working class.[45] As important, the dance movement in particular was nationalistic and patriotic. Scottish and Irish balladeers and folk singers such as the Clancy Brothers and Tommy Makem could share

the stage with English balladeers in the late 1950s and 1960s, but "Englishness" had little appeal to the Irish or Scottish dancers who had developed their own separate dance movements.[46] Thus, the International Folk Dance Festivals in the 1950s reshaped the spirit and vision of the dance tradition and the dancing body, but it did not internationalize or democratize EFDSS political culture. In addition, while Cecil Sharp House became the center of all folk dance in England and hosted ethnic dance groups and vernacular dance sessions (tango, flamenco, Cajun, etc.), as the home of the national cultural dance tradition, English Country Dance retained pride of place in its programming and publicity.

Square Dancing

The class and political profile of the British dance community did not change dramatically in the wake of the International Folk Dance festivals, but the introduction of square dancing did enhance the role of community dance in the wartime and postwar eras. As important, community and square dance fundamentally changed what EFDSS came to understand by English Country Dance in England. At the same time, Kennedy introduced new policies about gender balance at dances that had a profound impact on gender relations in the British dance community and, in years to come, on the age and marital composition of the dance community as well.

As Kennedy moved to light his "fire" under English Country Dance, the social impact of World War II on EFDSS complicated his task. The catastrophic loss of young men in World War I had been a profound shock to the fledgling English folk dance movement, decimating Sharp's demonstration team, for example. The impact of World War II on EFDSS was equally difficult, although it less affected the leadership of the movement than the reconstitution of the dance community. The deaths of many young men in World War II again left the English dance community with a dramatic gender imbalance, a serious problem for a coupled dance form in a heteronormative society. The shortage of men was an unintended boon for some women who rose to positions of leadership in the dance communities on both sides of the Atlantic (although as noted earlier, there is little evidence that female leadership made the dance community more populist or gender-neutral). But the persistence of a traditional gender ideology in EFDSS that privileged men (as directors and morris dancers, for example)[47] limited women's ascendance into the dance leadership, especially after World War II. Kennedy's response to the gender imbalance further complicated women's gains.

Through most of the twentieth century, many British women may have been reluctant to go to a dance on their own; others interested in finding a male partner, whether for the evening or for life, would have been disappointed. Kennedy was not concerned with their emotional life, however; rather, the imbalance occasioned by the lack of men undermined his traditional view of couple dancing. Attendance had steadily declined over the course of the 1930s, even with the amalgamation of the English dance and song societies, and he worried that the specific decline in the presence of men, which quickened with the war, threatened the future of the country dance movement. Accordingly, in 1944, Kennedy instituted a "couples only" policy for social dance; he was quite content to have ceremonial morris or sword dance be all male. With Kennedy's new policy in effect, ECD in Great Britain increasingly became a coupled evening, with a problematic legacy for the future of the dance community.[48]

The attendance problem was more than a gender issue, however, and Kennedy looked to make other changes in the character of the dance that might excite new members. In this regard, Atlantic crossings of the second folk revival, this time with a tilt eastward from the United States to England, played a major part both in reviving the British folk scene and, ultimately, in addressing further "the men problem."

One set of crossings came from the American military, which brought another aspect of the revival with it: square dance. Douglas and Helen Kennedy, returning from a dance tour in the United States, had introduced square dancing in England in 1938, but the presence of as many as two million American soldiers on British soil during the war created a new audience and demand for square dance.[49] The American military sponsored square dances for its soldiers stationed in England, events that required a regular pool of English girls and the military men, and square dancing made a lasting impression on many villages. "[A] number of villages have been attached to certain forms of the square dance," noted May Gadd during her annual visits back home, "because their particular soldiers called them that way."[50] The energetic pace of the square dance, its relative lack of precise styling beyond footwork, and its pulsating music met Kennedy's new enthusiasm for dances with "fire." So, at the same time as he introduced the couples-only policy in 1944, Kennedy inaugurated a series of Saturday-night square dances at Cecil Sharp House. To make the music more "alive," Kennedy formed a quartet with his wife, Helen, and a Hampstead couple, the Fleming-Williamses. Kennedy played the side drum, Helen played the concertina, and the couple played a guitar and fiddle. And for the next twenty years—with Kennedy, in

the American style, "calling" the dances—the band became a regular presence at Sharp House dances.[51]

With the end of the war, EFDSS imported American callers and musicians to spread the square dance message. In another irony, the American caller who arrived every spring for most of a decade starting in 1947 was no less than New York's May Gadd, Sharp's English-born protégé. Teaming with New York's country dance music leader, Phil Merrill, Gadd taught square dancing throughout West Surrey and Sussex as well as in London as part of an EFDSS "experimental scheme" to attract new dancers and more men. Two local leaders from the North East Hants area were "keen" that the "new revival should be in the name of Square Dancing—as any reference to a Folk Dance course would keep away just the people [they] most wanted."[52] The report by the field agents for the "experiment," Kathleen Church-Bliss (later Atkins) and Elsie Whiteman, was more explicit: the events were advertised simply as "Dances," "without any mention of the word 'Folk,'" acknowledging that "a certain number of people are put off by the word."[53]

The "experimental scheme" met with halting success. Equal numbers of men and women were allowed into the dances, but that did not avoid embarrassing events such as the evening in March 1950 when a Sandhurst Group session attracted a full hall of one hundred women paired with only "three men and two boys." "We seemed to have slipped back 20 years," bemoaned Church-Bliss and Whiteman.

Shortly after the Sandburg embarrassment, however, a dramatic piece of news arrived from Ottawa, Canada, that hastened the flow of men as well as women into square dancing. As part of an official 1951 state visit, Government House in Ottawa arranged a Canadian Square Dance Party for Princess Elizabeth and Prince Philip. The next day, a newspaper photograph appeared throughout the British press of an obviously delighted princess and prince. The photo and the dance boom that followed brought people—including men—back to Cecil Sharp House in droves, with "people queuing up down the road to get into dances, to do square dances at Cecil Sharp House." According to Nicolas Broadbridge, an English choreographer, musician, and dancing master living in Scotland, whose family played a leading role in British ECD for most of the century, the photograph "determined" the tenor of English Country Dancing for some time to come. He also notes the prominence of London in shaping the tradition:

> That [photograph] really determined which way the society was going to go for a little while after the square dance boom, and everybody wanted

> to perform those kind of dances and do those kind of dances. Cecil Sharp House, at the time, was the only place really. Since the '50's there's been a burgeoning of folk clubs and places to dance all over the country. But in London, really, this was the place to come, and there would be queues all down the road. If you didn't get to Cecil Sharp House an hour before a dance began you may not get in, which is quite something actually.[54]

The new prominence of London was not coincidental and bespoke an evolving sense of Englishness. The wartime blitz had given London and the everyday soldier a new place in the British imaginary as a symbol for the English "fighting spirit." Thus, while square dancing in England took on the characteristics of the imagined English village, the crowds lining up to get into Cecil Sharp House in London gave a new geographic and class resonance to Englishness.

The Royal Barn Dance. The Duke of Edinburgh square dancing with Princess Elizabeth at Ottawa House, October 17, 1951. (Photographer: Keystone; used by permission, Hulton Archive, Getty Images)

Moreover, in the folk tradition of evolving forms, British square dancers developed their own English variant of an American dance. Thus, a Canadian girl who had done square dancing with American soldiers during the war commented that, dancing for the first time at a local dance in Sussex, she found the "English tempo . . . slower and dancing less intense."[55] American squares and contras were danced with U.S. and U.K. inflections on each side of the Atlantic, and in time, these variants became part of the larger difference in the way English Country Dance came to be understood and experienced differently in the latter half of the twentieth century on either side of the Atlantic.[56]

Community ("Traditional") Dance

In Kennedy's drive to add "fire" to English Country Dancing, he made a second decision that equally reshaped the English Country Dance: he determined that British evenings should place less emphasis on the more fussy Playford style and more on kick-up-your-heels village reels, jigs, and hornpipes. While the desire to infuse more energy into the dancing undoubtedly motivated his policy, the action also afforded Kennedy, long in Sharp's shadow, an opportunity to put his own stamp on the history of English folk dance. Personal motives aside, Kennedy believed that "traditional" English dance—jigs, hornpipes, and reels still (or more recently) being done in the countryside—could do the same double duty as American squares in instilling "fire" in the English Country Dance scene and attracting men to ECD. Ironically, of course, Sharp had begun by collecting traditional dances being danced in the West Country at the turn of the century. His decision to focus on deciphering, notating, and publishing the old "historic" dances from the Playford volumes was a second move. By the early 1940s, Kennedy had come to believe that EFDSS, following Sharp, had placed undue emphasis on the historical dances, many of which he thought reflected eighteenth-century gentry formalism and were too elaborate, uniform, overstudied, and stylized. To Kennedy, the Playford dances expressed little of the spirit that Sharp imagined as "peasant." So, just as the BBC and EFDSS began to promote renewed collecting and archiving of indigenous village dances, Kennedy pushed EFDSS to focus on traditional dance. Thus, down-playing Playford historical dances, Kennedy remade the typical country dance evening and with it the British ECD tradition. And to make it all possible he produced the *Community Dance Manual* (*CDM*), seven edited volumes of traditional dances that include American contras, squares, mixers, and waltzes. To this day, the *CDM* remains the bible for those who teach community dance.

Kennedy's changes—the couples-only policy, the deemphasis on the older historical dances, and the new focus on American squares and community dances—had uneven results. The changes coincided with a modest 10 percent increase in membership in 1946; however, increased opportunity for leisure with the end of the war might well have accounted for the additional interest in recreational dance.[57] The photo of Princess Elizabeth dancing brought many new dancers into square dancing in the 1950s, but so did the quickening song and dance revival, which drew on the new community dance repertoire. Thus, although the 1950 Sandhurst dance with virtually all-women attendance may have been a disaster at gender balance, Church-Bliss and Whiteman took solace in the positive effect of the new dance curriculum. They noted that the quality of dancing improved over the course of the evening because the dance had been "infiltrated" by members of the Reading Group, "who are converted to the more rational modern style"—Kennedy's new emphasis on "traditional" rather than Playford-style dance.[58]

Kennedy's new policies left some longtime members disaffected, most likely especially some single women. One south county group's "fierce" opposition to Kennedy's policies is illustrative. As Church-Bliss reported to Kennedy, the group did not approve of "the Society's present policy and were sure Mr. Sharp wouldn't either." They objected to all the new dances, wanting a return to the older repertoire, and they "resented Couple Events." Writing a "fierce letter" to the head of the Reconstruction Fund for Cecil Sharp House, which had suffered a direct hit during the blitz, the group withdrew its financial support from EFDSS, refusing to subscribe to the fund. In truth, there is no clear picture of the depths of disaffection with Kennedy's policy, but many single women without partners and longtime dancers had reason to be angry. Kennedy, writing years later, acknowledged that "many were furious" with his couples policy and "hoped [his] heart would soften. But it never did, and soon there was no need."[59]

Ceilidhs

The end of the war quickened a second set of Atlantic crossings from America that were to inform the British folk revival. Earlier, during the interwar years, Soho nightclubs highlighted American jazz musicians and British jazz bands in the American tradition to an adoring British bohemia, although as Georgina Boyes has pointed out, this was a selective version of jazz racialized as black music.[60] Still, these bands were forerunners to a jazz-folk-blues revival in postwar Britain that changed the sound, social composi-

tion, and bodily carriage seen and heard on the folk dance floor. For with the end of the war and transatlantic travel again possible, American folk singers and folklorists quickly took the opportunity to visit England to share their music with those from the land that had brought them the British ballad. In 1950, Alan Lomax "came over to England and started banging on doors very loudly, especially at the BBC." In turn, as noted by Malcolm Taylor, librarian at the Vaughan Williams Memorial Library at Cecil Sharp House and himself an expert on the song revival, the British folk singer Ewan MacColl "started thumping tables and said, this is great stuff; what about the stuff here, the indigenous material here?"[61]

MacColl did not have long to complain. The Columbia Record Company and the BBC, both eager to find product, quickly saw the potential of indigenous folk music. Lomax's visit stimulated Maury Sloackum, the BBC music librarian, to team with Margaret Dean Smith, the EFDSS librarian, to begin new collecting projects of folk song, dance, and customs in Ireland and Britain. At approximately the same time, in 1952 and 1953, Alan Lomax enlisted Peter Kennedy, the son of the EFDSS president and himself an aspiring folklorist, to help him record folk song in England and western Europe for Columbia Records and persuaded the BBC to launch a systematic recording program.[62]

In mixing with their British counterparts, American folk revivalists created a British variant of the folk revival. The arrival in England of "authentic" folk such as Lead Belly and folk singers such as Pete Seeger and Woody Guthrie in the 1950s stimulated a new high-energy folk sound and democratic spirit.[63] The Almanac Singers, the Weavers, and, later, the Kingston Trio and burgeoning numbers of bluegrass bands sang "songs of social significance" in a hybrid folk-jazz-blues idiom to the accompaniment of exciting new instrumentation. In England, five-string banjos, twelve-string guitars, mandolins, and basses joined with more traditional fiddles and accordions to send feet a-tapping; as important, the revival encouraged people to believe that they could make their own music, whether from a fiddle or from a spoon or washboard.

In Britain, the folk-jazz-blues revival spawned in 1947 an indigenous folk music movement in that spirit with a family resemblance to bluegrass: skiffle. Skiffle—a band sound with a "chucking guitar, tea-chest bass and rattling washboard" accompaniments[64]—lasted only about a decade into the mid-1950s, but it had its transatlantic moment as well. In 1954, a Scottish banjo player in a skiffle band, Lonnie Donegan, recorded the first popular British song to crack the American "Top Ten," "The Rock Island Line."[65]

Malcolm Taylor remembers the role of Donegan in his own family:

> Lonnie Donegan was part of the Ken Colyer jazz band. In the intervals between sets, he would get out with his guitar and they would play this very raucous, rough and ready kind of skiffle music. It's just guitar, bass, and voice largely, and snare drum maybe. There was a burgeoning—every family that had children, they had a skiffle band in their front room. My brother did it—an old keg and a piece of string and a scout staff and made a bass out of it, and guitars, whatever. It really introduced people in many ways to a kind of folk music, to the blues, rhythm and blues, coming out in America.[66]

Skiffle waned by the mid-1950s, but the movement, in the words of one contemporary, "awakened the consciousness of young people" to the folk revival. By the end of the decade, new converts to the music were flocking to folk clubs that had begun to appear in London and urban England as adjuncts to an emerging left-wing youth political culture increasingly drawn to a growing anti-nuclear-bomb movement.[67]

The folk clubs were places for song and music rather than dance, but they reshaped the British folk dance community more generally. To begin, in contrast to EFDSS, the folk clubs had a broader social base and democratic ethos that was expressed in both the political sympathies of the songs they sang and the spontaneity and informality of the music and instrumentation they accepted. Together, skiffle, the folk-jazz-blues revival, and the folk clubs generated the first large-scale recruitment into the folk music world since the formation of the Folk Dance Society forty years earlier. As important, the enthusiasts in these folk revival groups became the base for a new social folk dance program—ceilidh—that took off in the late 1960s in the heyday of a second and more popular phase of the second revival.

There are several origin stories for the introduction of ceilidh dancing in England. An Irish or Scottish word that originally referred to an evening of folk song, it came to denote an event that mixed dancing, singing, and instrumentation. The word first appeared in EFDSS publications in 1950 to describe "party" evenings that mixed set dances, reels, and squares with country dances and interspersed the dancing with folk singing. The rise of the ceilidh also coincided with the early beginnings of a Celtic revival (the School of Scottish Studies was launched at Edinburgh in 1951) that blossomed two decades later as the waning second revival took a nationalist turn.[68] But in the early 1950s, Peter Kennedy downplayed any Celtic origins, describing the dance as akin to a barn dance or American square dance and thus in service to "Englishness." In this era, however, as often as not, a ceilidh was used to describe an evening of song. Only by 1967 did its meaning as a dance event become

established, and within a few years, a "Knees Up Ceilidh" became a regular fixture at Cecil Sharp House, drawing enthusiastic crowds of younger dancers to its "thumping" sound. For unlike Playford-style "historical" dances, ceilidh dances required little styling: emphasizing reels and jigs, the goal was to have fun getting from point A to point B, not to think about how you looked or held your body when doing so.[69] The high energy and informality of the English ceilidh meshed with Douglas Kennedy's efforts to have English folk dance reach a broader public. In doing so, though, it effected a basic shift in the repertoire, style, spirit, and social composition of an evening of English Country Dance in England in the last third of the twentieth century.

Enthusiasts for the older historical dance programs did not disappear from EFDSS, however, and continued to claim a prominent place in how the organization represented itself. Thus, the English caller Marjorie Fennessey developed her own performance troupe, Whirligig, a name taken from the classic Playford dance of that name. The group was dedicated to the classical repertoire, and participants demonstrated and promoted the older "standard" as official bearers of the EFDSS seal. During the mid-1960s, at the height of the second revival, Whirligig performed samplers of morris, sword, and coupled country dances at EFDSS's annual shows to packed audiences at London's Albert Hall. They danced "beautifully," remembered one person in attendance, but were "so precise" and "word-perfect" as to be lifeless, "like mannequins." This perspective echoed older controversies about style, of course, from Sharp's day to Kennedy's quest for more "fire," and it came from a person with a stake in her own position in the dance history: Fried de Metz Herman (known simply as "Fried").[70] Fried, a recent émigré from the Netherlands then rooming in Pat Shaw's Hampstead home in exchange for some light housekeeping, soon after emigrated to the United States, where she became one of the most acclaimed, influential, and prolific teachers and composers of inventive English Country Dances in the historical style. Like her mentor, Shaw, her dances were "modern" folk dances, often with figures of her own devising, and her critical perspective on Whirligig should be seen in the context of her own invested position in controversies over the ECD canon and style. Fried's perspective, however, illustrates how the ECD scene resisted easy characterization even as change swirled about it. A cadre of dancers dedicated to the older repertory remained a bulwark within EFDSS, but they represented the past in the movement, not its future.

Playford-style programming did continue, but as leading English callers such as Tom Cook and Pat Shaw produced new reconstructions of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historical dances, they also began to play

inventively with it within new choreography. The new choreography and the idea that folk dance could be modern and of the present shook the foundations of the historical Playford-style dance repertory in the last quarter of the century on both sides of the Atlantic but, ironically, in the United States in particular. For although all dances done in the Sharp style are "modern" reconstructions of how folklorists imagined seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dances, late-twentieth-century dances are distinguished as modern in two ways: the dance style and dancing body at the end of the century differed, and choreographers such as Shaw and Fried wrote dances for a contemporary folk. The development of this "modern" ECD genre is a story that unfolded most especially in the United States, but its origins could be seen around the edges of the London dance community of the 1960s.[71]

In the interim, Kennedy's postwar response to the second revival put in motion a decline of the historical dances in England as a centerpiece of country dance. Evenings of Playford-style dances continued, but their reliance on a partnered constituency that was institutionally inhospitable to new single dancers did not bode well for future growth. The barn dances, ceilidhs, or "beginners' nights" for country dancers at Cecil Sharp House drew on versions of the same mixed repertoire with relatively little opportunity for new dancers to learn the more intricate styling of Playford dances. Thus, under Kennedy's leadership, the second folk revival—both in the impact of International Folk Dance and American squares—remade English Country Dance in the United Kingdom but, ironically, set it on a path that by the latter quarter of the century made it quite distinct from ECD in the United States.

ECD and the Second Folk Revival in Wartime and Postwar America

The irony of ironies is that although the second folk revival originated in the United States and moved across the Atlantic to reshape ECD in England, it had a delayed and limited impact on ECD in the United States. In part, the difference was the chilling effect of the Cold War on American cultural and political discourse. As noted earlier, the virulence of the Cold War in the United States made any association with the left-liberal culture of the second folk revival suspicious if not dangerous. But other factors contributed to the difference as well. To begin, EFDSS, which had played a foundational role in the revival at the start of the century, remained the institutional home of folk song and dance in England. In addition, London served as a cultural and political capital in England, and the United States had no equivalent site. No one place in the United States duplicated the dominant role that London and Cecil Sharp

House had as the home for English folk dance and, as significantly, for all folk dance in England. From the outset, New York and Boston shared the stage as twin centers for the American Branch. Significant centers for ECD also flourished in the southern mountains, though, at the Pine Mountain Settlement, Berea College, and by the mid-1920s, the new John C. Campbell Folk School in Brasstown, North Carolina. Moreover, during the interwar years, dancers established groups elsewhere, most notably in Pittsburgh, Cleveland, and Chicago. And after World War II, groups started to spring up in urban centers across the country, and in the more affluent suburbs around them, albeit as much around square dance as historical English Country Dance. Finally, although Pinewoods Camp in Massachusetts served as a national beacon for the English dance community, it only operated in the summer and never as the center for folk dance in the United States. Thus, New York and Boston remained the centers of an eastern-centric English Country Dance movement in the United States until the last quarter of the twentieth century.

One additional factor helped account for the relative stagnation of ECD in the United States during the postwar revival: although the American Branch of EFDS claimed to represent an Anglo-American tradition, English Country Dance had at best a liminal role as the repository of a national "American" culture. For the extensive immigrant diversity of the twentieth-century American city always distinguished the United States from England. Neal's Espérance girls were children of the British poor, and the folk dance curriculum that Sharp pressed as part of the Educational Reform Act of 1907 dwelt on English dances rather than on those of "many lands." In contrast, the central place given to immigrant folk cultures early in the United States meant that "ethnic" dance had a strong claim as integral to a national folk dance legacy for Americans. Until midcentury, led by proponents such as Elizabeth Burchenal, American folk dance curriculum drew on the diversity of the country's immigrant population, not just on "American" dances. When American schools, like their British counterparts, taught folk dance, the American syllabi consisted of dances from the many countries represented in their classrooms. "Hyphenated" Americans from other than the British Isles and northern Europe had no reason to look to English Country Dance to affirm their American identity. Consequently, unlike in England, American public schools had no reason to teach exclusively English Country Dance and were not, by and large, feeders for American ECD groups. In urban city schools, children were as likely to learn the Russian comarinskaia as "Turkey in the Straw." So, in contrast to the establishment of Cecil Sharp House as the center for folk dance in England, cities such as New York witnessed the devel-

opment of distinct centers for "ethnic" or "international" dance. In the 1920s and 1930s, Elizabeth Burchenal's Folk Arts Center served as home to ethnic or International Dance—not to a "national" folk dance, either American or Anglo-American. Similarly, when Martin Koenig, joined later by Ethel Raim, a "red diaper" baby, opened Ethnic Arts Center in New York in 1966, English or any country dance was virtually invisible.[72]

As noted in chapter 5, the greater competition in the United States from both ethnic and International dance groups for the hearts of folk dancers and the mantle of folk capital, if anything, had helped to mobilize the EFDS's American Branch in the 1930s to change its name to Country Dance Society of America and broaden its purview. The new name referenced its claim to be an Anglo-American tradition of country dance and to represent "America's dance." The new designation brought square and contra, or American Country Dance, under the CDS umbrella and May Gadd's authority.

Appointed national director of CDS in 1937, Gadd remained in that position for most of the next thirty-five years, only taking a two-year leave in 1943 to do war work. The local New York group created a new volunteer committee, the New York Dancers' Council, to run local affairs, and in 1951, the group moved its dance to the gym in the basement of Metropolitan-Duane Hall, the "reconciling church" in Greenwich Village, where it remained through 2008.[73] But while the Dancers' Council assumed responsibility for recruitment, local finances, and event planning, May Gadd remained the CDS éminence grise. Gadd oversaw details large and small, both in the local New York community and in the nation, although she had notable help from another English-trained dancer, Genevieve (Genny) Shimer (1913–1990), who arrived after the war. Shimer, like so many of her predecessors, had taught ECD to schoolchildren in England and for the next forty years became a leading CDS teacher in New York and at Pinewoods Camp. But until Gadd's retirement in 1972, Shimer and other leaders remained in her shadow.[74]

Gadd left an indelible mark on the organization, as great as that of Sharp. A fierce defender of Sharp's legacy, Gadd was at once an Edwardian woman and a Sharp devotee. Old-timers remembered her with both admiration and awe, as impressive and often intimidating. But the dance community was devoted to Gadd—as was she to it. Examinations were still required for acceptance as an experienced dancer, and Gadd, keeper of the Sharp flame, oversaw credentialing. Phil Merrill directed the musicians, but Gadd anointed new leaders and set the tone for the evening and weekend events in New York, Pinewoods, and as she traveled about the country as guest teacher, in the nation.[75] Dedicated to Sharp's legacy, Gadd knew the style and comportment

that she wanted from dancers, and she was not shy about enforcing it on both the local New York and national levels. But at the same time as she brought great energy and creative public programming to her work, Gadd held and exercised the role of social arbiter both on and off the dance floor. During the 1960s, when young people from the counterculture began to appear at dance camps, she monitored social etiquette as readily as she dictated dance style. But those days were near the end of her reign, and in the preceding twenty-five years, Gadd's conservative personal style, apolitical disposition, and embrace of all forms of country dance—historical, "traditional" or community dance, and American square and contra—made her an ideal leader for a relatively conservative, elitist, and Anglophile dance community.

Gadd's hegemonic role in CDS was partially attributable to her strong personality and partially to the consent of a like-minded community. In the tempestuous English dance scene, Sharp had fought Neal, Wright, and Burchenal, and the Morris Ring and some women and old-timers had challenged Kennedy's authority. In contrast, Gadd had no real opposition. Helen Storrow did not teach and, in any case, died in 1944. In Boston, Gadd's counterparts—Conant and Chapin—were cast from similar social molds and were also devoted to Sharp's legacy. In fact, CDS prized its historical continuity with Sharp-Storrow and celebrated the Pinewoods legacy. Originally Storrow's Girl Scouts Camp, the facility was willed by Storrow to the Conants, who in turn sold it in 1974 to a consortium of users, among which CDSS always played a leading role.[76]

The Cold War Chills the Revival

Continuity, then, rather than change characterized the history of CDS in the postwar era. Although the second revival swirled about the English dance community, the cultural gap between the International Folk Dance and English Country Dance communities and the Cold War overdetermined the ECD community's limited interaction with the International dance community. A new generation of dancer leaders did begin to appear in CDS in the 1950s—most notably, Christine Helwig in New York and Arthur and Helene Cornelius in Boston—but the elite, insular character of the dance community persisted. In the 1950s, the English Country Dance movement in the United States had more in common with its preceding history than its history to follow.

May Gadd's social profile as a socially conservative woman from the solidly "middling" ranks reflected the CDS community she led. Most of Sharp's

protégés who led the two major centers in New York and Boston were themselves immigrants from England. To be sure, many newer leaders in mid-century were born in the United States, but most of the grande dames of the mid- and late-twentieth-century ECD community—Christine Helwig, Fried de Metz, Sue Salmons, and Helene Cornelius—were either of English or northern European ancestry.[77]

The rank-and-file dancer looked little different from the leadership. There is no statistical profile of the American ECD community for early in the century, and evidence is mostly anecdotal, but period photographs from dance events, news stories about members, and oral histories tell the same story: the typical dancer may well have been American born, and the new curriculum increasingly integrated American dance into programs, but white, elite people of English ancestry remained a core constituency. Indeed, longtime dancers speak of the ECD community as having been anti-Semitic and elitist until the 1960s.[78] A few Italian and Jewish Americans joined the dance community, but they were a decided minority.[79] More typical was the remarkably similar social profile that characterized old-timers interviewed half a century later: most were immigrant English professionals. The Cambridge-educated philosopher John Bremer, the Oxford-trained physicist Richard Wilson, and the Lincolnshire-born social anthropologist Peter Fricke all joined the New York and Boston postwar dance communities (Bremer becoming a New York ECD teacher), where they found themselves at home with compatriots, most famously, with both longtime dance leaders such as Lily Conant and new leaders such as Genny Shimer.[80]

The conservative social cast of the organization shaped its efforts to broaden its base and attract new members. There was, however, ample competition for the folk dancer body: immigrant American cities hosted many alternative forms of folk dance and the exciting new International Folk Dance movement. Gadd's task as national director of her band of like-minded Anglophiles, then, was to give CDS a compelling public presence. And as she moved energetically to do so, the outbreak of war and the domestic Cold War that accompanied it shaped her efforts.

Gadd, unlike Kennedy, sought an alternative to International Folk Dance; she was not inspired by it. To advance ECD, she led the American EFDS group's participation in the 1939 World's Fair. She did not succeed in gaining the foothold for CDS that Michael Herman won at the American Common, but the experience did stimulate her to take up square dance and give it a heightened presence in CDS. The pioneering work of a Colorado teacher in the late 1930s, Lloyd Shaw, was then quickening a new revival of square

dancing. The couples turning dances such as the polka and waltz, which had become popular in the mid-nineteenth century, and the new animal dances at the turn of the century had effectively buried square dancing as an urban social dance in the United States after 1890.[81] In 1925, Henry Ford, who had taken his nativist turn, published his dance collection, *Good Morning*, to extol squares as an alternative to the evils of jazz. But in the wake of the Dust Bowl and newfound concern for the plight of the "Okies," Shaw's decision in 1938 to teach his students "cowboy dances" and the publication the next year of his book *Cowboy Dances* inaugurated a popular enthusiasm for a highly stylized modern square dance movement called Western Squares and the quaint cowboy slang and twang of the calls that accompanied them. Shaw's classes then and in the postwar era were the training ground for many of those who developed the Western Squares movement. This square dance movement has provided the dominant image of square dancing to this day: women in multi-petticoated short skirts and men with string ties and long-sleeved shirts. It is important to note that the modern Western Square Dance movement and the country square dance communities in New England and the southern mountains remained quite distinct traditions with quite different constituencies: the former, with its uniforms and uniform style, has been popular among conservatives, evangelicals, and traditionalists; the latter programmed both contras and squares for local and countercultural communities who were more likely to dress in jeans and dance barefoot or wear sandals. The general postwar embrace of square dancing, however, led over thirty state legislatures in the subsequent years to declare square dancing the official state dance, and pending federal legislation would have made it the national dance.[82]

May Gadd's and CDS's adoption of square dancing, however, also differed from its embrace in England in one important way: unlike EFDSS, where the embrace of square dance was accompanied by new emphases on community dance, CDS did not reject historical Playford dances. In contrast to EFDSS, CDS incorporated square dancing into its mission as a way to broaden its definition and appeal as an Anglo-American tradition. Thus, the program for the Silver Jubilee Festival in 1940 celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the EFDSS of America made clear that the new Country Dance Society of America intended to inaugurate a new era in Anglo-American dance as an American national tradition: "The dances and songs are as much the inheritance of Americans as the English language and include a number that were brought here by Americans as the settlers. Because of this common tradition the Society includes in its repertory many examples of the Square Dance and the New England Country dance that have been developed here." Held at the

Square dancing in the United States, ca. 1950, in "country" dress. (Used by permission of the Country Dance and Song Society Archives, www.cdss.org; Milne Special Collections and Archives Department, University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH)

Seventh Regiment Armory on fashionable Park Avenue at 66th Street, the event was to be the last of the Armory festivals, but it was the start of a new outreach. Five hundred attendees were treated to the complement of the new Anglo-American country dance repertoire: performances of half a dozen morris dances and several processional dances were intermixed with American squares and English Country Dances for all.[83] Indeed, *Cue* magazine reported that by 1941 the square dance craze had "swept the country"—a full decade before it brought crowds to Cecil Sharp House in London. Observing the "biggest" of the New Jersey groups in Montclair, led by Robert Hider of Glen Ridge, *Cue*'s reporter crowed, "No longer are folk dance fanatics viewed as with full supercilious tolerance, for the square and round cavortings have swept the country, penetrating urban and suburban communities alike."[84]

The impact of square dancing on the American ECD community is hard to measure. The caption for a photo that accompanied the *Cue* article, showing couples learning a "basic step" in "The Virginia Reel," told readers that the dance was "inspired by an old English country dance." Teachers of English Country Dance such as Gadd and Hider embraced square dancing in

the New York area, and the callers Louise Winston and Ted Sannella led American dancing in Boston. Square dancing and contras were incorporated into the programming, but they seemed to have limited effect on the social composition of the community. Longtime dancers remember relatively few square dancers moving over to do English Country Dance, although Arthur and Helene Cornelius, who went on to become prominent leaders of the Boston dance community, were significant exceptions. As a rule, reminiscences by dancers suggest that the ECD scene remained quite staid and unchanged into the 1960s.[85] Gene Murrow, for instance, heard rumors of anti-Semitism in the dance community when he joined the community in the 1960s as a Jewish Columbia College student from Brooklyn. But at least as important as the ethnic bias of the community was its class bias: Murrow, for instance, went on to embed the restrictive climate in elite class attitudes: "In this country, English country dancing in the '30s and '40s and '50s was definitely an American upper class snooty activity. It was done at the Metropolitan Club in New York, things like that."[86]

Square dancing did become a central part of the CDS programming during the war, however, much as it had in England. The rationale was not quite the same, though. Rather than gender balance and the need to light a fire under the dance community, increased interest in American dance from new members coincided with CDS's desire to recast itself as an Anglo-American "national" tradition and serve the war effort by building morale among soldiers. Square dancing was by definition American dancing, and it was easier during wartime for a "national" dance organization to justify than something called "English" dance. So CDS branches in New York and Boston and ECD clubs elsewhere increasingly incorporated square dancing into wartime programming. Even the ECD stalwart Helen Storrow had attended a square dance before her death in 1944, and by the end of the war, Louise Chapin, Boston's head teacher, was teaching square dancing.[87]

In New York, highly visible public work of CDS national director May Gadd illustrated both the increased role of square dance and the patriotic impulse. With the war swirling about dancers, from 1941 to 1945, CDS took part in a weekly television broadcast on CBS-TV dedicated to square dancing. Led by Gadd, the programs incorporated other ethnic dances, including English Country Dancing, but featured squares. Then, in 1943, Gadd took a leave of absence from CDS to work for the USO in the war effort, leaving the leadership of the local dance community in the capable hands of Phil Merrill, the head of New York's musicians, and others. Gadd spent the next two years working as a "program consultant" to the army and navy and YMCA

for the promotion of country dancing at USO clubs throughout the country, teaching American squares and rounds as what she called "defense recreation." Committed to realizing the "place of the arts in the defense effort," she reported back with enthusiasm to the dance community that "service men like Country Dancing!" Gadd prophesied that in addition to providing good recreational relief to soldiers, the dances "will result in thousands of new enthusiasts from every nook and cranny of the United States." And "lastly, though by no means . . . least important," she saw country dancing playing a vital political role in serving the war effort: "through participation in this most democratic, sociable, recreative activity," the morale of America's fighting men and women would be built up.[88]

Building military morale during the war served a unified domestic political agenda, but as the military struggle ended and a Cold War took its place, the work of patriotism could morph into something more partisan. This partisan political role was logical for ethnic eastern European folk groups made up of émigrés from Soviet states, but CDS existed in a more liminal national space. CDS was fundamentally transnational, but in the United States, as an Anglo-American tradition, it claimed a role as carrier of the nation's cultural heritage. Its vision of that heritage, however, remained a version of Anglo-Americanism rooted in the English village idyll. As custodians of that heritage, CDS members shared a role with highbrow elite cultural institutions that served people who looked like them and shared their aesthetic interests. Thus, the major public activities of CDS in the postwar era consisted of four performances of "An English Village May Day," by a seventy-dancer demonstration group, and a series of performances by a presumably smaller demonstration team for a United Nations Fiesta and for audiences at Carnegie Hall, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum, and, in the next decade, at Lincoln Center.[89]

The demonstration team's venues and programs reflected CDS's sense of its "cultured" audience and heritage. Not explicitly political, the activities reflected choices made by CDS and its leadership in the context of the 1950s political culture and alternative folk forms. As noted earlier, with the McCarthy Committee and the House Un-American Activities Committee casting a wide censorious net among folk singers and musicians, these CDS public activities were uncontroversial and safe. But other activities in which some groups and individuals associated with CDS took part told a more complicated story and gave the lie to Gadd's and CDS's claim to be apolitical. For despite CDS's avowed apolitical character, some of its members and others in the International Folk Dance movement found themselves servants of State

CDS morris dancing at the United Nations Fiesta at Rockefeller Plaza in 1947. Left side, back to front: Jack Langstaff, William Partington, Russell Loughton. Right side: Jack Shimer, Bob Guillard, Bob Hider. (Photo: Jack Shimer; courtesy of Joan Shimer and David Millstone)

Department Cold War projects to win the hearts and minds of peoples and administrations in strategic locales around the world.

The U.S. government mobilized folk dance, as Victoria Geduld has ironically noted, "deploying the Soviet tactic of using dance as propaganda to fight the Soviets." In that effort, the government operated on two levels, employing high-modernist ballet troupes using folk themes and, more modestly, recreational folk groups. In the immediate aftermath of the war, efforts included the participation of some left-wing and communist-affiliated dancers such as Sophie Maslow and Jerome Robbins, but the Cold War blacklists soon restricted opportunities to those such as Martha Graham and Agnes de Mille who could be "cleared" to perform uncompromising Americanness as the State Department understood it.[90]

In the mid-1950s, the CIA, which covertly funded the Congress for Cultural Freedom, worked hand in glove with the State Department to do the cultural work of Cold War diplomacy. As an adjunct of that project, the

National Cultural Center (NCC) mobilized folk dance groups to travel abroad to contrast American cultural "freedom" with Soviet "totalitarianism." In 1956, the State Department sent the Hermans, Ralph Page, Jane Farwell, and Nelda Drury to Japan for six weeks, where they taught forty-six dances from sixteen nations, successfully, according to Michael Herman, helping "to build the morale of Japanese young people."[91]

The NCC's dance panel rejected square dance caller Rickey Holden's offer to form a folk dance troupe because they wanted someone less oriented toward educational/recreational dance. The panel then considered asking Lloyd Shaw or Ralph Page. But, convinced a professional dancer would mount a more polished performance, they turned to Agnes de Mille. De Mille went so far as to form the Agnes de Mille Folk Dance Project, in which professional high-modern dancers deployed folk themes as a performance art in concert halls. The project was to be a traveling theatrical extravaganza, and de Mille proposed a performance that would "derive from our traditional inheritance—country and urban—the country dance, square dance, buck and wing, tap and jazz, the ballroom forms and the theatre heritage which can include ballet." De Mille added a comment that reflected her recognition perhaps that the American government wanted these Cold War projects to counter the racist image of the United States abroad. She added, "We will first develop the Anglo-Saxon and Negro forms and exclude the Indian."[92]

De Mille's project enticed the panel, but when State Department funding for it never materialized, the panel became less ambitious. A program evaluator recommended a group of young dancers from a school in the South as "charming, wholesome and sweet," the Berea College Folk Dance Group. More in line with their budget, on the heels of the Cuban Missile Crisis, the NCC funded sixteen dancers and four musicians from Berea to perform free programs of English Country Dance for thousands of students and middle-class audiences in Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, and Ecuador in 1962. The cultural affairs officer in Honduras described their performance in Tegucigalpa as "one of the highlights of the Cultural Exchange Program." Dancers concluded their performance by going into the audience and selecting "Honduran partners for an old-fashioned square dance." Returning to the States, the troupe encored its performance at the White House for President Kennedy.[93]

The State Department program did not typify daily life in the dance community, but left-wing international proletarianism was clearly the road not taken during the years of the revival. There were exceptions: Peter Fricke, who lived across the street from Gadd in Greenwich Village, was in the merchant

May Gadd and Berea dancers greeted by President Kennedy at the White House, 1963. (Photo: Stan Levy, Jack Shimer Collection, courtesy of Joan Shimer and David Millstone)

marine, one of the more radical trades with a deep history in the Communist Party.[94] But some of Gadd's own associations suggest a more complicated political subjectivity not so far removed from Sharp's Fabianism that more seemed to typify ECD liberalism. Gadd, it will be recalled, was a member of the International Folk Music Council, where she working alongside internationalist folk revival stalwarts Burl Ives and Pete Seeger, among others.[95] Moreover, among Gadd's friends was Priscilla (Prossy) Hiss, the wife of Alger Hiss, who had been convicted and jailed for espionage after a highly public and controversial trial. Prossy, an Anglophile, only danced occasionally, but her son Tony remembered how warm and welcome the whole family felt at parties at Gadd's apartment in the West Village. Young dancers often found Gadd imposing, but Prossy, a contemporary and fellow "bluestocking"—and most definitely not a "freak"—found Gadd wholly simpatico, even "privately sympathetic."[96]

In the penumbra of the Cold War, however, being liberal in private often translated into being "apolitical" and "respectable" in public. When internationalist or antiracist positions left one vulnerable to McCarthyism, dancers such as Peter Fricke recall that May Gadd made sure "politics" did not enter the ECD dance floor.[97] Gadd also demanded that dancers on the New York

dance floor dress appropriately, although she probably had little to worry about on that score. The ECD dance community was socially conservative; "freaks" kept their distance. It was a decade later yet when a young dancer's first memory of Gadd was of being chided for entering the dance hall in sandals.[98] So the apolitical character of the dance evening, which reflected the apolitical character of the dances' own origins—or at least their origin stories—spoke to the chilling effect of the Cold War as much as the conservative, elite cast of the community prior to the 1960s.

The Second Revival, Phase Two: The 1960s in the United States

The Sixties (as a social and cultural movement that began around 1957 and carried through the early 1970s) transformed the second folk revival into a mass movement. A left-liberal "softening" of the oppositional character of the folk culture accompanied the popularization of folk repertoire and, in time, brought into CDSS (it added "Song" to its name in 1967) a new and vibrant young generation from the counterculture that appreciated the country dance community as a congenial alternative social space.

The Newport (Rhode Island) Folk Festival stands as one marker of the transformation of the folk "revival" into a folk "boom." The most important of a series of folk festivals that sprang up in the 1960s, the Newport Festival was held annually from 1959 (except for 1961–62) until 1969 (it was revived in 1985). As a public celebration led by the leading folk singers and folk bands in the country, an invitation to perform at the festival legitimized a group as "folk." Thus, to demonstrate the "significant role" that folk dance had played in the "urban dance revival in this country," CDSS's pride of place as the first permanent folk dance organization in the nation won it invitations in both 1959 and 1967 to perform at the festival.[99]

In both years, CDSS was not the only group invited to dance, however, and the other selections suggest the early priorities given to song and music, but they quite possibly also reflect the organizers' limited familiarity with the folk dance community. In 1959, the folk dance demonstration was placed just before the afternoon intermission in the middle of Sunday afternoon, after performances by Pete Seeger, the New Lost City Ramblers, Memphis Slim, and the Clancy Brothers. Two groups were lumped together as "New England Folk Dancers": the English CDS of Boston and the Scottish Country Dance Society of Boston. The program noted that both groups "immerse themselves in folklore" and "take great pride (and pains) to wear authentic costume," but it elided the history of Scottish dance as a regimented and

invented twentieth-century dance tradition with more complicated if not dubious credentials as a folk tradition.[100]

Changes in folk dance programming at Newport between the two ECD appearances reflected transformations in the second folk revival that were, in the words of Bob Dylan's folk anthem for the Sixties, "Blowin' in the Wind." In contrast to the limited attention to dance in 1959, the 1967 festival reflected the growing place of both International and American folk dance in the revival. Organizers now allotted more extended time to folk dance and to a broadened range of groups that mirrored the increasing identity and appeal of International Folk Dance and contra/squares in the Sixties. The week-long festival now highlighted a full day (from ten in the morning to five in the afternoon) of participatory folk dance workshops, not mere performances pigeonholed into the middle of a music program. On this occasion, separate sessions, each running an hour or an hour and a half, were dedicated to Contra Dance, Balkan Dance, Square Dance, Lancers and Quadrilles, International Dance, and ECD. Ralph Page and Margot Mayo led the American squares and contras; the Hermans and their Boston equivalents, Cornell ("Connie") and Marianne Taylor, taught International and Balkan. Only CDSS, advertising itself as dedicated to persevering both American and English folk dance, was given two hours. Leading its demonstrations and teaching was May Gadd, with help from Boston's Art Cornelius.[101]

The 1967 attention to folk dance came, however, at a time when the festival—and the revival—had begun to lose its core left-wing political identity. To at least some devotees, this constituted a "decline." Many felt the transitional moment was the 1965 festival, when Bob Dylan plugged in his guitar, electrically transforming the acoustical "natural" sound that had characterized bluegrass and skiffle into a new genre tied to rock 'n' roll. Pete Seeger was particularly outraged, calling it "some of the most destructive music this side of hell." Thus, by 1967, Seeger believed that to the extent that the Newport Festival was a leading institutional symbol, the folk revival had passed its peak. Many folkies agreed, feeling that the more commercial genre diluted folk's oppositional role as the voice of the dispossessed; yet, for others, in merging with rock, the popular music of youth culture, the new sound developed mass popular appeal. As the historian David Dunaway observes, Dylan "left Newport's stage for good, [but he took] . . . with him most of the folk revival's audience." To be sure, as Ronald Cohen has noted, folk music remained a vital movement, albeit less visible and commercial. But the move out of Newport was not without political resonance, personal and social: Seeger gradually refocused his energy on an alternative social movement—

environmentalism—and many others embraced a growing popular folk-rock movement.[102]

The changes begun at Newport in 1965 corresponded to fundamental shifts in the cultural politics and the social base of the New Left and the second folk revival at the end of the Sixties. In the early years of the decade, red-diaper babies played a major role in joining with new left-wing activists to build a political protest movement around Students for a Democratic Society. By middecade, as the Vietnam War escalated and male college students in general became vulnerable to a draft, the social base of the movement broadened. A left-liberal coalition brought together radical sects of Maoists and Trotskyites with large numbers of social democrats and concerned liberal progressives. Folk-rock, which especially to some older folkies more emphasized the beat than topical issues, became the musical idiom of cultural protest for this Sixties version of the Cultural Front. Rebels, who had been marginalized as "freaks" in Washington Square Park a few years earlier, now became part of a mass social and cultural movement that brought together psychedelic hippies and activists. The folk events and the folk idioms helped unite these people as they sang and danced before, during, and after they marched.

This populist phase of the revival in the last half of the Sixties that broadened the social base of the folk community carried a political price. The folk tradition that nurtured the new revival could be both alternative and oppositional, and many in the hippie communes of Haight-Ashbury or the East Village or on back-to-the-land communes created anticapitalist, antimaterialist enclaves. But omnivorous cultural merchants were never shy of seeking profit in any cultural forms, and cultural elements could become, in their commodified form, more alternative than oppositional, diluting what had earlier been more explicit political messages.[103] The history of the "Hammer Song" is a case in point. The Weavers first performed their song "If I Had a Hammer" at a rally in support of eleven members of the Communist Party on trial in 1949 as "subversives." The lines "I'd hammer out a danger, I'd hammer out a warning" were warnings of the coming oppressive times. Peter, Paul, and Mary's rerecording of the song rose to the Top Ten in 1962, and subsequent versions by dozens of major popular artists in France, Britain, and the United States soon flooded the airways. The populist language of the song, which had left-wing political messages in the Cold War, however, was easily adapted to the political culture of the liberal democratic antiwar campaigns of Robert Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy in 1967–68. Thus, new pulsating folk-rock rhythms replaced what had been written as a radical anthem of peace, brotherhood, and social justice in the face of growing Cold

War intolerance with what left-folkies bemoaned as a celebration of the beat rather than of the meanings in the original words.[104]

The Contra Boom and "Roots" Revival

Two secondary revivals during the later left-liberal stage of the second folk revival—one in contra and the other in ethnic "roots"—had an immediate effect on the American Country Dance movement, although the latter undoubtedly characterized EFDSS in England as well. The first of these revivals gained impetus from the counterculture's back-to-the-land movement that renovated the folkloric rural idyll. Young people, rebelling against a fast-paced, anomic culture of urban capitalism that they saw as waging an imperialist war abroad and sustaining anti-intellectual materialist culture at home, opted for what they imagined as the "simple" rural life. Moving to New England and Appalachia, they established collective communes and alternative communities where they tried to live off the land or from artisan skills in traditional folk arts such as woodworking. In the evenings and on weekends, they flocked to grange halls and barns to dance to the vibrant sounds of a new contra and square revival.

The contra revival of the late 1960s and early '70s was of course the second contra revival to transform CDS. In the preceding decades, CDS leaders had integrated American contra and squares, first celebrated in the "Running Set," into programs that mixed traditional and historical dances and included some ceremonial morris or sword dance as well. Ralph Page, the "dean of square dancing," had begun calling squares in Keene, New Hampshire, in the 1930s, and it will be recalled, Phil Merrill played a leading role in teaching square dance with Gadd in England. By 1943, Page was leading an urban revival as well, coming down to Boston weekly to call square and contras at the Boston YMCA. He attracted the young future contra callers Ted Sannella and Rickey Holden to contra and, the next year, founded the New England Folk Festival Association (NEFFA).[105] Dances from the initial square dance revival during World War II and the postwar era had also been quickly incorporated in the country dance repertory on both sides of the Atlantic. But by the mid-1950s, the postwar square dance boom had become Western or Club Squares, the more formal, choreographed dance form done in western dress that was closer to the conservative world of country music than to folk dance. Consequently, as noted earlier, the initial square dance revival recruited relatively few dancers into the ECD community, and those that did cross over looked little different from their predecessors.[106]

Old-time square dance and contra dance continued to thrive in New England towns and Appalachian hollows, however, and by the late 1960s found a ready new audience in the back-to-the-land hippies. Rejecting club squares, they thrilled to the stirring old-time music and playful singing calls of new callers inspired by Page: Tony Parkes and Dudley Laufman. With Ted Sannella, these callers helped spread a contra dance craze. With a new smooth, grounded style, exciting improvisational clogging, and innovative dances with original patterns, a contra boom had swept the country by the end of the 1970s.[107]

During this period, another secondary revival, this one of "roots" music and dance, encouraged and valorized the move into a national dance tradition represented by English and American Country Dance. Coincident with the rise of the identity politics that increasingly dominated the cultural politics of the later Sixties, folkies had begun to move into groups organized to advance ethnic folk traditions, some becoming even fiercely nationalistic. International Folk Dance began to morph into Balkan Dance; Klezmer music and Israeli dance won new adherents following the 1967 Sinai War; and in dance, "Riverdance," Irish set dancing, and an expanding Scottish dance movement on both sides of the Atlantic reflected a Celtic revival.[108] The next chapter picks up this story, as the popularity of the 1977 *Roots* television miniseries further mobilized these revivals and, in response to the Celtic revival in particular, could sustain if not feed the nationalist strain of ECD. "Englishness" made EFDSS and CDSS unlikely ports for the Irish, for instance, but, in turn, it encouraged the Anglophile strains within the ECD communities. (It is worth remembering how fears of Irish militancy and bombs marked the mid-1970s in Britain.) So as International Folk Dance and the folk song movement waned for some people, and simply changed for others, dancers in the 1970s had many choices, and CDSS, an Anglo-American national tradition with ties through contra back to the counterculture, won its share of them—though notably fewer of Irish descent.

The contra craze and "roots" revival did not immediately change ECD programming, but both had longer-term effects on the constitution and social profile of the ECD community in the United States as it was remade in the 1970s. By 1970, with Gadd celebrating her eighty-first birthday, it became increasingly evident to many people that it was time to bring in new leadership. The new leadership instituted challenging organizational and programming innovations, changes that upset some and thrilled others, but the country dance movement in the United States was never the same.

Conclusion

In sum, the second folk revival, though born in the United States, until the mid-1960s had greater impact on country dance in England then in the United States. International Folk Dance excited EFDSS leaders to rethink its tradition and the constrained style of the dancing body. Douglas Kennedy's response was to deemphasize the historical dances from the Playford publications in favor of traditional dances that he collected in the seven *Community Dance Manuals*. He built on this new direction with an adjunct of the revival from the United States: square dancing. The lively music and dance of square dancing captivated British young people who lined up to dance at Cecil Sharp House. At the same time, the folk music of the second revival—old-time, bluegrass, blues, jazz, and folk—swept the country in inventive new musical instrumentation of skiffle bands, folk clubs, and a new high-energy, kick-up-your-heels (i.e., *not* fussy) dance program: the ceilidh.

Kennedy's controversial couples-only policy uniquely shaped EFDSS's history. While the move especially upset older members steeped in the older historical dances, the policy inhibited the introduction of new single dancers into the community. Moreover, the policy put conditions in place that had serious implications for future growth of the movement; dancers who came to the dance as couples tended to dance as couples, and the community aged in place.

In contrast to England, the second revival's impact on CDS was to come only after the revival ended. If anything, through the 1960s, the CDS community continued to define, imagine, and normalize itself as other than the "freaks" in sandals and long hair that sang and danced in bohemian spaces. In the context of the particular virulence of the Cold War in the United States, CDS members had every reason to keep their distance from feared contagion by left-wing revivalists. In fact, the liberal political culture of these dancing elites was congenial with highbrow culture associated with a Brahmin Anglo-American and Victorian (reborn as bourgeois or "middle class") values, not with beatnik or hippie culture.

Folk dance in urban America divided into distinct social spaces for different groups, and in the demarcated geography of dance during the second revival, CDS occupied a relatively liminal place. In the period prior to World War II, urban recreational folk dance events in North America were generally either International or English.[109] In places such as rural New England or the southern mountains, local folk dance events continued to emphasize indigenous American squares and contras. But in urban centers such as

postwar New York, May Gadd's New York Centre, like its parent organ, CDS, represented only country dance. In contrast, Cecil Sharp House, as both the home of English folk dance and folk dance in England, hosted International Folk Dance and groups from different national folk dance traditions.

In truth, during the postwar era, country dance programming in England and the United States did not look very different. A typical dance program in both New York and London, for instance, would mix historical dances with squares, contras, and traditional "community" dances. A program would also usually include a ritual morris or sword display. The different histories of the Cold War and folk dance revivals on each side of the Atlantic had a more subtle influence on programming during these years. The differences were, first, the gradual trend toward the ceilidh dance, with its "knees-up" informality, and the consequent deemphasis on programming and teaching historical dances in England, and second, the coupled attendance required at dance events in England. In fact, the women's movement in the late 1960s had much earlier and greater impact on dance in the United States than in England, so that although "gender balance" was a transatlantic issue, a pioneer of the Gay Liberation Movement in America, Carl Wittman, led the development in the United States of a movement diametrically opposed to Kennedy's couples policy: "gender-free" dance in which there were no gendered dance roles. The impact and differences between the two countries were set in motion during the postwar era and were more apparent at the end of the century, shaping the trajectories of programs and the style of dancing bodies in future decades. Ironically, the end of the second folk revival brought a new beginning for CDSS and country dance in the United States. Newport closed its doors in 1971 as CDSS opened its own.