

THINKING AMERICAN, WORKING AMERICAN, PLAYING AMERICAN

FOLK DANCE IN CHICAGO, 1890-1940

A Dissertation

by

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ABSTRACT

Examination of folk dance in the Chicago area from 1890 to 1940 reveals the centrality of the body to ideas about education in the early twentieth century. The dissertation illuminates the circulation of folk dance practices in higher education and settlement houses in Progressive Era Chicago in conjunction with the influences of gender, ethnicity, and race. Folk dance satisfied both white, native-born, middle-class American nostalgia for an imagined rural past and immigrant desire to retain ties to homelands. Women social workers and teachers promoted folk dance as a healthful exercise and an avenue of insight into other cultures while also presenting it as an embodiment of American values. Extension of the study into the interwar period (1920-1940) permits analysis of both the persistence of progressive ideologies concerning the body as practiced through folk dance and the central role of women in physical education.

Over six chapters the dissertation address three primary points. First, it argues for the consideration of folk dance as an integral part of the physical education of children and young women as well as its function as an element of defining American-ness in both higher education and social settlements. Second, the dissertation demonstrates the prevalence of women as innovators in education, specifically through physical education curricula in colleges and universities. It also shows the connections between higher education and social settlements as two sites for learning that incorporated similar ideas about folk dance. Third, the dissertation assesses how Chicago, as a progressive center,

facilitated the circulation of a set of folk dance practices grounded in Old World nostalgia and reframed it as part of the way to learn how to achieve a proper American body through similar curricula, instructors, and performances. Sources examined include records from colleges and universities such as course catalogs, programs, yearbooks, and campus newspapers; materials from social settlements, for example histories, programs, activity announcements, workers' reports, and scrapbooks; personal papers of settlement workers and folk dance instructors; and folk dance manuals.

For K and LZ.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: DANCING AMERICAN-NESS

On a high school auditorium stage in Katy, Texas, in the spring of 2010, the faculty members of DANMAR dance studio shuffled through the darkness into their places, arranged their feet hip width apart and bent their knees slightly while making final adjustments to their floral necklaces and crowns.¹ I struggled mightily with a long, black wig that insisted on shifting to one side, giving my “hair” an unattractive asymmetrical look. The strains of the “Hukilau” crescendoed as the lights brightened to reveal us in shiny green leotards and grass skirts, barefoot with plastered smiles, performing a hula dance.² Our hips swayed in rhythm to the ukulele as we attempted the gestures that invited the audience to join us as we transported ourselves from a Houston suburb to the exotic islands of Hawaii.

We had spent several hours learning and practicing our hula taught to us by a member of our faculty who had trained and performed for many years with a ballet company in Mexico. I, a blonde-haired blue-eyed Midwestern American of Western European descent, taught hip-hop and contemporary dance in the studio. My other colleagues hailed from Southeast Texas, Mexico, and several different countries in South

¹ Daniela Urbaez Olivares and Maria Fernanda Urbaez established Danmar Dance Studio in Katy, Texas in 2001. The name comes from the first three letters of each of their names: Dan + Mar = Danmar. In 2007 a drunk driver killed my friend and colleague Daniela and her husband Pedro. We miss you, Daniela.

² Jack Owens receives credit as the author of the Hukilau, which he penned in 1948. Many artists have covered the song, including Bing Crosby, Don Ho, and Josh Dorbin and the All Saints Gangsters; it also appeared in a South Park episode in 2000.

America. Founded by two young Venezuelans, this dance studio specialized in flamenco, belly dancing, and salsa in addition to offering classes in tribal, hip hop, ballet, and tap. The typically young (4 to 14 years old) students, often first- or second-generation Americans from Central and South America, spoke primarily Spanish (a language in which I have quite limited proficiency). In other words, not one of us claimed virtuosity, or even a shallow familiarity, with Hawaiian culture or dance.

Yet there we found ourselves, onstage with the attention of our friends, family, and students executing a hula dance with a minimal degree of proficiency.³ No one expert in the hula assessed our performance, though our audience expressed its appreciation with a barrage of applause, hoots, and hollers. Over its thirteen-year existence, DANMAR has celebrated Brazil, France, Venezuela, Hawaii, and New York City, among other places, in its annual “cultural encounter” that showcases its students and teachers. The locations provide themes for the recital, informing costume choices, musical selections, and choreographic styles. The cultural encounters present what the owners consider more traditional South American dance forms such as flamenco, belly dance, and salsa next to the hula, as in 2010, lending participants and spectators a way to connect with dances from their own and others’ heritages. In language similar to that of Progressive Era reformers, the founders of the studio use their annual performances to foster

[A]rtistic excellence and creativity through the development of new works, and the education and development of its students,

³ Danmar Gallery, Videos. <http://www.danmar-us.org/gallery-videos.html>. To view the cultural encounter that celebrated Hawaii, click on the “9th Cultural Encounter.” It shows pieces of each dance presented that year, including a very brief clip of the teachers’ Hukilau at about the two-minute mark.

both physically and mentally, in the professional techniques of dance and music. DANMAR realizes these core functions by way of educational, artistic, cultural and social programs that engage creativity and encourage understanding among people of different cultures and backgrounds.⁴

Performances in which a group of women adapts a dance form admired or valued are not unique to this Texas dance studio, or the twenty-first century. In fact, beginning in the late nineteenth century, girls and young women learned and performed folk dances from Northern and Western Europe in similar ways as we did on that high school auditorium stage in the spring of 2010.

Examination of the activities of reformers – primarily women – who enacted Americanization programs and shaped folk dance instruction in institutions of higher education and social settlement work, in conjunction with the performances they sponsored or participated in, reveals how a stable set of folk dance practices circulated through Chicago between 1890 and 1940. Analysis of dancing bodies and the attempts to regulate them through progressive reform problematizes the borders of race, ethnicity, class, and gender and raises questions of authority, authenticity, and the implications of prescriptive body behaviors. In-depth investigation of one urban area shows both the flexibility and durability of dance as a cultural form. Chicago provides an excellent site for excavation as a center of progressivism (in particular education reform), population growth, urbanization, and immigration during the Progressive Era, generally considered 1890 to 1920. The development of social science methods and experimental education that stemmed from Chicago institutions of higher education intimately connected the

⁴ “Mission and History,” DANMAR Academy of Performing Arts, <http://www.danmar-us.org/about.html>.

city's colleges and universities to the social settlement movement. Furthermore, higher education ultimately undertook responsibility for the training of social workers who utilized the tools learned in departments of physical education, sociology, and education in their work. Extension of the research into the interwar period, roughly 1920 through 1940, allows for assessment of the persistence of progressive ideologies and actions concerning folk dance.

Three primary points provide the organizing principles for my research. First, I demonstrate how folk dance, as integral to the physical education of children and young women between 1890 and 1940, provided an essential physical element to the conceptualization of American-ness in both higher education and the social settlement movement. Second, I recuperate women as innovators in education, and in particular concerning physical education, by illuminating the connections between the rise of higher education and the progressive social settlement movement. Third, my investigation illustrates how the urban, progressive circumstances of Chicago afforded the city a primary role in the establishment of curricula that included folk dance as a method of Americanization reliant on the acceptance of collected and selected facets of foreign-ness through the circulation of similar curricula, instructors, and performances.

Though previous scholarship has addressed several threads of the dissertation including higher education, the social settlement movement, the Progressive Era, and popular performance, none has explored the confluence of these elements in relationship to folk dance as displaying American-ness in the early twentieth century. Furthermore, none has assessed physical education as essential to Americanization or, conversely, in

retaining national identities of immigrants. As held true for many aspects of progressivism, the idea of what constituted American proved malleable over time; however, certain elements of proper body behaviors for all Americans remained relatively stable: the privileging of verticality over looseness and flexibility in one's joints; space between bodies and therefore a minimization of close contact between members of the opposite sex; and a sense of control of the limbs, which often required a knowledge of the steps and body positions obtained through trained instructors and therefore a de-emphasis on improvisation. Additional American ideals enacted through folk dance include the value of exercise, the embrace of the imagined simplicity of a pre-industrial world, and the reification of women's beauty. Though much of the emphasis on American-ness stressed the regulation of bodies, Old World folk dances also offered a foundation for a movement vocabulary that teachers used for particularly American observations, such as celebrations of the births of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington.

As a cultural history focusing on popular dance, a practice often considered too ephemeral or undocumented to merit detailed historical inquiry, I borrow from dance studies, performance studies, social history, and cultural theories in addition to historical methodology to address who performed the dances; which dances they practiced and performed; why, when, and under what circumstances; who watched the performances; and, most importantly, how folk dance influenced conceptions of what embodied "American" for both native-born and newly-arrived Americans. A layered comparative approach best serves the available sources. In addition to comparing folk dance curricula

and performances across institutions of higher education and the social settlements independently, I also illuminate the connections among the sites. Close examination of the tools used to generate and sustain the folk dance curricula, especially folk dance manuals, accounts for the similarity and stability of folk dance practices that circulated throughout Chicago. Finally, I ground all analysis in my personal experiences as a dance practitioner in a variety of contexts as a performer, choreographer, and instructor.

I have relied primarily on two scholars' work in my approach to locating and organizing sources: Jon Mackenzie's *Perform or Else: From Discipline to Performance* (2001) and Joseph Roach's *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (1996). In *Perform or Else* Mackenzie investigates vocabularies of performance. He focuses on performance studies as it relates to cultural performance: as social and self-reflecting; the presentation of alternatives; and containing the possibility of conservation and/or transformation. Mackenzie highlights performance within areas not commonly considered to possess performativity (through the examples of management and technology), which leads him to a model for locating a vocabulary for performance where it might not readily appear. He illustrates the historical contingency of performance and its vocabularies in a way that I find essential to deciphering my project's archives. Though Mackenzie's conceptualizations of performance refer specifically to the post-WWII period, the underlying goal remains the same for him and me: identify the ways in which people discussed performance through a series of key words and use those to unlock the paradigm. For the dissertation that meant locating

folk dance within other activities, including social events and fundraisers, curricula for music and games, and as both an exercise and an educational tool.

In *Cities of the Dead*, Roach introduces three principles concerning the investigation of performance genealogies that have taken hold in writing about performance and dance: kinesthetic imagination, displacement of transmission, and vortices of behavior. Roach uses the framework of performance in the Atlantic world to illuminate connections throughout those spaces (most notably London and New Orleans) and to explain his terminology. He contends that kinesthetic imagination, highly visible among performers, exists primarily in the virtual. Here performers may choose to imagine for themselves a borrowed past, for instance when African-Americans don American Indian garb for Mardi Gras second lines, in order to actualize themselves in the present. Displaced transmission, on the other hand, involves the adaptation of behaviors, and vortices of behavior provide a pseudo-structure within which to locate circulating performances. By drawing on Michel Foucault's ideas concerning the genealogy of history, Roach acknowledges the impossibility (and futility) of identifying singular origins and presents guidelines to contend with slippery performances. Roach's vortices of behavior almost too perfectly imagines the spaces of higher education and the settlement houses, both as institutions and in their influences beyond their walls. His model encloses yet allows for movement among the centers and peripheries that I find integral in explaining both adaptations of and resistance by folk dance participants. Therefore, while my use of the boundaries of Chicago does not intend to fully contain the practices, as similar ones likely existed in other large cities such as New York City,

Boston, and Philadelphia, they demonstrate how, despite a wide range of possible practices, Americanized versions of folk dances circulated relatively unchanged over fifty years.

Sources encompass settlement house materials such as workers' reports, newspapers, announcements, programs, registration cards, photos, scrapbooks, and histories; university records, including syllabi, course catalogs, photos, campus newspapers, and programs; personal papers of settlement house workers and professors; and folk dance manuals. Chicago Commons, Gads Hill Center, Hull-House, Northwestern University Settlement, and Park House comprise the basis for the examination of the settlement houses. The American College of Physical Education, Chicago Normal College, Columbia College, the National College of Education, Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago provide the sites for analysis of higher education. The archival materials explain the motivations and ideologies behind the inclusion and persistent popularity of folk dances across the institutions through the early-to-mid twentieth century in Chicago. Though researchers have consulted many of the records, in particular those concerning the social settlement movement, the sources have remained largely untapped as avenues to uncovering new information about dance practices and their relationship to progressive education and reform.

Scholars have treated the Progressive Era and progressive reform as key to understanding the United States today. Its situation between Victorianism and World War I; within industrialization and urbanization; as witness to the rise of the educated middle class and their exercise of political power, especially by women; and the influx

of large numbers of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe produced a nexus for change in America at the turn of the twentieth century. Two recent historical accounts, John Whiteclay Chambers II's *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (2000), and Michael McGerr's *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (2003), provide useful frameworks and terminology for thinking about folk dance during the Progressive Era.⁵

Both Chambers and McGerr contend that Americans continue to feel the effects of progressivism today. McGerr leans towards a negative presentation, detailing what he describes as progressives' unrealistic expectations in what he classifies as the, "[F]our quintessential progressive battles: to change other people; to end class conflict; to control big business; and to segregate society."⁶ After discussing each battle, McGerr declares that the failures of progressivism forever circumscribed later attempts at reform, including Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. Though the limited success of progressivism may also ring true regarding the control of dance practices, McGerr's attention to the transformation of the lower and working classes by the middle class and their willingness to recruit the state to legislate and implement changes proves of greater importance. He writes, "Progressives wanted not only to use the state to regulate the economy; strikingly, they intended nothing less than

⁵ For more on the Progressive Era, see Maureen Flanagan, *American Reformed: Progressives and Progressivism, 1890s-1920* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Vintage, 1960; first published 1955); *Reform and Reformers in the Progressive Era*, ed. David R. Colburn and George E. Pozzetta (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983); and Robert Weibe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

⁶ Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xv.

to transform Americans, to remake the nation's feuding, polyglot population in their own middle-class image."⁷ The ultimate shortcomings of progressive policy notwithstanding, middle-class attempts at regulating Americans also lay at the desire to control their bodies and therefore dance practices. Although Chambers agrees with McGerr's assessment of progressivism as comprehensive in its scope, he takes a less accusatory tone. Chambers defines the "progressive ethos" as the "moral idealism and pragmatic, piecemeal reform with a sweeping vision of democracy and rejuvenated national community."⁸ The "progressive ethos," considered in concert with the abstract nature of progressive goals evident in the language of morality, greater good, and progress, reflects the ambiguity and malleability of progressive programs and ideas while also suggesting the possibility for the pervasiveness of progressivism as an ideology.⁹

Settlement houses provided institutionalized sites where workers taught a variety of immigrant peoples certain ideas about "Americanization." In particular, the manner and kinds of dance practices asserted the values of the directors, privileging theatrical forms and old-world styles of folk dances over the new Americanized amalgamations of vernacular social dances and movement vocabularies practiced in the same neighborhood. As one location for the investigation of the manifestation of the "progressive ethos" through Progressive Era reform, as sculpted and enforced by

⁷ McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, xiv.

⁸ John Whiteclay Chambers, III, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 279.

⁹ For more on the development of the institutions and bureaucracy during the Progressive Era, see Robert Weibe, *The Search for Order*.

women, settlement houses and the literature on women and the settlement movement offer a starting point to consider dance and dance education in other institutions and venues. Several scholars have addressed the role of the settlement movement in relationship to progressive reform, including four most relevant to this research: Allen Davis' *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (1967); Kathryn Kish Sklar's article "Hull-House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers" (1985); Rivka Shpak Lissak's *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull-House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (1989); and Robin Muncy's *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890-1935* (1991).¹⁰

Davis presents one of the earliest works to examine the relationship between the settlement movement and progressivism, which coincided with the beginning of the proliferation of social and cultural histories. He argues that the settlement movement shaped progressivism and its character, which he defines as middle-class and concerned with the welfare of others.¹¹ Also, Davis contends that the settlement movement, as Chambers and McGerr would later uphold concerning progressivism generally, experienced limited success because of a lack of resources and tenuous relationships with the neighbors they purported to help. The tension described by Davis remains a

¹⁰ For more on women and the social settlement movement, see also: Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Dorothy Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1890-1920* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson, 1990); and Carl J. and Dorothy Schneider, *American Women in the Progressive Era* (New York: Facts on File, 1993).

¹¹ Allen Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), ix.

prominent theme in subsequent studies of the settlement movement, and his association of settlement work with progressivism has retained its validity over the last four decades.

Perhaps the salience of Davis' work led to a dearth of settlement movement scholarship until the mid-1980s when women's historians revisited the settlement houses, in particular Jane Addams and Hull-House. In her article on Hull-House, Sklar argues that women asserted their political power before achieving suffrage through their dominance in the settlement house movement. This power, however, depended on the support of both men's and women's institutions. Sklar emphasizes the success of the settlement house movement, and women in general, as contingent on collaboration among women. Her focus on Hull-House provides more information for understanding the motivations and organization of the house itself though the study proves limited by her lack of attention to the impracticality of domesticity as encouraged by middle-class women for lower-and working-class women and the presentation of settlement houses as merely authoritative.

Lissak also focuses on Hull-House in her study, which aims to debunk the myth of Jane Addams' settlement as a site for cultural pluralism during the Progressive Era. She examines the leaders' ideas and policies regarding the education and assimilation of immigrants in relationship to the work with Chicago Liberal Progressives (primarily through the University of Chicago). Like Chambers and McGerr, Lissak asserts that Hull-House failed to assimilate or cooperate with immigrants in its neighborhood, though she concludes that Addams paved the way for cultural pluralism and liberalism in

the 1930s.¹² However, by complicating the myth of cultural pluralism, assimilation, and education for immigrants, Lissak offers an explanation for why progressives adapted and encouraged certain dance forms at particular moments and how they shifted over time.

Muncy expands on Sklar's argument regarding collaboration and the political power of women. She contends that continuity existed among middle-class women in reform, with the New Deal as the culmination of progressive reform work. Radicalism, according to Muncy, explains the continuity.¹³ Though her study has national implications, the bulk of her sources also come from Hull-House as well as the city of Chicago, which claimed some of the largest and most active organizations for progressive reform. Muncy's argument also presages Chambers' articulation of the "progressive ethos" in her description of the pervasiveness of progressive thought and activity among women. Historians' situation of Chicago at the center of studies with national implications supports my decision to conduct a close examination of dance practices in Progressive Era Chicago. Chicago, while not necessarily representative of the rest of the United States, provides a model for other investigations of cultural performances at the turn of the twentieth century as specific to the ethnic, racial, class, and gender composition of a particular area.

Developments in the educational approaches during the Progressive Era also inform the trajectory of the dissertation. As Lawrence A. Cremin in *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1877-1957* (1961)

¹² Rivka Shpak Lissak, *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull-House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 184.

¹³ McGerr would agree with this contention. McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, xv.

and Herbert M. Kliebard in *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (1986) acknowledge, progressivism encompassed several strands of reform, including the regulation of bodies and spaces. Both historians locate the beginnings of the progressive education movement with male educators: Cremin in the surveys conducted and articles written by Joseph Mayer Rice in 1892-3 and Kliebard with humanist Charles W. Eliot at the forefront. In 1893, the Report of the Committee of Ten, commissioned by the National Education Association (NEA) and headed by Charles W. Eliot, reflected and confirmed the findings of Rice, which encouraged more student-guided learning. Cremin contends that the many and varied legacies of progressive education include the establishment of vocational education (which Kliebard names as the most important development in public education in the early twentieth century), the formation of junior high schools, formalized instruction of teachers, standardization of instructional materials, extracurricular activities, and the implementation of a system of electives at the collegiate level. The shift from the common school to the graded school system, the transition from predominantly male teachers to female teachers, and a focus on guided learning rather than memorization and recitation also arose during the Progressive Era.¹⁴ Cremin and Kleibard also both identify men as the pedagogical pioneers of the

¹⁴ For further details on the direction of Progressive education, see Lawrence A Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1877-1957* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961); and Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York and London: Routledge, 1986). For examples of how reformers implemented versions of Progressive education for specific groups, see David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press, 1995); James L. Leloudis, *Schooling the New South: Pedagogy, Self and Society in North Carolina, 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); and Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Progressive Era, for example, Francis Parker, principal of Chicago's Cook County Normal School from 1883-1899, and John Dewey who established the experimental Laboratory School at the University of Chicago. While these men performed integral roles in the development of public and private education at turn of the twentieth century, my research highlights not only the presence but also the predominance of women as innovative educators, especially concerning physical education. In addition, this study also attends to the importance of body training during the Progressive Era in Americanization projects, most often designed and implemented by female educators.

Dance education has garnered more attention recently, though usually as accounts of techniques or individual teachers of concert performance rather than of popular or vernacular dance forms. Daniel J. Walkowitz provides one exception in his latest study *City Folk: English Country Dance and the Politics of the Folk in Modern America* (2010). He compares the approaches of English country dance teachers in England, especially Cecil Sharp, with practices in the United States throughout the twentieth century.¹⁵

Reconsiderations of progressivism in higher education and settlement houses rely on a reconfiguration of popular culture and its relationship to class, race, ethnicity, and

¹⁵ Daniel J. Walkowitz, *City Folk: English Country Dance and the Politics of the Folk in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010). For more on the trajectory of dance education in the United States, see Joseph Marks, *America Learns to Dance: A Historical Study of Dance Education in American Before 1900* (New York: Exposition Press, 1957) and Nancy Ruyter, *Reformers and Visionaries: The Americanization of the Art of Dance* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1979). Marks documents the influence of European dance on American dance, particularly from England and France. By the close of the nineteenth century, the increase in popularity of the country or round dances facilitated the demise of the eighteenth-century dancing master. Marks illustrates that as dancing masters declined in status, some appropriated the language of health benefits to perpetuate the teaching of dance and attract students. Ruyter corroborates this late-nineteenth-century shift from upper-class to inclusive or "democratic" dance education in public schools.

gender. Therefore the examination of previous scholarship on popular culture provides a necessary component to the analysis of American-ness through popular dance. Three books most useful in thinking about popular culture in America, (though not because they explicitly concentrate on dance) are Lawrence Levine's *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (1988); Alison M. Parker's *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873-1933* (1997); and Nan Enstad's *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (1999).

As the title implies, Levine addresses the division of American culture into “highbrow” and “lowbrow.” He argues, “[T]hat because the primary categories of culture have been the products of ideologies which were always subject to modifications and transformations, the perimeters of our cultural divisions have been permeable and shifting rather than fixed and immutable.”¹⁶ Furthermore, Levine contends that nineteenth-century Americans, “[S]hared a public culture less hierarchically organized, less fragmented into relatively rigid adjectival boxes than their descendants were to experience a century later.”¹⁷ His assertions suggest that progressives may have attempted to instill – or establish – a shared culture through social reform. Also, Levine discusses the hierarchy of “high” and “low” cultural forms as dynamic, which dance practices in the nineteenth century reflect. Most importantly, as one of the first studies to

¹⁶ Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988), 8.

¹⁷ Levine, *Highbrow Lowbrow*, 9.

grapple with the hierarchy of American culture, Levine contributes to the validation of popular culture as a legitimate and relevant topic for academic study.

Both Parker and Enstad engage Levine in their investigations of censorship and popular culture, respectively. Parker argues that the agenda for censorship, as advanced by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and the American Library Association (ALA) from 1873-1933, provided a tool for social change through reform, specifically of print and film. She modifies Levine's argument regarding cultural hierarchy, resituating the middle class as alone in their pursuit of censorship.¹⁸ The WCTU's Department for the Suppression of Impure Literature (which later included film) censored both high and low art forms under the premise of protecting children. For example, both ballet and boxing, also, notably, both physical entertainments, fell under the category "impure."¹⁹ Parker also claims that gender informed censorship agendas, which also explains some decisions by women progressive reformers regarding dance practices.

Enstad agrees with Levine that the middle class worked for cultural hegemony; however, she also elucidates why immigrants adopted certain elements of American culture and their multiplicity of meanings as socially and historically constructed.²⁰ Like Levine, Enstad notes the malleable character of culture, particularly in her employment

¹⁸ McGerr supports this contention by noting that the middle class often criticized upper-class extravagance. McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, 94.

¹⁹ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873-1933* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 6.

²⁰ Nan Enstad, *Ladies of Labor, Girls of Adventure: Working Women, Popular Culture, and Labor Politics at the Turn of the Twentieth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 9-10.

of the term “subjectivity” as a dynamic process concerning working-women’s cultural-political identities.²¹ Enstad’s presentation of popular culture and its relationship to freedom also contributes to the conceptualization of my research. In Enstad’s view, young female workers used their buying power to shape their identities both within and outside the workplace. With respect to dance as a tool for socialization, this thesis demonstrates that dancers exercised “market” preferences in their choices of physical activities, rather than simply being subjects of reform.²²

Discussions of cultural hierarchy lend themselves to consideration of the sanitation and reformation of dances by the middle class in the Progressive Era. Reformed dances not only embraced class-specific ideas concerning appropriate body behaviors, but also enacted particular racial and ethnic attitudes and gender ideals, as implied by Parker. For example, even in the age of the “New Woman,” reformers aimed to subvert young women’s expressions of their sexuality and encouraged conformity to hetero-normative gender roles that privileged middle-class ideas of propriety, especially verticality, space (both the distance from one’s partner and sufficient room to perform), and discipline of the body. Middle-class reformers attempted, and, some scholars claim, failed in their goals as dance participants pushed against prescriptive “appropriate”

²¹ Enstad, *Ladies of Labor*, 13.

²² Anne Durst also suggests that this interaction among working women and reformers shaped day-nursery policies. Though limited access to money and resources circumscribes working women’s agency in both Enstad’s and Durst’s arguments, these women asserted power through the decisions they did control. Durst contends that working mothers who utilized the day nurseries organized and managed by middle-class women attempted to protect their private lives by making decisions for their families regarding hygiene and education. By refusing to capitulate to middle-class ideals, the middle class adjusted the rules and gradually came to help working women rather than fighting them. Anne Durst, “‘Of Women, By Women, and For Women’: The Day Nursery Movement in the Progressive-Era United States,” *Journal of Social History* 39, no. 1 (2005): 141-159.

behaviors. Dance students ignored instructions and violated reformers' standards through changes of rules or by attending dances at the unchaperoned "dirty" dance halls.

In some respects, dance scholars have stepped ahead regarding interdisciplinary work, as the study of dance has often occurred through other disciplines, primarily English, anthropology, and history. The current trend towards interdisciplinarity and globalism in *Dance Research Journal* (the primary academic publication for dance scholars) reflects more general developments in all academic fields, though it also embodies the already ingrained practices of dance scholars. Despite the growing acceptance of dance studies as a stand-alone field, scholarship on non-concert dance performance remains under-published.²³ Only since the 1990s have dance scholars begun to move away from the meta-narrative of dance history as a collection of biographies about concert dancers and companies.²⁴ Given this quite recent development, few scholars have concentrated on non-concert dance during the Progressive Era. Of those that have, only Linda Tomko claims dance history as her focus. However, Elizabeth Perry's article "The General Motherhood of the

²³ The rise in recognition of dance studies as a field is supported by the growing number of PhD granting programs for dance in the US over the last two decades, including University of California, Riverside; Temple University; Texas Woman's University; and, most recently, Ohio State University. In addition, many study dance through the also increasing number of performance studies programs across the United States.

²⁴ Examples of works addressing popular dance include Sally R. Sommer, "C'Mon to My House: Underground House Dancing," *Dance Research Journal* 33, no. 2, (2004): 72-86; *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader*, ed. Julie Malnig (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008); and Jacqui Malone, *Steppin' on the Blues: The Visible Rhythms of African American Dance* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996). Though I cannot offer a clear answer to why this trend began in the 1990s, some possible reasons involve the increased availability of sources via television, film, and the internet; and the greater stability and growth of the field and the simultaneous embrace of different interests and angles concerning dance.

Commonwealth': Dance Hall Reform in the Progressive Era" (1985) and Kathy Peiss' book *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (1986) also inform the dissertation.

Though Perry does not detail the dances themselves, she does present the idea of the importance to reformers of the "sanitization of dances" and the relationship of dance to other Progressive Era reforms concerning liquor, health, and immorality.²⁵ She concludes that though dance hall reformers ultimately did not succeed in cleaning up the dances or the halls, they did achieve the mainstream acceptance of recreation and its regulation as a necessary component of American social policy. Perry's research centers on New York City, though dance hall reform movements occurred in nearly every urban area, including Chicago.

Peiss documents the homosociability of working-class leisure activities. She argues that the gender-segregated social spaces inhabited by working-class men and women stemmed from particular ideas of domesticity.²⁶ Homosocial working-class amusements paralleled historians' notions of the ideology of separate spheres for the middle-class – domestic and private for women, workplace and public for men – and prefigure more specific historical arguments concerning the feminization of dance and dance instruction at the turn of the twentieth century. Peiss does address middle-class

²⁵ Elizabeth I. Perry, "'The General Motherhood of the Commonwealth': Dance Hall Reform in the Progressive Era," in *American Quarterly* 37, no. 5 (1985): 729.

²⁶ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 16.

attempts to reform dance halls and presents settlement houses as alternative dance spaces, though without describing how or to what extent they succeeded.

Linda Tomko's *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890 – 1920* (1999) intersects with many of the facets of the dissertation. Despite the similarities in time frame and proposed investigation, her articulation of the value of dance studies in historical inquiry comprises Tomko's most valuable contribution. She declares that

Dance has been alternately a neglected and an elusive subject for American history analysis. Yet a dance focus can bring much to the study of American history analysis . . . Scrutiny of dance will point to the constitution of 'culture' as a site of contest between men and women. Focus on dance will illuminate the changing and unstable identities of 'dance' itself as it serves differing class and ethnicity and aesthetic projects.²⁷

Tomko thus validates the relationship between dance studies and historical inquiry for subsequent dance historians.

Dancing Class provides an excellent example of historical dance scholarship, a framework for subsequent scholars, and fodder for further inquiries. For instance, Tomko's chapter on dance in settlement houses focuses more on festival and concert dance performance than social or folk dances, even though social and folk dances dominated the curricula and activities of the settlement houses. Although gender graces the title of her book, Tomko details primarily women in dance. Ultimately, Tomko offers a snapshot of dance in the Progressive Era but leaves room for others to address the

²⁷ Linda Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), xvi-xviii.

flexibility of dance forms, the methods of teaching and learning about ethnic groups through folk dance, generational shifts in the perceptions and uses of folk dance, or the role of men.²⁸

Performance studies scholarship (some that focuses on dance and others on different modes of performance) also offers useful approaches concerning the relationship between performance and what constitutes American-ness. Charlotte Canning, Anthea Kraut, and Eric Lott provide three of the most salient examples by addressing different processes and sites for identity production within the American context. In *The Most American Thing About America* (2007), Canning explores the Chautauqua circuit as a site for the production and reproduction of American culture between 1900 and the 1930s in predominantly rural areas. She views the Chautauqua as the performance of the ideal American and argues that the lens of performance for Chautauqua proves useful because the form itself relied more on the embodied than on the textual or literary. The space within the Chautauqua tent synthesized popular education and self-improvement presented with evangelical flair by the performers on its circuit. It included a program for children that emphasized self-improvement through play; play (and performance) therefore instructed youth in modes of model citizenship.²⁹ Though often seen as asserting urban values onto rural communities, Chautauqua also reflected the desires of rural residents who identified with what they saw and heard in

²⁸ For more on the intersections of performance and the use of space in Hull-House, see Shannon Jackson, *Lines of Activity: Performance, Historiography, Hull-House Domesticity* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001).

²⁹ Charlotte M. Canning, *The Most American Thing in America: Circuit Chautauqua as Performance* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 42-44.

the Chautauqua tent, therefore both absorbing and shaping their identities through participation. Similar trends appear in the instruction and performance of folk dance through the settlement movement, though focused on urban areas rather than rural.

Kraut's repositioning of authorship within her account of the dance productions of Zora Neale Hurston addresses compelling ideas of and politics surrounding available identities. In *Choreographing the Folk: The Dance Stagings of Zora Neale Hurston* (2008), Kraut relates the history of Hurston's theatrical productions and their influence on American dance in the 1930s. Until her study, Hurston's dance stagings remained an unacknowledged facet of her multidisciplinary approach to the folk. Dance, Kraut argues, brings attention to Hurston's embodiment of the folk in her written work and inserts Hurston into dance history as a precursor to African-American choreographers Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus. Hurston did not identify herself, nor did others, as a "choreographer" because her dances appeared improvised, whereas "choreographer" connotes ownership and implies advance preparation. Kraut proposes that Hurston's originality and activities as a modifier of extant practices therefore makes room for a choreography of folk. Racialized ideas of authenticity and authorship also worked to invisibilize Hurston's dance contributions. Kraut's configuration of the folk and its relationship to authorship helps account for the motivations of both native-born American dance teachers and immigrant dance teachers and participants within the United States.³⁰

³⁰ Anthea Kraut, *Choreographing the Folk: The Dance Stagings of Zora Neale Hurston*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008).

Lott also contends with the relationships among race, ethnicity, class, and identity in *Love and Theft* (1993) in which he argues for a more complicated view of blackface performance through his investigation of pre-Civil War minstrelsy in New York City. He claims that the minstrel show reflected antebellum racial attitudes and provided evidence of cross-racial desire and anxiety, fear and pleasure. Lott looks at the contradictions and social conflicts opened up by blackface minstrelsy in conjunction with the dynamism of blackface performance and assesses the revelations about the racial politics of culture in the antebellum period. Blackface therefore provides an early discourse on the body in America, especially the racialized body, and shows how minstrelsy simultaneously presented both racism and interracial identities. Also, Lott emphasizes that the contradiction affected performers, spectators (both predominantly white groups in this period), and the “other” invoked on stage through the black mask, body behaviors, and dialect.³¹

Though both Tomko and Walkowitz provide more direct links to my research, the models of Canning, Kraut, and Lott hold greater appeal in their abilities to grapple with the range of performances, authenticity, and ethnic/race/class confluences and divergences concerning identity processes. Canning’s investigation of the Chautauqua circuit addresses the variety and dynamism of performances that helped craft and reinforce rural Americans’ character at the turn of the twentieth century. The tent resembles the settlement house in its range and flexibility of programming and also in its

³¹ Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

inclusion of young and old, men and women. Kraut's resituating of Hurston as a choreographer of folk presents possibilities for a similar assessment of folk dance teachers. Furthermore, her weaving of Hurston's work as an author of texts with her work as an author of dances moves toward the synthesis of inscription and incorporation that many lament as absent from Western cultures and mimics the scramble of folk dance collectors to set down in writing the "authentic" versions of Old World dances. Lott's negotiations of race, class, and ethnicity through desire and pleasure also steer the research. Some have discussed the nostalgic component of folk dance practices in the early twentieth century; however, the desire of embodiment of the "other" as "folk" requires further examination.³² Canning, Kraut, and Lott therefore provide examples for my consideration of folk dance practices and their relationship to ideals of American-ness in the Progressive Era and interwar period.³³

The dissertation takes shape across five chapters in three sections. "Teaching and Learning," Chapters 2 and 3, address how people taught and learned folk dance at

³² For discussions on how folk functions as nostalgia, see Linda Tomko, "Fete Accompli: Gender, 'Folk-Dance', and Progressive-era Political Ideals in New York City," in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (New York: Routledge, 1996), 155-176; Daniel J. Walkowitz, *City of Folk*; and Anthony Shay, *Dancing Across Borders: The American Fascination with Exotic Dance Forms* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008).

³³ For additional examples on contributions to the performance complex during the Progressive Era and interwar period, see Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California, 1988); Mark Franko, *The Work of Dance: Labor, Movement, and Identity in the 1930s* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002); Ellen Graff, *Stepping Left: Dance and Politics in New York City: 1928-1942* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997); Victor Greene, *A Passion for Polka: Old-Time Ethnic Music in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: Parlor Making and Middle-Class Identity* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Kristin Hoganson, *Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); David Savran, *Highbrow/Lowdown: Theatre, Jazz and the Making of the New Middle Class* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009); and Derek Vaillant, *Sounds of Reform: Progressivism and Music in Chicago, 1873-1935* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

colleges, universities, normal schools, and social settlements. “Collecting and Selecting,” Chapter 4, analyzes a set of folk dance manuals identified through the archival records of higher education and settlement houses. “Performing and Watching,” Chapters 5 and 6, explore performances and audiences sponsored by the institutions examined throughout the dissertation. Organizing the dissertation in this way allows for emphasis on the overlap of teaching and learning, collecting and selecting, and performing and watching.

Chapter 2, “Teaching and Learning: Higher Education,” locates folk dance within universities, colleges, and normal schools, making comparisons among departments and student populations. Folk dance appeared in departments ranging from physical training to sociology as both requirements and electives. First, the chapter seeks to recognize women as educational innovators through their roles as founders of institutions of higher education and their work as instructors and professors, especially of physical education. Second, Chapter 2 illustrates when, how, and why folk dance had become an integral component of women’s physical education by the 1910s, unearths the reasons for the inclusion of folk dance in the higher education system, and assesses how its role changed between 1890 and 1940. Lastly, Chapter 2 explains how Chicago, as a progressive city, circulated curricula and instructors that promoted similar Americanized folk dance practices both as measures of good health for young women and as a curricular tool for those women joining the growing ranks of female primary and secondary schoolteachers.

Chapter 3, “Teaching and Learning: Social Settlements,” investigates folk dance in settlement houses as social and group work, connecting what the workers learned through higher education with the methods of instruction they implemented. It illuminates the different tracks of folk dance present in settlement houses, including the classes taught by native-born white Americans and the clubs organized by immigrant groups. The chapter examines how women employed the social settlement movement as a means for the education and regulation of immigrants’ embodied behaviors. In addition, it analyzes folk dance as an alternative activity to the dance halls, as a healthy exercise for girls and young women, and as a way for immigrants and their children to retain ties to cultural roots. Lastly, the chapter demonstrates how folk dance practices circulated among the settlement houses through similarities in curricula and associations with higher education.

Chapter 4, “Collecting and Selecting: Folk Dance Manuals,” presents women as among the leading “collectors and selectors” of folk dance manuals and therefore the primary promoters of Americanized folk dance practices. The chapter also analyzes the research methods of folk dance compilers, some of the reasons behind their choices of dances, and the composition of the text of the folk dance manuals, including music, notation, photographs, nationalities addressed, and language used. Close analysis of the content explains the boundaries of cultural pluralism as promoted and practiced by folk dance proponents.

Chapter 5, “Performing and Watching: Higher Education,” attends to the performances in universities, colleges, and normal schools as given by students and

organized, presented, and choreographed by students and professors. Folk dance performances occurred in an array of venues and formats, including spring festivals, gymnastics exhibitions, and campus clubs. Performers included members of fraternities and sororities, physical education classes, and organizations both dance and non-dance related. Investigation of the potential audiences complements the examination of the performances. Folk dance performance provided an opportunity for public recognition of both college women and foreign-born students. Also, folk dance performances in institutions of higher education enacted acceptance of certain elements of the Old World while projecting a vision of ideal American womanhood that valued beautiful, simple, joyful, healthful expressions of pre-industrial life. Finally, Chapter 5 shows how colleges and universities in the Chicago area circulated performance practices as ways to learn about foreign cultures.

Chapter 6, “Performing and Watching: Social Settlements,” unpacks the folk dance performances sponsored by settlement workers both within the settlement houses and in the community. Like the folk dance presentations in higher education, the performances occurred in many different places and for a variety of purposes. The chapter articulates the implications of the performance of folk dances, selected from several different countries by native-born instructors, by immigrants, and by the children of immigrants for audiences of both immigrants and native-born Americans. Furthermore, it explains the differences from similar performances by native-born college students. Chapter 6 also illustrates the women prevalent in social settlement work as primary movers in the organization and sponsoring of folk dance performances

in settlement houses across Chicago. Performances also enacted American idealizations of agricultural societies in a variety of formats and venues even more varied than those in higher education. Finally, the chapter illuminates the network of social settlements that facilitated the circulation of similar performance practices, despite differences among the settlement houses in location, population served, and the goals of leadership.

The conclusion assesses the legacies of folk dance in physical education and dance in higher education more broadly, the role of women in higher education, and Chicago as a site for the circulation of these acts of teaching and learning, collecting and selecting, and performing and watching.

As I imagine of the folk dancers in Chicago in the early twentieth century, I enjoyed practicing and performing the hula with my colleagues to an audience of my friends, family, and students in the early twenty-first century. Pleasure, though, does not erase the implications of such performances. Folk dance empowered some groups, especially women, as instructors, collectors of folk dance material, and as performers in the context of higher education. However, the circulation of the curricula and performances throughout Chicago between 1890 and 1940 institutionalized preferences for Northern and Western European dances as those most pertinent to an ideal of American-ness that valued middle-class perceptions of pre-industrial expressions of simplicity, joy, and beauty, which marginalized the contributions of embodied immigrant cultures from Eastern and Southern Europe, Asia, and Africa as well as of African-Americans and the native-born American working class.

CHAPTER II

TEACHING AND LEARNING: HIGHER EDUCATION*

Cities have and continue to foster the dissemination and hybridization of dance practices, reflecting the cosmopolitan composition of American immigrant centers. The early 1900s witnessed rapid industrialization, urbanization, and the immigration of millions, primarily from Southern and Eastern Europe to cities across the Midwest, including Chicago. Many progressives professed appreciation for immigrant cultures; however, they also deconstructed and reassembled cultural forms to suit social programs, specifically that of Americanization. At its most basic, Americanization aimed to make one “American” through the myriad projects of progressive social workers and educators, including but not limited to language, foodways, body behaviors, financial management, hygiene, civics, and family life. Native-born, white, middle-class women who enacted these programs decided what “American” meant. Folk dance became one of the projects to help mould body behaviors and values as reformers believed folk dance provided bridges both for immigrants to their pasts and for all Americans, especially women, to a safe and healthful present.

Throughout the early to mid-twentieth century, instructors in higher education in Chicago embraced and employed the folk dances as collected and selected by folk dance proponents. In her 1909 collaborative compilation of folk dances and songs with C.

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Ward Crampton, folk dance expert Elizabeth Burchenal claimed that, “Folk-dances have been an integral part of the play and education of every nation and time save our own.”³⁴ According to Burchenal folk dances provided urban people with, “[A] universal physical language which is understood and loved by the polyglot soul of our heterogenous city population.”³⁵ The universal yet racially-specific, the rural yet urban, and the playful yet educational illustrated only some of the interrelated and sometimes conflicting aspects of folk dance.

Analysis of how teachers taught folk dance to native-born American college coeds illuminates the tensions between Old and New Worlds, folk and modern, and rural and urban. While embracing a limited cultural pluralism, instructors also encouraged “correct” uses of the body, therefore helping female students learn and enact “American-ness” through healthy bodies. Throughout the 1890s and into the mid-twentieth century, folk dance constituted a primary component of physical education for female students in universities, colleges and normal schools.³⁶ Demonstration of women’s involvement in higher education through physical education recognizes women as educational innovators during the period. Illustration of the purposes of folk dance show how it

³⁴ Elizabeth Burchenal and C. Ward Crampton, *Folk Dance Music: A Collection of Seventy-Six Characteristic Dances of the People of Various Nations Adapted for Use in Schools and Playgrounds for Physical Education and Play* (New York: G. Shirmer, 1909), Preface.

³⁵ Burchenal and Crampton, *Folk Dance Music*, Preface. Though here she refers specifically to New York City, where she then acted as the Inspector of Athletics of the Girls’ Branch of the Public Schools Athletic League, this applies equally to Chicago.

³⁶ Normal schools, also sometimes called teaching colleges, focused on instructing teachers, usually high school graduates who aimed to work in the public school systems. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth, normal schools produced most of the schoolteachers in the United States. By mid-century, however, most normal schools had either transitioned into or been absorbed by four-year colleges or universities.

became an integral component of women's physical education by 1910. Finally, description of the growth and progressivism of Chicago explains how the city achieved its prominent role in the development of physical education curriculum that included and circulated folk dance as an element of "American-ness." The institutions of higher learning examined here linked folk dance practices to the growth of the city through the instruction of teachers and the dissemination of ideas concerning folk dance.

Chicago proved a center for Progressive Era reform, especially concerning education. However, women have not yet received their due as pedagogical pioneers, as have men such as Francis W. Parker and John Dewey. Women played leading roles in the education process as founders of institutions for higher learning, administrators, and teachers. Throughout the early twentieth century women especially promoted physical education, using the body as an instructional medium to achieve improved health, grace, and as a way to learn about other cultures. Female teachers wielded power over the physical education of boys, girls, and women, and folk dance provided one method through which they emphasized physical fitness and a particular knowledge of others as necessary components to a complete education. The urbanization of Chicago facilitated the circulation of folk dance practices through similar curricula, shared faculty, and practice teaching that indicated a crafting of "folk" nostalgia as a reaction to the modern industrial age. Folk dancing as taught in colleges and universities promoted American-ness through the lens of immigrant cultures; teachers adapted elements from Old World dances they deemed of value in an attempt to fashion a nationalism based on proper American body behaviors.

Folk dance fell under the purview of a variety of schools and departments within colleges and universities, such as schools of education and departments of sociology. However folk dance most frequently appeared in areas dedicated to the “physical” – physical culture, physical expression, physical training, and physical education. A survey of how higher education institutions in Chicago employed the terms reveals some general trends. While often used interchangeably, analysis of their differences, in conjunction with the descriptions of their professed purposes, provides some insight into the distinctions among physical culture, physical expression, physical training, and physical education.

First, “physical culture,” often associated with François Delsarte, most commonly appeared between 1890 and 1905, though one college used it through 1915 and a university kept it until 1933. As taught by American Genevieve Stebbins, the practice of Delsarte, “[P]romoted three fundamental activities: decomposing, or learning how to relax; establishing poise, or learning how to achieve easy equilibrium and readiness to move; and energizing, or learning how to efficiently mobilizing for action.”³⁷ Delsarte, then, linked embodied expression with emotion. Stebbins presaged the progressive connections of environment, morals, and action through her declaration that, “Man . . . carries in his inner being as in his body.”³⁸ Therefore, physical culture

³⁷ Linda Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: University of Indiana Press, 1999), 18. Genevieve Stebbins, the progenitor, primary practitioner, and instructor, developed Americanized Delsarte from Francois Delsarte’s system. For more on Delsarte in America, see Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *The Cultivation of Mind and Body in Nineteenth-Century American Delsartism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999).

³⁸ Genevieve Stebbins and François Delsarte, *Delsarte System of Expression* (New York: E.S. Werner, 1887), 20.

and its inclusion and elevation of Delsarte emphasized the cultivation of the body in preparation for effective expression and communication of the inner being. “Physical training” proved a much less popular term, found only intermittently between 1900 and 1910 and then usually within a description of a physical education course. “Physical expression” remained popular into the 1930s in two schools for reasons that aligned with their goals that emphasized bodies as vehicles for communication, showing the persistence of the purpose of the body as lay down by Delsarte in the late nineteenth century. By 1905 “physical education” dominated as a department name. Generally speaking, then, physical culture gave way to physical education by 1910, while physical training appeared infrequently, and physical expression conveyed curriculum-specific interpretations of physical education. The terms and their changes also mirror the increasing scope of colleges and universities during the period.

The early twentieth century witnessed the establishment and considerable growth of educational institutions in Chicago, including Northwestern University, Columbia College, the University of Chicago, the National College of Education, Chicago Normal College, and the American College of Physical Education.³⁹ The six schools represent a range of institutions: private research universities, public teaching colleges, and private training schools. Women founded two of the schools – Columbia College and the National College of Education – and female students constituted nearly the entirety of their student populations. While men attended Chicago Normal College and the

³⁹ During the period examined here, several of the institutions adopted different names to express changes in curricula, affiliations, or accreditation. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to them by the names as I have listed here, though some discussion of name changes may appear.

American College of Physical Education in greater numbers, women still comprised the majority of the institutions' student bodies. Northwestern University and the University of Chicago, both private, research-based schools, had greater numbers of male than female students.

Founded in 1851 by a group headed by John Evans, Northwestern University (NU) made its home in Evanston, a suburb just north of Chicago. Evans intended for NU to provide education to residents of the then Northwest Territory. Northwestern admitted women far earlier than many universities in the United States, beginning in 1869. From its inception, Northwestern University focused on liberal arts education and research, quickly gaining a reputation as an elite Midwestern institution.

In 1890 Mary A. Blood and Ida Morey Riley began Columbia College as a private institution for, “[L]adies and gentlemen, professional or non-professional. It is a school for character building and preparation for life. The physical, mental and moral nature of each pupil is carefully studied, and his training adapted not only to his mental and expressional development, but to his character development as well.”⁴⁰ The founders intended the education in expression to benefit both men and women, although women dominated the student population into the 1930s. They believed an education grounded in expression would prepare young people for any career, and many enrolled in Columbia College initially as an addition to a four-year degree from somewhere else.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Columbia College Chicago, “1905-1906 Course Catalog” (1905). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 2. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/2.

⁴¹ Columbia College began as the Columbia School of Oratory and Physical Culture and underwent the following name changes: 1905, Columbia College of Expression; 1935, Columbia College of Speech and Drama; 1939, Columbia College of Drama and Radio; and in 1944, Columbia College.

The University of Chicago (UC) re-opened to students in 1892 with funding from John D. Rockefeller.⁴² Situated adjacent to the grounds of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, south of Chicago's "Loop" area, UC aimed, "To provide, impart, and furnish opportunities for all departments of higher education to persons of both sexes on equal terms."⁴³ Like Northwestern University, it offered graduate and undergraduate degrees in a range of professional fields, including liberal arts, divinity, medicine, and law. Also comparable to NU, the University of Chicago accepted female students before 1900, building a new dormitory for women in 1898. In addition to their acceptance of female students, the 1917-18 course catalog acknowledged the varied and integral (though unspecified) roles of women in the development of the university as faculty members and as "liberal contributors to its funds."⁴⁴

Elizabeth Harrison and Rumah Crouse established what would become the National College of Education (NCE) in 1893.⁴⁵ The college first aimed to "[G]ive a special, needed training to all women who have the care of children, and to others who wish to be aided by the thorough discipline and increased insight which the study of the

⁴² A previous incarnation of the University of Chicago had closed in 1886.

⁴³ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1917-1918*, 8, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁴⁴ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1917-1918*, 6, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁴⁵ The National College of Education, now part of National-Louis University also made several name changes: 1893, Chicago Kindergarten College; 1912, National Kindergarten and Elementary College; and 1930, the National College of Education. As administrators adopted "National" as part of the school's name early on, I have chosen to use the National College of Education to refer to this institution throughout. Elizabeth Harrison organized a kindergarten training school in 1886; 1893 marks the date when it transitioned into a "college."

Kindergarten system gives.”⁴⁶ The school later expanded to address primary and secondary education. The National College of Education originated as an institution that emphasized the care of young children by women, validating a presumption of women’s nurturing instincts while declaring allegiance to scientific methods of teaching and learning.

Another teachers’ training institution, Chicago Normal College (CNC), developed out of earlier iterations of Chicago teacher-training classes, including Francis W. Parker’s Cook County Normal School. In 1893, Cook County and the city of Chicago reorganized teacher training, first under the name of Chicago Normal School, with the purpose of providing instruction for teachers who planned to enter the Chicago public school system. While not founded by women, Chicago Normal College counted women as faculty and administrative leaders from its inception. For instance, Ella Flagg Young acted as principal of CNC from 1905-09 and later served as superintendent of the Chicago Public Schools.⁴⁷

The American College of Physical Education (ACPE), established as an independent entity of instruction in 1913, professed to, “[G]ive a thorough training to the men and women who desire to enter the attractive and remunerative profession of

⁴⁶ Course Catalogs, 1894-2009, Chicago Kindergarten College Catalog 1897-1898, 6, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

⁴⁷ Ella Flagg Young had a long career as both a teacher and an administrator in the Chicago school system. In addition to her tenure as principal of CNC and superintendent, Flagg also acted as principal of the Chicago Normal School (before its reorganization) from 1865-71, and as assistant superintendent from 1887-89.

director or teacher of Physical Training, Athletics or playground work.”⁴⁸ Though other schools included and sometimes even emphasized physical training, ACPE focused exclusively on training instructors for physical education. Publicity materials from the mid-1910s imply a roughly equal number of male and female students though the exact figures concerning the gender balance of ACPE’s enrollment remain unknown.

These six institutions all incorporated folk dancing into the physical education for female students in similar ways; however, how long and how strongly folk dance thrived depended both on the nature of the institution – whether a degree-granting university or a teaching college, private or public, single-sex, or co-educational – and the policies of the school. By the 1910s folk dance had woven its way into college and university curricula throughout Chicago. Not unprecedented, dancing as part of women’s physical education prior to the twentieth century consisted of the popular practices of Delsarte, gymnastic dancing, fancy dancing, and dancing calisthenics. The appearance of folk dance in higher education curricula for women accompanied the rise of competitive collegiate athletics for men, especially football, track and field, and basketball. While some institutions cultivated environments in which women could participate in similarly competitive athletics, in particular basketball, field hockey, and tennis, women instructors and coaches often found themselves clashing with accepted norms of female physical activity, both from their students and the community. Folk dance thus served two primary purposes in the curriculum at the collegiate level: one, as a healthful

⁴⁸ American College of Physical Education Announcement, 1915-1916, 4, 9, DePaul University Archives (Chicago, IL).

exercise for female students that did not challenge social norms; and two, as an instructional tool for the students, also typically female, who pursued teaching or social work. Folk dance proved most popular between the early 1910s and the late 1930s, often appearing in conjunction with other physical activities, but also sometimes within courses on music, rhythm, and/or games. Close attention to the descriptions and titles of courses verifies the pervasive presence of folk dancing; therefore, the situation of folk dance at each institution between 1890 and 1940 merits closer examination.

Folk dance first appeared in Northwestern University's physical education department in 1910. Afterwards its popularity grew through its inclusion in other departments and colleges across the university into the 1930s. Within the College of Liberal Arts, both the sociology department and physical education and hygiene department integrated folk dancing classes; the School of Oratory/Speech also required folk dance as part of the three-year program of physical education of its students.⁴⁹ Until at least 1940, Northwestern University's College of Liberal Arts required all undergraduates to take physical education classes. Through 1930, folk dance fell under the rubric of physical education for all female students, though never for men. After 1930 folk dance remained one of several classes offered to fulfill the physical education requirement, although still only for women. As a required element of physical education, folk dance and the methods of teaching it reached many if not most of the female undergraduates at Northwestern University between approximately 1910 and 1940.

⁴⁹ Northwestern University's School of Oratory transitioned into the School of Speech in 1921; in 2003, it became the School of Communication.

Agnes Jones and Neva Boyd taught folk dance at NU; Jones in the School of Oratory/Speech and the physical education department and Boyd in the Department of Sociology.⁵⁰ In the 1937-38 school year the College of Liberal Arts dropped folk dancing from its list of potential classes for physical education; however, Boyd taught folk dancing classes in the sociology department through 1941.

Columbia College presented folk dancing through its physical education department beginning in 1905-06 within a class titled “Advanced Rhythmic Work with Special Exercise.” Through “national” dances students, “[T]rain[ed] the body and its members to move as a whole in curves. It includes unconscious tension and relaxation of the muscles alternately and prevents friction and undue resistance to all points. This imparts a rare lightness and buoyancy to the figure not to be obtained through other physical work.”⁵¹ According to the 1915-16 course catalog, folk dance appeared as a separate class for the first time, in order to: “[P]resent those dances which are practical for school and playground purposes, and to preserve the life and spirit of different nations.”⁵² For the faculty of Columbia College, then, folk dance facilitated the ease of movement for the benefit of the student. Folk dancing continued as a stand-alone course until 1937 when the college shifted its emphasis away from embodied expression.

⁵⁰ Agnes Jones met and later married Robert Cashman, a physics professor at Northwestern University. As she “retired” from her position at the university after their marriage, I refer to her by her maiden name throughout, although her papers in the archives use her full, married name.

⁵¹ During this period “national” dances were typically considered similar to if not the same as “folk dances.” Columbia College Chicago, “1905-1906 Course Catalog” (1905). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 2. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/2.

⁵² Columbia College Chicago, “1915 – 1916 Course Catalog” (1915). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 4. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/4.

Like Northwestern, the University of Chicago was a private coeducational degree-granting institution that included folk dance in multiple departments and colleges at the university over the course of three decades. Folk dancing first appeared in the curriculum at the University of Chicago under the auspices of the School of Education. In the summer of 1904, the School of Education offered a class titled “Rhythms and Games” in the Department of Physical Education, which included instruction in “study of the elementary forms of the folk-dances combined with the development of the music of such forms.”⁵³ It then included folk dance in 1907-08 as part of its “Games and Dancing.”⁵⁴ The course instructed potential kindergarten and elementary school teachers in “representative plays, gymnastic games, folk dances, and gymnastic dancing,” though without giving any further details of the content. “Plays Games and Dances, [sic]” first offered in 1909-10, also covered “Certain folk and gymnastic dances . . . in connection with the higher developments of rhythmic play. Limited to fifty.”⁵⁵ In 1911, folk dancing occurred in several College of Education classes within its Physical Education and Hygiene Department, including two sections of “Games, Gymnastic and Folk Dances, and Schoolroom Gymnastics,” one for grades 1 through 4 and another for grades 5 through 8; “Team Games, Folk, Gymnastic, and Social Dancing for High School Teachers”; and two sections of “Gymnasium Work” that incorporated folk dance,

⁵³ Announcements, Vol. IV, No. 1, February 1904, 28-9, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁵⁴ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1907-1908*, 418, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Between 1896 and 1906, the University managed a department called University College for the purpose of teaching teachers in the city. By 1906 Chicago Institute and University College had become the College of Education at University of Chicago.

⁵⁵ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1909-1919*, 445, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

one even listing Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish folk dances as their focus of study. Here folk dance claimed space in both teacher-training classes and classes intended to improve the physical fitness of the student. All three teacher-training courses were offered in the summer, most likely because of the greater availability of employed teachers to attend the classes.⁵⁶

In the UC Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, which served students enrolled in the four-year degree programs, folk dance debuted during the 1915-16 school year under “Work for Women.” Their inclusion only continued through 1919-20. Here “dancing” appeared alongside “general class work” and “elective athletic work” as part of the “plan of work” for women.⁵⁷ Faculty in the physical culture department and the College of Education remained separate. By the 1918-19 school year, the College of Education had eliminated not only folk dance from its curriculum, but its entire physical education department; however, the requirement of physical education for its students remained, suggesting that they now also took the courses in the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics.

While at first glance it appears as though folk dance proved short-lived in the curriculum at the University of Chicago, closer examination challenges this perception.

Between 1920 and 1929 it remains difficult to discern whether folk dance constituted

⁵⁶ For 1913-14, the high school class was dropped. Only those two sections for the primary grades remained, still only offered during the summer, and now renamed “Games, Folk Dances and Schoolroom Gymnastics.” *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1914-1915, 1915-1916, 1916-1917, 1917-1918*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁵⁷ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1915-1916*, 247, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Amos Alonzo Stagg, (often seen as A.A. Stagg) recognized as a pioneer of football coaching, worked in the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics at the University of Chicago between 1892 and 1932.

part of the physical culture curriculum, but quite clearly by 1929 folk dancing had regained greater prominence. During the summers between 1929 and 1931, the Department of Physical Culture and Athletics offered “Folk Dancing and Clogging,” only for women. A course titled “Rhythms,” also taught through physical culture for women from 1929 to 1935 provided evidence of folk dance, though in a diminished capacity in comparison with other institutions. Several sections of “Rhythms” at a variety of levels gave instruction in, “Rhythm as felt and expressed through creative, folk, social and tap dancing.”⁵⁸ Therefore dance generally, and folk dance specifically, constituted an essential element in the physical education for women, as the men’s department did not offer Rhythms classes. By the 1935-36 school year, however, tap, modern, and social dance had fully eclipsed folk dance as the creative expression favored in the University of Chicago curriculum. These dance practices were increasingly offered to mixed-gender groups (even modern dance). The disappearance of folk dance follows the elimination of compulsory gym for undergraduate students, an issue addressed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Chicago Normal College first presented folk dance under “Elementary Games” in the 1908-09 school year.⁵⁹ Into the 1920s, CNC incorporated folk dance under gymnastics in the required curricula for many of its programs, including Elementary, Kindergarten, Household Arts, and Extension Training Courses. In addition to the

⁵⁸ Announcements, Vol. XXXIII, No. [illegible], March 25, 1933, 322, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁵⁹ In 1913, Chicago Normal School became Chicago Normal College. In 1938 the name again changed to Chicago Teachers College.

required gymnastics, Chicago Normal College offered folk dance both through a class called “Theory and Practice of Gymnastics and Folk Dancing,” taught by Lillian Bruce and in another class, “Activities of the Playground.”⁶⁰ Chicago Normal College intended the required Elementary Gymnastics course to, “[I]mprove health, develop poise, and increase efficiency in the students through systematic gymnastics; second, to familiarize the student with the proper gymnastic material for use in the grades, that health and efficiency may be developed in the children.”⁶¹ More specifically, folk dances, “[A]re selected and arranged to meet the needs of the playground and the school room,” and instructors chose, “Dances which meet the physical and social requirements and yet are not too difficult to be enjoyed by children without a large amount of practice.”⁶² Even as a public institution that intended to prepare teachers for work in the Chicago public school system, CNC resembled Columbia College in its two-pronged use of folk dance as both physical fitness and teacher tool. Folk dance remained a course through at least the 1937-1938 school year.

The National College of Education first included folk dance as part of the required physical training for all students during the 1912-1913 school year under the rubric of “Hygienic Studies.” Folk dance subsequently fell under the purview of

⁶⁰ Chicago Normal School records, Chicago Normal School Announcement, 1911-1912, 35, Box 2, Folder 1, Chicago State University Archives and Special Collections; Chicago Normal School records, Chicago Normal College Announcement, 1916-1917, 39 -40, Box 2, Folder 1, Chicago State University Archives and Special Collections.

⁶¹ Chicago Normal School records, Chicago Normal School Announcement, 1909-1910, 24, Box 2, Folder 1, Chicago State University Archives and Special Collections.

⁶² Chicago Normal School records, Chicago Normal College Announcement, 1916-1917, 40, Box 2, Folder 1, Chicago State University Archives and Special Collections.

Physiological Studies and finally under Physical Education. Through the period examined here, folk dance remained as part of the prescribed curriculum for students in their first year. According to NCE, folk dance, “[I]ntroduce[d] varying forms of activity which stress fine posture, and secure freedom of movement with the greatest economy of effort. This approach teaches relative values of all activities and stresses the interpretative forms of bodily movement through creative and folk rhythms.”⁶³

Enrollment numbers steadily increased from the foundation of the National College of Education through 1940; NCE graduated thousands of female teachers who all experienced the folk dancing class. Like both Columbia College and Chicago Normal College, folk dance at the National College of Education explicitly promoted and privileged the health of its students. Notably, all three of the colleges had primarily female student populations. Columbia College encouraged the attendance of men; few matriculated until it transitioned into a radio-training program in the late 1930s.⁶⁴ CNC also encouraged the enrollment of male students, though the few that did dominated the manual training program; some took the short-lived physical education training program. Although not a teaching college per se, Columbia College recognized the importance of preparing its students of oratory and expression for a profession in teaching, “Vocal

⁶³ Course Catalogs, 1894 – 2009, National College of Education Bulletin, 1931-1932, 39, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

⁶⁴ Beginning in 1911 Columbia College made specific appeals for men to enroll in its programs: “In these days when so many professions are crowded . . . we would call attention to the openings for College Young Men in this profession. It is a fact that there are not enough strong young college men who can teach Expression by the advanced methods, to fill the demands of Colleges and Universities.” Columbia College Chicago, “1911 Spring Course Catalog” (1911). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 3. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalog/3. A similar section appeared in the annual bulletins through 1922.

Expression, Reading, Practical Public Speaking, Debate, Drama and Direction of Plays, Story Telling and Physical Education.”⁶⁵ Therefore Columbia College, Chicago Normal College, and the National College of Education most resemble one another in how they included folk dance in their respective curricula.

In accordance with its purpose, the course of instruction at the American College of Physical Education included several varied facets of physical education, such as games, hygiene, and theory of education; however, dance, and folk dance in particular, provided an integral piece of this physical training puzzle. Though few records remain from ACPE, the extant materials illustrate the prevalence of folk dance in its curriculum through the teens.⁶⁶ “Dancing” constituted its own department and a major element of the required coursework for students. In its dancing classes, which encompassed social dance forms as well as folk dances, ACPE proposed that: “Aside from the information required about the dance, the purpose is to give some practical interpretations of certain habits and customs of groups of peoples.”⁶⁷ Like students at Northwestern University, those enrolled at the American College of Physical Education studied the origins and implications of different nations’ dances through sociology classes. While ACPE

⁶⁵ Columbia College Chicago, “1919-1920 Course Catalog” (1919). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 6. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/6. The faculty also acknowledged the link between vocal and physical expression, explaining that the two, “[A]re so frequently combined that the teacher of Expression who is not fairly well equipped as a teacher of physical education often finds himself considerably handicapped in his work.” Columbia College Chicago, “1919-1920 Course Catalog” (1919). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 6. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/6.

⁶⁶ Though the American College of Physical Education continued as an independent college through 1946 when DePaul absorbed it to manage the physical education and recreation of its growing student body, I have been unable to locate any substantive records beyond 1916.

⁶⁷ American College of Physical Education Announcement, 1915-1916, 14. DePaul University Archives (Chicago, IL).

differed from most other higher educational institutions in Chicago both in their focus on training physical education instructors and because they required and encouraged men's participation in dance, women remained the primary practitioners and instructors of folk dancing in Chicago.

By the late 1930s, folk dance generally persisted in teachers' colleges and departments focused on training teachers. Four-year degree granting universities turned their attention towards modern dance and "dance as art" curricula, while popular or vernacular dance forms often remained in physical education and/or recreation departments. Like Delsarte and gymnastic dancing before it, folk dance facilitated the inclusion of dance in higher education, as its presence preceded that of the establishment of the first dance degree at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1926 by Margaret H'Doubler.⁶⁸ The "new" dance forms that gained popularity in the late 1930s, including modern, tap, and social dance, owed much to the persistence of folk dance, both in content and in their inclusion as collegiate courses. Folk dance helped to ensconce dance more generally within physical education departments by solidifying the identification of dance, in particular popular dance forms, with exercise and physical fitness rather than as "art." These tendencies also helped cement the association of dance of all kinds as primarily a female activity. Folk dance often initially appeared as part of a series of practices within particular courses, both those intended for student exercise and health and those aimed at the accumulation of skills for classroom teachers. Furthermore folk

⁶⁸ For more on H'Doubler and her influence on American modern dance and higher education, see Janice Ross, *Moving Lessons: Margaret H'Doubler and the Beginning of Dance in American Education* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

dance most frequently remained in the departments and colleges established and supported by women.

Though the emphases of each college and university greatly affected the inclusion of folk dance, policy decisions by administrators could also impact the prevalence of folk dance in the curriculum. The “compulsory gym debates” at the University of Chicago provide one example of how institutional policies affected the inclusion of physical education – and therefore folk dance – with results markedly different from other Chicago colleges and universities.

Ostensibly in response to clamoring from the ranks of the student body, Louis N. Ridenour, Jr., decried the persistence of the physical culture requirements at the University of Chicago through the pages of its student newspaper *The Daily Maroon*. He asserted that

The least logical mind can see the incongruity of claiming to prospective entrants to the University that compulsory class attendance has been abandoned and the student himself is the judge of how best to spend his time here, and then demanding that on four or five days each week, every student who is physically at all able must take part in some physical culture.⁶⁹

He conceded the desirability of physical fitness; however, Ridenour also proclaimed that the rights of the individual should prevail concerning students’ participation in exercise, declaring that, “Compulsory physical culture smacks too much of the old dogmatic,

⁶⁹ “Brains and Legs,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), December 1, 1931. Though students disgruntled with required physical education sometimes appeared in others schools’ newspapers, no other college or university examined here experienced an organized campaign from the student body against physical education during this period.

inflexible curriculum which the reorganization is designed to escape.”⁷⁰ His editorial, which Ridenour titled “Brains and Legs,” proved only the beginning of a battle through the winter and spring quarters of 1932 over the position of physical culture at the University of Chicago. Though addressing physical education more generally, the trajectory and results of the conflict illuminate the gendered nature of the practices and perceptions of physical education perpetuated not only by professors and instructors, but also by students, which ultimately explains the earlier demise of folk dance at the University of Chicago in comparison to the other colleges and universities examined here.

At the close of the 1930-31 school year, the faculty rejected a proposal for voluntary gym, and, in fact, mandated that undergraduates take six quarters (roughly two school years’ worth) of physical culture for at least two hours per week.⁷¹ The proposal to remove required physical culture followed in the spirit of larger university reorganization, which took effect in the fall of 1931 and listed among its tenets the elimination of compulsory class attendance – in all departments except for Physical Culture and Athletics. As the closing paragraph of Ridenour’s first editorial in *The Daily Maroon* bemoaned, “By all means, let us put every opportunity possible for the development of healthy bodies in the way of undergraduates at the University, but it is

⁷⁰ “Brains and Legs,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), December 1, 1931.

⁷¹ “College Division Faculty Puts Ban on Voluntary Gym,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), May 14, 1931.

unfair discrimination to insist that a strict regimen be followed in this development when such a regimen is not demanded in the cultivation of the mind.⁷²

Ridenour undertook the campaign against compulsory gym at the University of Chicago nearly single-handedly. After the passage of a resolution to abolish required physical culture at a meeting of the Undergraduate council, he wielded the power of the press through his position as editor-in-chief of *The Daily Maroon* effectively, penning at least four editorials and publishing several other articles (whose authors remain unclear) about the debates over physical culture.⁷³ Little information exists about Ridenour beyond his role in the debates in which he styled himself as something of a firebrand. Over the course of the struggle he accused physical culture professors of selfish motives and dismissed the Board of Women's Organizations as not representative of the student body.⁷⁴ Though he prevailed in his quest, the implications of the success of his efforts extended beyond merely the taking of attendance in physical culture classes.⁷⁵

Surveys provided one method for *The Daily Maroon* staff to assign scientific validity to the claims of the unnecessary nature of required physical culture. Only two days after "Brains and Legs" appeared, an article in *The Daily Maroon* announced that it had conducted a survey of administrators, faculty, and students concerning compulsory

⁷² "Brains and Legs," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), December 1, 1931.

⁷³ "Undergrad Council Condemns Present Required Status of Physical Education," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), January 20, 1932.

⁷⁴ "Specialized Compulsion," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), January 12, 1932; "What Do You Think the Students Think?" *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), January 22, 1932.

⁷⁵ Ironically, Ridenour could not share in the fruit his campaign bore, as he had already passed his sophomore year and therefore the period in which he would have been required to participate in physical culture classes.

gym. At least one professor and one dean – both men – agreed that students should determine the role of physical education in their collegiate careers. Gertrude Dudley, long-time physical culture faculty member and then head of the women’s Department of Physical Culture and Athletics, however, defended compulsory gym. She explained that, “[H]uman nature, under stress, tends to relinquish, first, physical recreation . . . Therefore, under the demands under the present educational system, in reality more severe than ever before, it becomes increasingly necessary for students to obtain that physical relaxation which they have a tendency to abandon.”⁷⁶ Dudley, who understandably had not only the health of students in mind but her position at the university as well, viewed the more stringent intellectual standards as a reason to stress the importance of physical fitness. As unfolded over the course of the debates, a gendered view of the role of physical culture in higher education also informed Dudley’s assertions.

In reaction to the seemingly overwhelming support of the students against required physical culture classes, the Board of Women’s Organizations in conjunction with the Women’s University Council put forth a declaration in favor of mandatory physical culture. Both groups admitted the preference for reassessing the nature of the requirements but presented two points to bolster their resolution. First, leaders of the organizations emphasized the social benefits of gym as important to the development of University of Chicago coeds. Second, some women suggested that differences between

⁷⁶ “Secure Student and Faculty Opinion on Compulsory Gym,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), December 3, 1931.

men and women necessitated different physical culture requirements.⁷⁷ Ridenour responded by calling the members of the Board of Women's Organizations "yes-women" for the women's faculty of physical culture and athletics. He further claimed that the Board of Women's Organizations did not represent undergraduate opinions but contended that the Undergraduate council did.⁷⁸

Nearly two months later *The Daily Maroon* announced that "Women Petition Senate to Retain Compulsory Gym."⁷⁹ The women interviewed for the article again asserted that they feared the loss of "socializing influence" with the elimination of compulsory gym and that "the differences between men and women are sufficient to warrant consideration."⁸⁰ To counter these women and reiterate his stance against compulsory gym, Ridenour ran an article that reported the news that a committee recommended the abolition of physical education requirements for underclassmen to the faculty of the University of Wisconsin-Madison.⁸¹ He also reminded readers that students had challenged physical culture requirements at the University of Chicago one decade earlier. In that instance students succeeded in reducing the requirement for undergraduates from ten quarters (over three academic years) to six quarters.⁸² Ridenour

⁷⁷ "Board of Women's Organizations O.K.'s 'Compulsory Gym' in College Division," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), January 21, 1932.

⁷⁸ The composition of the Undergraduate council remains unclear. Newspaper articles show that Alice Stinnett served as secretary of the Undergraduate council, but further breakdown by gender is unavailable.

⁷⁹ "Women Petition Senate to Retain Compulsory Gym," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 27, 1932.

⁸⁰ "Women Petition Senate to Retain Compulsory Gym," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 27, 1932.

⁸¹ "Required P.C. at Wisconsin," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 18, 1932.

persisted in pressing the perceived will of the students and conducted another survey through *The Daily Maroon* in April on whether or not to abolish required physical culture. Of 1427 votes cast, 955 preferred to get rid of compulsory gym; of these, 624 were men and 331 were women.⁸³ Shortly after the conclusion of the survey, the Board of Women's Organizations held its own poll of women only, providing three response options, rather than two: retention of physical culture, retention of physical culture with modifications, and abolition of physical culture.⁸⁴ Of the 122 votes cast, eighteen chose retention; forty, abolition; and sixty-four, retention with modification.⁸⁵

Despite the efforts of the Board of Women's Organizations and the Women's University Council, the faculty agreed to the elimination of compulsory gym, effective in the fall of 1932. Even the physical culture faculty somewhat resigned themselves to the fate of physical culture. Head of the department A.A. Stagg, "[P]ersonally felt the abolition to be a mistake," but, "he did not think the men's department would be seriously affected, although the women would probably take advantage of the new ruling in large numbers."⁸⁶

⁸² "'Compulsory Gym' Has Been Campus Bugaboo Since 1921," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 11, 1932.

⁸³ "Compulsory Gym Abolished!" *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), May 19, 1932.

⁸⁴ "B.W.O. Will Hold Own Gym Poll!" *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), April 14, 1932.

⁸⁵ "Women Vote in B.W.O. Gym Poll," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), April 22, 1932. Voting had not closed for the day when the article went to press.

⁸⁶ "Compulsory Gym Abolished!" *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), May 19, 1932. Interestingly, Stagg left the University of Chicago in 1933. The departure of a respected and renowned faculty member likely influenced the tenor of the transition at the University of Chicago.

Accounts in *The Daily Maroon* bore out Stagg's prediction as they detailed the results of this seemingly "no-brainer" decision. A February 7, 1933, article by Betty Hansen reported a 63 percent decrease in participation in classes in the women's physical education department. According to the University of Chicago Bureau of Records, during the 1931-32 school year 2000 women enrolled in the university; 35 percent of whom registered for physical culture and about 80 percent of those women earned a passing grade. In the fall quarter of 1932 – the first full academic session following the revocation of compulsory gym – of the 2082 women enrolled in the university, 27 percent registered for gym and only 44 percent of these earned a passing grade.⁸⁷ Two days later another article by Betty Hansen summarized the fallout for the women's Department of Physical Education, opening with an assessment attributed to its faculty: "Voluntary physical education is ideal in theory, but practically it will never be successful until students realize its advantages and are enabled to adapt their academic schedules to allow time for gym."⁸⁸ The faculty comments reveal a disjunction between interest and need, suggesting that women students did not realize or acknowledge the benefits of physical fitness in high school and therefore could not translate that element of education to university work.

Paradoxically, the instructors agreed that, "while enrollment and attendance have greatly decreased, interest is greater than ever before."⁸⁹ Therefore students actually

⁸⁷ "Women's Gym Classes Show Big Decrease," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 7, 1933.

⁸⁸ "Educate Students to Gym in High Schools, Say Instructors," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 9, 1933.

taking physical culture classes *wanted* to take classes. Rhythms instructor Marian Van Tuyl explained that, “Interest in my classes is greater than under the old system, but it is the graduates [read upperclassmen] who attend most regularly and show the greatest degree of interest. There are very few freshmen.”⁹⁰ Hansen did not mention the status of men’s physical education in her article. Faculty comments and concerns suggest that women had not received encouragement to participate in physical activities during their earlier educational experiences and therefore did not translate those habits to the university. The young women enrolled at the University of Chicago would not likely have taken part in physical activities (including folk dancing) as participants at a settlement house, and many public and private primary and secondary school systems had not completely incorporated required physical education into their curricula during these students’ primary and secondary school years.

A final article on the subject of women’s gym appeared in the June 7, 1933, edition of *The Daily Maroon*, which responded to the concerns of the women’s physical education faculty. In “A New Regime Suggested for Women’s Activities” the author, designated simply as M.D.C., called for the Women’s Athletic Association to shift from “a group for those already interested in sports to a functioning unit cooperating directly with the department of Physical Education so as to provide the necessary **education to the need** for planned leisure-time recreation . . .”⁹¹ How easily did the work of Dudley

⁸⁹ “Educate Students to Gym in High Schools, Say Instructors,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 9, 1933.

⁹⁰ “Educate Students to Gym in High Schools, Say Instructors,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 9, 1933.

and others unravel in the wake of the victory of personal choice concerning physical education at the University of Chicago? As female students exercised their right to not take physical education classes, did they risk naturalizing social views of proper physical activities for women?

While folk dance remained popular at teaching institutions and other degree-granting universities, including Northwestern, following the institutionalization of voluntary gym in the fall of 1932, folk dance lost prominence in the curriculum at the University of Chicago. However, as shown through the updates on women's gym in *The Daily Maroon*, the attendance of female students in all physical education activities dwindled after the revocation of required physical culture. During the transition the University of Chicago renamed its Department of Physical Culture and Athletics the Department of Physical Education and Recreation. The persistence of the use of the term "culture" to describe the required activities illuminates an adherence to a holistic approach to education; maintaining mandatory physical culture through 1932 signals that perceived importance of learning and practicing healthful physical activities during periods of intense mental work. Though few would debate the continued importance of health and physical wellness for students after 1932, the sense that students knew best how to spend their educational time prevailed. Women at the University of Chicago had other activities in which to socialize but proponents argued for a special-ness shared through physical culture. The evidence suggests that single-sex physical culture provided

⁹¹ "A New Regime is Suggested for Women's Activities," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), June 7, 1933. Bold in original.

a counterpoint to still often male-dominated university classes, generating a valuable space in which women learned and moved together.

In addition to similar curricula, practice teaching opportunities and the instructors themselves demonstrate another way that folk dance practices circulated throughout Chicago. Attention to the overlaps and intersections illuminates that despite the breadth of possible practices, the growing population, and the distances between educational sites, similar approaches to folk dance could and did prevail.

Through practice teaching students implemented the tools provided them in the classroom in a variety of institutions in and around Chicago. Colleges and universities developed relationships with public schools, private schools, social work sites, and churches; some also organized their own demonstration or practice schools for their students. Most of the schools sent students throughout the Chicago Public School System; the National College of Education, on the north side of town, also used school districts in the suburbs, including Evanston, Highland Park, Winnetka, and Wilmette.⁹² Private schools ranged from the North Shore Country Day School in Winnetka to the Chicago Latin Schools. Settlement houses and other social work sites also proved popular placements for practice teaching. For example, Hull-House, Chase House Settlement, Sinai Social Center, and Hyde Park Social Center provided practice teaching homes for students from the American College of Physical Education.⁹³ Besides

⁹² I have not found any evidence that confirms that Northwestern University engaged in practice teaching with their students, though it seems likely that they did. The National College of Education did use these schools. Course Catalogs, 1894 – 2009, National College of Education Bulletins, 1930-1931, 1931-1932, 1932-1933, 1933-1934, 1934-1935, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

incorporating existing institutions, some colleges and universities created their own venues for practice teaching. The University of Chicago, for instance, established the University schools (initially one for boys and one for girls) for its students from the School of Education.⁹⁴ Similarly, when Chicago Normal College moved into its new building in 1905, the adjoining Parker Practice School benefitted its students.⁹⁵ They also sent prospective teachers to the Haines Practice School, five miles north of the campus, and the Carter Practice School, one mile northeast. After its move from downtown Chicago to Evanston, the National College of Education established its own practice school that taught children in the community. The growing public transportation system in Chicago facilitated the exchanges among college students and schools, settlement houses, churches, and other institutions employed for practice teaching.⁹⁶

Many faculty members from colleges and universities – including Lillian Bruce, Etta Mount, Caroline Crawford, Mary Wood Hinman, and Neva Boyd – either taught at multiple locations or worked within the social settlement movement therefore further disseminating their ideas concerning folk dance throughout the city. Some also documented their methods, making available in print their approaches for those they did not teach themselves. Lillian Bruce (later, Pendleton), for example, taught at both

⁹³ *The American* (Chicago), April 30, 1916. DePaul University Archives (Chicago, IL).

⁹⁴ The University of Chicago, Bulletin of Information May 1901, Vol. 1, No. 1, 3. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁹⁵ Chicago Normal School records, Chicago Normal College, 1912-1913 Announcement, 6, Box 2, Folder 1. Chicago State University Archives and Special Collections.

⁹⁶ The Chicago “L” train began service in 1892. By 1900 the Northwestern Elevated Railroad ran as far as Wilson Avenue, extending to Wilmette (north of Evanston) in 1912. Ronald Dale Karr, “Rapid Transit System,” Encyclopedia of Chicago History, <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1042.html>.

Chicago Normal College and the American College of Physical Education during the 1910s. She also helped arrange the *Manual of Folk Dances in Physical Education: Light Gymnastics for Elementary Schools* (1912), published by the Board of Education of the Public Schools of Chicago.⁹⁷ Etta M. Mount, instructor of Physical Expression and Folk Dances at the National College of Education between 1912 and at least 1940, also served as the joint director at the Columbia Normal School of Physical Education (part of Columbia College) from 1915 through 1921.⁹⁸ Also a member of the faculty at the National College of Education and the University of Chicago, Caroline Crawford (later, McLean) wrote one of the earliest tracts on folk dance that the faculty of Chicago Normal College frequently assigned.⁹⁹ Mary Wood Hinman, who composed a five volume series on gymnastic and folk dancing in 1916, taught at the University of Chicago from 1910 to 1913.¹⁰⁰

Perhaps the most prolific instructor, Neva Boyd, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University between 1927 and 1941, compiled several books of folk practices, including dances and games, in addition to work in

⁹⁷ Henry Suder, supervisor of physical education for Chicago Public Schools in 1912, is listed as the author of *Manual of Folk Dances in Physical Education: Light Gymnastics for Elementary Schools* (Chicago: Chicago Public Schools, 1912, revised 1916); however, he acknowledges Bruce as one of the directors of physical education at the “Teachers College” (read Chicago Normal College). Also, Bruce’s bio for CNC lists her as “author” of this book.

⁹⁸ Course Catalogs, 1894 – 2009, National Kindergarten College Catalog, 1917 – 1918, 9. National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

⁹⁹ Caroline Crawford, *Folk Dances and Games* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1908).

¹⁰⁰ The University of Chicago, 1910 Circular of Information, Vol. X, April 1910, No. 3; The University of Chicago, 1911 Circular of Information, Vol. XI, April 1911, No. 3; The University of Chicago, 1912 Circular of Information, Vol. XII, April 1912, No. 3; The University of Chicago, 1913 Circular of Information, Vol. XIII, April 1913, No. 3. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

social settlements and the playground movement. Her titles included *Folk Games and Gymnastic Play* (1914), *Old English and American Games* (1915), *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden* (1916), *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia* (1917), and *Folk Dances of Russia, Poland and Lithuania* (1920). She had also founded the Recreational Training School at Hull-House, which changed its affiliations twice: once to the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy organized and run by Dr. Graham Taylor, founder of Chicago Commons, a social settlement in the Northwest part of the city, and later to the Department of Sociology at Northwestern. The visibility of women as teachers and compilers of folk dance helps explain how diverse locations around Chicago embraced similar practices.

Examination of the methods of teaching and learning folk dance in higher education, and thus the education of many of the women who undertook Americanization projects, reveals some of the negotiations among authenticity, urbanization, and nationalism in the early twentieth century. Many of the descriptions of folk dance classes at colleges and universities did not give much information about the courses; however, some included details about not only the dances studied but also the books consulted. Though few syllabi exist to corroborate, their examination in tandem with the folk dance manuals listed as used in the courses provides a foundation for understanding the methods and motivations of folk dance teachers in higher education. Many of the manuals talk specifically about teaching girls, although collegiate women often performed the dances as well. Besides the directions of how to execute the steps of the dances, manuals explained the benefits of folk dance as a natural exercise, as a

healthful practice for girls, as significant for their social value, and as a source of joy. Throughout the early twentieth century, folk dance manuals proliferated in urban centers, such as Chicago, “collected and selected” by some of the foremost authorities on dance, many active in Chicago, including Neva Boyd, Mary Wood Hinman, and Caroline Crawford. Given their number and breadth, detailed analysis of the manuals appears in Chapter 4.

Agnes Jones’ papers offer rare syllabi and copious teaching notes from her tenure at Northwestern University between 1927 and 1941 and provide an example of the purposes and methods behind teaching folk dance in the United States. In addition to teaching folk dancing steps, Jones instructed and tested her students on the characteristics of various cultures, among them Russian, Italian, Polish, English, Irish, Scotch, Bohemian, French, Spanish, Scandinavian, and Native American. Though seemingly an inclusive, cosmopolitan list, her course materials reveal greater attention to the characteristics of Eastern and Southern European countries, and much less on their dances.

For instance, she portrayed Italians in sometimes complimentary, but contrary terms as, “very deep feeling, very easily aroused; get angry quickly (use knives), very jealous - especially in the southern part of Sicily [sic]” and alternately as, “very patriotic, very romantic, very fond of sports, very proud of their civilization.”¹⁰¹ Jones described the Polish as, “self-critical; acknowledges other’s things as superior; highly

¹⁰¹ Agnes Jones Cashman Papers, Italy notes, Box 11, Folders 21 and 22, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

imaginative; intense app[reciation] of beauty; very genial – witty – intense joy of life; insatiable curiosity; enormous capacity for mental and physical hard work; chivalrous; polite.”¹⁰² Russians, on the other hand, she depicted as, “humble, [having] sympathy, lack of decision – lack of initiative.”¹⁰³ The syllabus for her advanced folk dance class indicated that she taught ten English dances; three Irish dances; two Scotch dances; and one dance each from Russia, Poland, Bohemia, Italy, France, Spain, Scandinavia, and Native America. Conversely, fewer notes appear on the characteristics of the English, Irish, and Scotch people though their dances dominated the repertoire.¹⁰⁴ Jones’ approach to teaching folk dance highlights the predominance of, if not the preference for, Northern and Western European forms in classroom instruction. It also reveals a concept of American-ness as a negotiation between the achievement of modern civilization – marked in the Progressive Era by the growth of cities and the influx of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe – and the value of the past through recognition of common ground in the folk practices of other civilized countries. The emphasis by teachers on the dances, as opposed to the character traits, of Northern and Western Europe signals a specific view of cosmopolitanism and American-ness, as native-born teachers circulated the privileged dances among college women who in turn often perpetuated these tendencies through their own teaching or social work.

¹⁰² Agnes Jones Cashman Papers, Poland notes, Box 11, Folders 21 and 22, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹⁰³ Agnes Jones Cashman Papers, Russia notes, Box 11, Folders 21 and 22, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹⁰⁴ Agnes Jones Cashman Papers, “Dances Taught,” Box 11, Folders 21 and 22, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

The descriptions and comparisons of national characteristics reflected broader ideas, particularly of the native-born white middle and upper classes, concerning the organization and classification of the world's peoples in the early- to mid-twentieth century. Studies such as William Z. Ripley's *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (1899), one of many tracts that scientifically justified racial hierarchies, perpetuated the sentiments of many American progressives. Ripley organized Europeans into three categories (in order of superiority): Teutonic, Alpine, and Mediterranean, relying heavily on phrenology and measurements of other physical features.¹⁰⁵ Jones' methods of teaching folk dance also complemented the trend of social science methodologies and research that thrived at the turn of the twentieth century; many folk dance teachers and practitioners invoked the authority of social science in collecting and selecting dances for their compilations. The implications of the teaching methods employed by instructors like Jones include an emphasis on the hierarchy of peoples and an embedding of the concept of inherent characteristics as biological and therefore embodied. Jones had scrawled a line in her undergraduate notes on folk dance that captures her confidence in learning about people through study of their embodied practices: "We can study people by living in the atmosphere of the dance."¹⁰⁶

Therefore "folk dance" in the early twentieth century encompassed dances from many different countries and time periods. However, at least two common characteristics

¹⁰⁵ William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study*, (New York: Appleton and Co., 1908, First published 1899), 103-130.

¹⁰⁶ Agnes Jones Cashman Papers, Advanced Folk Dancing Notes, Box 1, Folder 19, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

undergird the most prevalent usages and applications of the term between 1890 and 1940. First, folk dance usually implied something in the past, or at least the perception of something past. Second, instructors and practitioners linked folk dance with agriculture rather than industry, therefore mirroring a nostalgia for a period before the rapidity of modernization and its implications, particularly in the United States, of urbanization, immigration, and industrialization. For instance, Agnes Jones gave far less attention in her notes exploring and explaining French folk dances and the characteristics of French people than she did of Italians, Russians, or Spaniards, possibly because the French had already achieved “civilization.” Germans, English, Danish, Dutch, and Scandinavians also received greater attention to and inclusion of their dances and less to the qualities of their people. Part of the acceptance of Danish, Swedish, and German folk dances as the basis for folk dancing practices in America stems from the incorporation of exercise systems from these countries in the United States since the mid-nineteenth century. For example Americans had already recognized Ling gymnastics (Swedish), Jahn gymnastics (German) and Danish gymnastics as beneficial to one’s physical health.¹⁰⁷ Though many instructors wrote of the value and beauty of the “authentic” folk dances, in reality most selected particular Northern and Western European dances over those from Southern and Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. Even within acceptable countries of origin, only dances that fit the qualifications as most healthful, simple, safe, joyous and beautiful were chosen as appropriate for young women to learn.

¹⁰⁷ For more information on these exercise systems, see the introduction to Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 1999.

American Square Dance gained popularity in the late 1920s and early 1930s as a folk dance practice, corresponding with New Deal programs that documented folk practices throughout the United States (such as those of folklorist Alan Lomax and his father, John). Sometimes folk dancing classes included American square dancing from the late 1920s on, but they were not present during the period of the most aggressive progressive reform and Americanization projects. Because square dances (and reels) hailed from rural areas often considered “frontier,” such as the Appalachians, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Texas, folk dance proponents still framed the dances as “foreign” and requiring “discovery.”¹⁰⁸ This approach reinforced the urban/rural binary established by folk dance practices earlier in the 1900s that privileged the “authentic” agricultural past, now within American borders. Folk dance proponents thus treated the “new” American folk dances similarly to Danish, German, Polish, Scandinavian, and English (among others) folk dances, suggesting that all of them comprised the basis for the Americanized versions of “folk”. Folk or national dances as taught and learned in the United States, then, have more to do with a search for cultural identity via an imagined past than with national borders.

“Authenticity” of the dances taught, while often declared, did not and could not prevail in the urban, modern American context, as folklorist Regina Bendix has shown. Throughout *In Search of Authenticity* (1997) Bendix compares German and American strands of folklore studies, both of which developed out of Western modernization and

¹⁰⁸ For an example of this “discovery” of the folk by Cecil Sharp in the early twentieth century, see David J. Walkowitz, *City Folk: English Country Dance and the Politics of the Folk in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), in particular Chapters 3 and 4.

nationalism as a nostalgic undertaking of intellectual elites. In conjunction with modernity, then, nationalism often included a quest for the authenticity of the past. Bendix finds the authentic/fake dichotomy problematic, as authenticity remains a fluid, dynamic term and aims to identify the why and how of authenticity rather than what constitutes it. She concludes that the performance-centering of folk would lead to the de-centering of authenticity in texts and promote a concept of authenticity that mirrors the experiential rather than the static. The de-centering of authenticity as a singular entity facilitates the recognition of the multiplicity of identities for people, though individual searches may continue to attempt to locate a “real” past. Folk dance practices in Progressive Era Chicago support Bendix’s claims of “authenticity” as both dynamic and contingent. Teachers grounded nationalism and ideals of American-ness in an imagined, authentic past, performed and learned through folk dance.

In *Imagined Communities* (1983), Benedict Anderson traces the transition from a “sacred imagined community” to multi-national consciousness that arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He claims nationalism as the product of print capitalism (especially newspapers), which facilitated the spread of information in vernacular languages therefore creating bonds among common, or even similar vernaculars. Anderson explains that “official nationalism” developed through the establishment of vernacular languages as the language of states, leading to grounding in an imagined past. For Anderson imagined communities are created but also historically contingent and dynamic, similar to Bendix’s configuration of authenticity. American nationalism differed somewhat from European nationalism, he argues, because it grew out of

contentions between creole functionaries and aristocratic rulers, whereas European nationalism was based on language. Nationalism, according to Anderson, develops across ideologies and, paradoxically, asserts that nationalism is not an ideology. Like Bendix, Anderson's argument relies on the transition between the religious and the secular; it also certainly adopted and promoted morality based in Christian principles. The social settlement, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, more explicitly connected morality to action, which proved especially true of Dr. Graham Taylor of Chicago Commons.

Arjun Appadurai expands on Anderson's concept of the imagined community in *Modernity at Large* (1996). He adds electronic media and migration to Anderson's print capitalism as affecting the imagination of modernity and proposes that with these developments, imagination now rests in the hands of ordinary people as well as heads of state. Appadurai contends that the consumption of mass media facilitates agency and, like Anderson's print capitalism, creates trans- or post-national sodalities. He also provides a definition of "cultural" that uses the adjectival form as a method of highlighting the differences, dynamism, and instability rather than positioning "culture" as an object. While Appadurai admirably requires the consideration of embodied practices for his definition of modernity, he remains remarkably silent on the actions of bodies. The examination of folk dance extends the conceptualization of nation beyond vernacular print and media to include the vernacular body by providing a case study for

the analysis of modernity and community as expressed and transmitted through bodies.¹⁰⁹

By 1940 the presence of folk dance endured in the teachers' colleges and had begun to disappear from research-emphasis institutions. As noted earlier, folk dance had diminished from the required curriculum at Northwestern University with the retirement of Neva Boyd in 1941. At the University of Chicago, the revocation of required physical culture in 1932 sped up the removal of folk dance from the curriculum as women chose not to take gym. As Columbia College shifted its focus to training for the radio waves, attention to physical education dwindled. However at both the National College of Education and Chicago Normal College, folk dance remained part of the required teacher training. Therefore, though some higher education institutions in Chicago had eliminated folk dance, and also loosened physical education obligations more generally, colleges committed primarily to teacher training continued to incorporate folk dance as an essential element of the education of educators. Folk dance had diminished in popularity as a healthful form of exercise for young women but persisted as an activity of value in which to instruct children.

The situation of Chicago at the nexus of urbanization, industrialization, immigration, and Progressive Era education reform made the city fertile ground for the circulation and cultivation of folk dance practices through the mid-twentieth century.

Similar curricula, shared faculty, and practice teaching demonstrate the limited view of

¹⁰⁹ Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983); Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Public Worlds, Vol. 1) (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996).

cosmopolitanism presented through folk dance in institutions of higher education. While folk dance proved a broad category, certain, usually Northern and Western European, dances carried favor with professors and instructors in universities and teaching colleges. Because folk dance training included consideration of the “national characteristics” of peoples, the emphases remained on the characteristics of the people rather than on the dances, exhibiting a consciously crafted cosmopolitanism that embodied, reinforced, and institutionalized “American” as past and present, comprised of the aspects deemed valuable from the many immigrant groups that made Chicago their home. In these ways, folk dance in colleges and universities helped position women as authorities on embodied practices, shape the situation of folk dance (and dance generally) as part of physical education, and craft the character of Chicago into the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER III

TEACHING AND LEARNING: SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS*

In its 1926-1927 activities program, Gads Hill Center again offered folk dancing classes led by Mary R. Titus. The two classes registered approximately fifty-five students with an average age of eleven. Though the schedules state that both boys and girls could take the classes, the lists of participants for similar classes and clubs dating back to 1919 suggests that girls dominated, if not made up the entirety, of the students. Folk dancing classes at Gads Hill Center aimed, “to create a knowledge and desire for Folk dancing as a part of normal recreational activities.”¹¹⁰ As part of these “normal” activities, Titus instructed the girls from an overwhelmingly Polish neighborhood in Danish dances, such as the Shoemaker’s Dance, Anicka, The Ace of Diamonds, and Little Man in a Fix.

As in colleges and universities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, leaders of the social settlement movement in Chicago incorporated folk dancing into their educational programs. Settlement workers attempted to regulate dance both within and outside settlement house walls as a method to instill proper “American” body behaviors, particularly among immigrants. Examination of women as social settlement founders and workers reveals how they employed settlement houses as sites

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¹¹⁰ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Settlement Program October 1926-January 1927, Box 2, Folder 12.

for the education and regulation of immigrants' embodied behaviors. Analysis of folk dance as an activity wielded as a weapon against the vice-filled dance halls, as a healthy form of recreation for girls and young women, and as a mode of cultural retention for immigrants illuminates the ways in which the social settlement movement attempted to regulate immigrant body behaviors. A look at the social settlements and their associations with higher education, the similarities in programs across neighborhoods and over time, and the overlapping duties, projects, and interactions of social settlement workers illustrates how folk dance practices circulated among the settlement houses.

The evidence shows that folk dance in settlement houses traveled two paths: ethnic clubs devoted to the practice and performance of immigrant traditions and structured classes offered to girls and young women. Both developments fulfilled the project of Americanization prescribed by the settlement movement and also provided a means for immigrants to continue the folk practices from their home countries, though in forms shaped by their changed circumstances. Five Chicago settlement houses and their leaders constitute the focus here: Hull-House and Jane Addams; Northwestern University Settlement and Harriet Vittum; Chicago Commons and Graham Taylor and his daughter Lea D. Taylor; Gads Hill Center and Ruth Austin; and Park House and James B. and Ruth Nobel. These settlements represent a diverse set of locations and populations within Chicago. Hull-House remains the most well-known social settlement, primarily due to the prominence of founder Jane Addams; however, the other head residents also contributed to the persistence of the settlement and progressive movements through the 1920s and 1930s. By 1940, the generation of social settlement

leaders responsible for the character of the houses that shaped the circumstances for the developments of folk dance had either passed away or distanced themselves from directorial positions. The context of the social settlement movement, including progressivism, Americanization, and the battles against vice explain the emergence and inherent paradoxes of the promotion of folk dancing in social settlements in Chicago between 1890 and 1940.

Several characteristics help distinguish American progressivism, including “rugged individualism,” the ideology of Manifest Destiny, and what historian John Whiteclay Chambers, II calls the “progressive ethos.” Progressives redefined Victorian “rugged individualism” in terms of social responsibility; Manifest Destiny described the physical and cultural expansion of the settlement houses and further established it as the American prerogative; and Chambers’s “progressive ethos” provides an explanation for the prevalence of equivocal terms, such as “progress” and “greater good,” that permeated the progressive movement.

Members of the middle class engineered the Progressive Era, though they eventually counted some from the upper class among their ranks.¹¹¹ Their ideology refashioned their parents’ Victorian sentiments into a tentative socialism (though many reformers steered clear of that term). As historian Michael McGerr notes in *A Fierce Discontent* (2003), progressivism offered the promise of utopianism as the middle

¹¹¹ The upper class did not embrace the Progressive movement from the outset, as it threatened the residual extravagance of the Gilded Age. Middle-class reformers criticized the conspicuous consumption of goods by the upper class and believed the wealth of the upper class should have benefited the lower and working orders. Though some members of the upper class turned to philanthropy, including Andrew Carnegie and John D. Rockefeller, the trend occurred slowly and by no means comprehensively.

classes worked to recast a heterogenous nation in their own image.¹¹² However, settlement workers did not promote conformity for the sake of conformity, but instead for collective health and well-being. Furthermore, progressives attempted to temper what they viewed as the negative effects of rapid modernization that accompanied industrialization and urbanization. In *The Search for Order* (1967), historian Robert H. Wiebe presents progressives as part of the “dynamic and optimistic” middle class.¹¹³ In response to the lack of national centers of authority to handle the social, political, and economic upheaval of the late nineteenth century, the new middle class satisfied their ambitions of organization and regulation through establishment and entrenchment of bureaucratic management.¹¹⁴ Reformers reformulated the quintessentially American “rugged individualism” that prevailed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which they believed led to unrestrained greed and monetary oppression, and channeled their energy instead into consideration for the welfare of others.

Contemporary theories about the effects of environment on economic situation also undercut the Victorian vision of American individualism. Whereas the previous generation believed that the burden of poverty resulted from personal shortcomings, progressives acknowledged the role of the environment as determinative of one’s moral and physical fitness, coupled with a conviction of the obligation of the educated middle class to help the impoverished. The modified individualism proved a legacy of

¹¹² Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), xiv.

¹¹³ Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), viii.

¹¹⁴ Wiebe, *The Search for Order*, 12, 145, 166.

progressivism and resulted in many campaigns for cleanliness of mind, body, and neighborhood as the recipe for American success that especially focused on improvement of America through its youth. For instance *The Worn Doorstep*, an account of the history of Northwestern University Settlement to 1930, prescribes the course of action for the forward march of civilization “on the feet of little children.”¹¹⁵ Attributed to President Herbert Hoover, the directive explains that, “The breeding ground of the gangster is the overcrowded tenement and sub-normal childhood. The antidotes are light and air, food and organized play.”¹¹⁶ Studies about the effects of environment on the person also undermined the concept of individual choice and action, which facilitated settlement movement action against vice, in particular the dance halls.

Chambers notes that the goals of progressivism generally, and the settlement movement specifically, remained abstract, a point apparent in its language: “morality,” “greater good,” and “progress.”¹¹⁷ He describes the “progressive ethos” as, “[M]oral idealism with a sweeping vision of democracy and rejuvenated national community.”¹¹⁸ Progressive ideas reflected the simultaneous secular evangelism that swept the country and imbued the progressive movement with zealous fervor and a sense of urgency. While some reformers justified social reform in the name of Christianity, the settlement

¹¹⁵ Harriet Vittum papers, *The Worn Doorstep*, 1930, Box 2, Folder 24, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

¹¹⁶ Harriet Vittum papers, *The Worn Doorstep*, 1930, Box 2, Folder 24, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

¹¹⁷ John Whiteclay Chambers, II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 280.

¹¹⁸ Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change*, 279.

movement remained predominantly secular in practice. However, it retained a bias towards conversion. If settlement workers brought immigrants through the doors of the settlement house, they could then impart to them the benefits of “moral” behavior as derived from Protestant Christian principles. Progressives acted out this secular evangelism through the pursuit of moral reforms, including crusades against alcohol, gambling, and dance halls.¹¹⁹

The settlement workers’ education qualified them for leadership and endowed them with a sense of “rightness” on issues of the “greater good.” The lack of any clear definitions of the terms employed by progressives allowed both for different interpretations by different groups within the progressive movement and for changes in these views over time. As Harriet Vittum explained, “More pronounced than any other characteristic of Settlements is their elasticity. They are and always have been experimental stations and are ably and ready to adjust to all the changing needs.”¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change*, 105-106. It is also important to note the differences in Progressive Era evangelism from earlier Protestantism. Though religious revivals had transpired before the turn of the twentieth century, a rift between fundamentalists and modernists occurred in American religion during the Progressive Era. Modernists lay the groundwork for evangelism as intimately linked to the cult of personality of a particular minister, who often spoke with the sense of urgency that reformers adopted. Walter Rauschenbusch, a Baptist minister who figured prominently in the Social Gospel movement, explained: “In the last resort the only hope is the moral forces which can be summoned to the rescue. If there are statesmen, prophets, and apostles who set truth and justice above selfish advancement; if their call finds a response in the great body of the people; if a new tide of religious faith and moral enthusiasm creates new standards of duty and a new capacity for self-sacrifice; if the strong learn to direct their love of power to the uplifting of the people and see the highest self-assertion in self-sacrifice – then the entrenchments of vested wrong will melt away; the stifled energy of the people will leap forward; the atrophied members of the social body will be filled with a fresh flow of blood; and a regenerate nation will look with the eyes of youth across the fields of the future.” Walter Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (New York: Macmillan, 1908), 285. The Social Gospel relates to the progressive ideals enacted in the settlement house in that they both encouraged social responsibility, although the settlement houses usually maintained secularism.

Certainly, their elasticity presented possibilities for settlement workers to adapt and reform dance practices. Flexibility also proved necessary to survival during the financial crisis and recovery of the 1930s.

To a greater extent than colleges and universities, social settlements documented their struggles during the Great Depression and their faith in the New Deal to lift the United States from its moral and financial straits. The 1932 New Year's Eve edition of Northwestern University Settlement's *The Neighbor* expressed hope for the future through the language of the settlement movement, "It is said that prosperity is just around the corner . . . But we are told that environment has more to do with a man's charactic [sic] than heredity, so if we see to it that this young New Year has just the right surroundings, we can help him to become the kind of New Year we want him to be no matter what kind of a one he started out to be."¹²¹ As with the immigrants with whom they had worked for over forty years, settlement leadership maintained the belief that they could mold the environment in such a way to foster prosperity. Beginning in 1933, the New Deal provided a new organizing principle for settlement programs and also sometimes brought much-needed funding. Northwestern University Settlement wanted to, "do our part" and did so by offering a, "new fall program [that] is being built around the thought of a new Deal [sic] for every one of us. It will be a program of fun, to profit by the study and service in which everyone may share."¹²² By 1934 *The Neighbor*

¹²⁰ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, "Begin With "Not a Report, A Confession, A Promise, A Faith November 1918,"" October 1919, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹²¹ "Around the Corner," *Neighbor* (Chicago), December 31, 1932.

reported a “return of prosperity” accompanied by increased opportunities for leisure and therefore the need to present healthful activity options.¹²³

Settlement houses thus financially benefitted from the National Recovery Act and the New Deal. For instance, Northwestern University Settlement expanded their class offerings as a result of “co-operation with the Chicago Leisure Time Service and the Emergency Educational Program – both projects of the Federal Government,” designed to accommodate, “all the neighbors, old and young, [who] are invited to share in the good things made possible in this way.”¹²⁴ Through the 1930s recreation and responsibility remained priorities for the settlements. On its fortieth anniversary in 1934, Chicago Commons stressed the importance of exercising rights and responsibilities, even in the midst of financial hardship, and called on its neighbors to remember that, “This fortieth year – born of six years of depression – has brought a turn toward hope for a better distribution of opportunity, a recognition nationally of the right of men to live and the right of men to work for that living, and has emphasized the responsibility of man to brother man whoever or wherever he may be in this country of ours.”¹²⁵ Though the national progressive movement and Progressive Era had ended over a decade earlier, the sentiments and legacies of social improvement and philanthropy persisted in Chicago.

¹²² “N.R.A. and the New Deal,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), October 14, 1933.

¹²³ “The Panorama,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), April 12, 1934.

¹²⁴ “Northwestern University Settlement Announces the Opening of its Fall Program on Monday, October 15,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), September 29, 1934.

¹²⁵ Graham Taylor Papers, “This Fortieth Year,” May 1934, Box 50, Folder 2310, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

Americanization projects generated and sustained the social settlement movement through the early twentieth century. Settlement workers provided institutionalized sites for this work in the settlement houses, where through socialization, education, and regulation they inculcated a variety of immigrant peoples to American life. As Vittum exclaimed, “Americanization means so much more than the ability to speak with Americans! It means also the ability to live, to work and to play and to think with the new Americans.”¹²⁶ Americanizing immigrants therefore included instruction in American language, history, civics, foodways, and physical deportment. The programs mirrored anxieties over urban living, which settlement houses aimed to alleviate through education and regulation. In particular, the manner and types of dance practices presented asserted the values of the settlement house directors, privileging theatrical forms and Old World styles of folk dances over the new Americanized amalgamations of vernacular social dances practiced in the same immigrant neighborhoods. Despite some differences in location and population, social settlements in Chicago shared similar views on the importance of Americanization, neighborliness, philanthropy, civic responsibility, education, investigation, and experimentation.

The American body as idealized by social settlement workers in the early twentieth century reflected a desired deportment based both on their learned behaviors and anxieties over what bodies *could* do. As rang true for most tenets of progressive ideology, ideas concerning the body also proved malleable. However, certain elements

¹²⁶ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, “Begin With ‘Not a Report, A Confession, A Promise, A Faith November 1918,’” October 1919, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

consistently appeared among settlement leadership that suggested a minimum standard for what they considered proper embodied behaviors for Americans. Discipline of the body, space between bodies, and verticality governed the conceptualization of the American body for social settlement workers. Models for the American standard for body behavior derived from the popularity of Delsarte in the late nineteenth century, German and Swedish gymnastics traditions, and social dancing.

According to Genevieve Stebbins, one of America's foremost practitioners and proponents of Delsarte, the primary motivation for control of one's body lies in the fact that one's physical actions offered an outward manifestation of the inner person.¹²⁷ The extensive list of exercises includes practices for all parts of the body from the primary movers, such as the legs, to expressions of the eyes, lips, and jaw. Many prominent leaders of the early social settlement movement would have participated in Delsarte or Delsarte-like drills in college or classes organized by ladies for ladies. Therefore, their familiarity with a style of comportment that emphasized discipline of the physical self as revelatory of the inner self explains their encouragement of control of the body as an ideal expression of what constituted an American.

While not dance per se, German and Swedish gymnastics traditions and their prevalence as modes of physical education in the mid-to-late nineteenth century United States influenced how settlement leadership viewed the organization of bodies in space. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn detailed his gymnastics plan in a treatise in 1816, now recognized as German or Jahn gymnastics; however, it did not gain popularity in the United States

¹²⁷ Genevieve Stebbins and François Delsarte, *Delsarte System of Expression* (New York: Edgar S. Werner, 1887), 20.

until after the Civil War. Jahn emphasized apparatus, such the vault, horizontal bar, and parallel bars in conjunction with calisthenics, in which he included a specific program for women.¹²⁸ A version of Swedish, or Ling, gymnastics debuted in Boston in the 1880s and consisted of progressions of stretching and light weightlifting imparted by a leader barking commands in a “terse, staccato, military manner.”¹²⁹ German and Swedish gymnastics traditions also enforced ideas of the body as disciplined and organized in large groups, which accounts for the distance between bodies seen as necessary to accurately execute exercises, or dance steps.

Finally, anxieties over social dancing, a subject which will appear again in relationship to the dance halls, produced ideas of what settlement workers decidedly did not want to exemplify the American body. African and African-American movement styles heavily influenced many of the most popular social dances of the period, such as the Charleston, the animal dances, and the ancestors of the Lindy Hop. Dance scholars Jean and Marshall Stearns, Robert Farris Thompson, and Jacqui Malone have written extensively on the characteristics of African and African-American performance in ways that have set up a binary opposition to “white” dance performance.¹³⁰ Though I must leave it to future researchers to fully address the problems and implications of this

¹²⁸ Nancy Lee Chalfa Ruyter, *Reformers and Visionaries: The Americanization of the Art of Dance* (New York: Dance Horizons, 1979), 85-86; Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 7.

¹²⁹ Ruyter, *Reformers and Visionaries*, 87; Tomko, *Dancing Class*, 7.

¹³⁰ See Jean and Marshall Stearns, *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), Chapter 2; Robert Farris Thompson, *African Art in Motion: Icon and Act* (Los Angeles, Berkeley, London: University of California Press, 1974), Chapter 1; and Jacqui Malone, *Steppin' on the Blues: The Visible Rhythms of African American Dance* (Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1996), Chapter 1.

construction of “black” and “white” dance, a look at two of the six characteristics of African dance as described by the Stearnses provide some clues as to why social reformers in the Progressive Era rejected dance hall social dances as representative of appropriate American embodied behavior. One of the primary objections of the middle class to the dance hall dances stems from a perception of sexually-suggestive movements, explained in part by the characteristic of African dance as, “centrifugal, exploding outward from the hips.”¹³¹ The focus on the pelvis as a motor of movement engendered the nervous behavior of settlement leadership towards dances that exhibited that element. Secondly, the Stearnses note that “African dance is frequently performed from a crouch, knees flexed and body bent at the waist. The custom of holding the body stiffly erect seems to be principally European.”¹³² The contrast of the postures explains the value of verticality taken with an attitude of adherence to the disciplined body by white, native-born, middle-class social settlement workers.

Folk dance offered not only an alternative to the pervasiveness of the dance halls but also incorporated those facets of American embodied behaviors that middle-class reformers privileged. Furthermore, by grounding their ideals in Northern and Western European folk dances, teachers drew on a limited cultural pluralism and signaled allegiance to the perceived Old World values of the rural – simplicity, joy, non-commercial – while cultivating modern American bodies fit for an urban, industrial age. Examination of the settlements and their purposes, locations, and neighborhoods

¹³¹ Stearns, *Jazz Dance*, 15.

¹³² Stearns, *Jazz Dance*, 15.

illuminate how these principles fit into their reform projects and why folk dance proved such a successful mode for transferring information.

Hull-House opened its doors in September 1899 on the corner of Halstead and Polk Streets in Chicago, Illinois. Named for its builder and first resident, Charles Hull, Jane Addams and co-founder Ellen Gates Starr chose this site for their settlement house, the first in Chicago, after extended research and consideration of other locations in the Chicago area. A description of the neighborhood from Hull-House's early days illustrates an ethnically diverse community:

Hull-House once stood in the suburbs, but the city has steadily grown up around it and its site now has corners on three or four foreign colonies. Between Halstead Street and the river live about ten thousand Italians . . . To the south on Twelfth Street are many Germans, and the side streets are given over almost entirely to Polish and Russian Jews. Still farther south, these Jewish colonies merge into a huge Bohemian colony, so vast that Chicago ranks as the third Bohemian city in the world. To the northwest are many Canadian-French, clannish in spite of their long residence in America, and to the north are Irish and first-generation Americans. On the streets directly west and farther north are well-to-do English-speaking families, many of whom own their houses and have lived in the neighbourhood for years; one man is still living in his old farm-house.¹³³

The objective of Hull-House remained constant from the approval of its charter: “To provide a center for a higher civic and social life; to initiate and maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises; and to investigate and improve the conditions in the

¹³³ Jane Addams, *Jane Addams of Hull House 1860 – 1935: A Centenary Study* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1961), 44; Some of the material on the histories of the settlement come from: Jessica Ray Herzogenrath, *Dancing American-ness: Settlement Houses and Transformation of the Immigrant Body* (MA Thesis, Florida State University, 2009), 25-28.

industrial districts of Chicago.”¹³⁴ Within two years of its opening, Hull-House welcomed over two thousand people per week to its classes, clubs, and services. Before its demolition in 1963, the house had grown into one of the largest settlements in the country in physical size and scope.¹³⁵ Addams remained at the helm of Hull-House until her death in 1935.

Northwestern University Settlement opened in 1891 just under two and a half miles northwest of Hull-House. Despite their proximity, Northwestern University Settlement served almost exclusively Polish immigrants. *The Neighbor*, the newspaper published for and by Northwestern University Settlement, emphatically rejected the idea that the settlement should function as a charity, school, or mission. Rather, Northwestern University Settlement positioned itself as, “an experiment in neighborliness . . . In short, all the things now done here that make us look like an institution have grown out of our desire to do our duty as neighbors. This is our original purpose and motive, to help and be helped in the mutual exchange of sympathy and service that should pass between those who live nearby each other.”¹³⁶ Northwestern University Settlement, though it shares its name, is not an extension of Northwestern University. *The Worn Doorstep*, a centenary study of Northwestern University Settlement, explains that a group including Hugh and Alice Wilson, Henry Wade Rogers (president of Northwestern University

¹³⁴ Hull House collection, Hull-House Bulletin January 1896, Box 43, Folder 425, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago. The objective remained the same as documented throughout the Hull-House Bulletins and Yearbooks until at least 1940.

¹³⁵ At one point Hull-House had grown to thirteen buildings. Now, only the original Hull-House remains as the site for the Jane Addams Hull House Museum. The services of Hull-House continued as the Jane Addams Hull House Association until 2012 when it folded due to financial difficulties.

¹³⁶ “What is the Settlement?,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), November 15, 1899.

from 1890 to 1900) and his wife Emma, along with Charles Zueblin (then a recent graduate of Northwestern) and his fiancée Aurora Fisk founded the settlement over dinner one night at the Wilsons', electing to name it Northwestern University because of *their* affiliations with the university. However, the settlement did not then, nor does it now, receive the bulk of its monetary support from Northwestern University. From the beginning it relied on "voluntary contributions and subscriptions" in addition to various fundraisers held both at the university and the settlement.¹³⁷ In 1901, the settlement relocated to the corner of Augusta and Noble Streets in Chicago's West Town, where it still operates today. Harriet Vittum, though not the original head resident or founder, attained leadership of Northwestern University Settlement in 1906 and held the position of head resident until her retirement in 1947. Though it did not achieve the size and breadth of Hull-House, by 1904 Northwestern University Settlement saw over one thousand people a week crossing its "worn doorstep."¹³⁸ Since the shuttering of Hull-House in 2012, Northwestern University Settlement holds the distinction of the longest continuously operating settlement house in Chicago.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ This account differs from one cited earlier of the same name that Vittum composed in 1930. Mark Wukas, *The Worn Doorstep: Informal History of Northwestern University Settlement Association, 1891-1991* (Chicago: Northwestern University Settlement Association, 1991), 7-8. Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administration Records, *Those Fifty Years: A Brief Story of Northwestern University Settlement Association For Its Organizers, Supporters, Workers and Friends*, December 31, 1940, Box 43, Folder 14, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL. Northwestern University Catalog 1891-1892, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹³⁸ Northwestern University Settlement Association Clubs and Classes Attendance and Registration Cards, Northwestern University Settlement Attendance Records, 1895 – 1905, Addition, Folder 1, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹³⁹ Northwestern Settlement, "Our History," Nush.org/item/show/7. Due to a lack of records on its programs, the University of Chicago Settlement and its head resident Mary McDowell, though prevalent in the early twentieth century, could not be considered for this dissertation. However, I include here an

Graham Taylor, a faculty member of the Chicago Theological Seminary as a Professor of Social Economics, established Chicago Commons in 1894. It began in a building that had once served as a boarding house for Norwegian and German sailors on the Northwest Side of Chicago, about two miles west/northwest of Northwestern University Settlement and one and one-half miles north of Hull-House.¹⁴⁰ Like most settlements that survived from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century, the Chicago Commons' neighborhood population shifted from northern to southern European, "which is requiring the rapid and radical readjustment of our methods."¹⁴¹ By 1934

extended footnote on its beginnings in support of the contentions about the other settlements. The Philanthropic Committee of the Christian Union of the University of Chicago established the University of Chicago Settlement between 1893 and 1894. Located in the "Back of the Yards" district, the settlement tucked in among a motley population of Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Lithuanians, Scandinavians, Hungarians, Finns, Welsh and Scotch. Literature about the house insisted that, "This is an industrial community, and not a 'slum;' yet irregularity and uncertainty of unemployment are most demoralizing." While settlements stressed neighborliness, improvement and Americanization, the University of Chicago also focused on its role as a "social observing station[s] where invaluable supplementary experience should be sought by students, and where material is to be gathered by mature investigators." In this way, the University of Chicago Settlement clearly articulated its benefits to students as well as the residents of the neighborhood. Though not necessarily stated in their missions, Hull-House, Northwestern University Settlement, and Chicago Commons would also correlate improvement of neighborhoods with improvement of university students as they provided venues for study, social experimentation and practice teaching. Mary E. McDowell settled in as head resident once the Board of Directors secured property in 1894, and she remained in that position until her retirement in 1929. Unlike Northwestern University Settlement, which did not receive funding directly from the university, the University of Chicago Settlement initially subsisted on the offering taken at the university's religious services in addition to other voluntary gifts from faculty, staff and students. Financial responsibility for the settlement later shifted to its Board of Directors and the Settlement League, a student organization at the University of Chicago. Throughout the settlement's existence, the University of Chicago maintained strong connections with its namesake, not only through funding, but also in the appointment of the head resident as an assistant in the Department of Sociology. There exist inconsistencies concerning the date of establishment. *The University of Chicago Settlement*, 1901, 5, 7, 24, <http://archive.org/details/universityofchic00mcdo>. *Annual Register of the University of Chicago, 1929-1930; 1893-1894*, 60; *1899-1900*, 143; *1910-1911*, 202; *1921-1922*, 498, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. *Cap and Gown, 1940*, 29; *1939*, 105. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. In 1966-1967, University of Chicago Settlement merged with Chicago Commons, though the original structure did not close until 1973.

¹⁴⁰ Graham Taylor Papers, Notes and Schedules 1910, Box 53, Folder 2365, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

Scandinavians and Irish had given way to Italian, Polish, Greek, and reportedly twenty additional nationalities.¹⁴² According to its 1895 charter, Chicago Commons adhered to similar principles as many settlement houses organized during in the late nineteenth century aiming, “to provide a center for a higher civic and social life, to initiate and maintain religious educational and philanthropic enterprises, and to investigate and improve conditions in the industrial districts of Chicago.”¹⁴³ In the December 1904 edition of *The Commons*, the Chicago Commons newsletter, Taylor further explained the importance for “civic co-operation” in the United States:

America needs discovering again. A new America is coming to be. It is being made of all the old peoples, but in combination so new that their life together is almost as unknown and strange as the land was to the discoverers . . . Meanwhile in America as no where [sic] else in the world a common denominator is needed to solve the problem of our increasingly cosmopolitan and complicated life. The lesson of living and working together which our forefathers learned so well under their simple conditions, we must learn over again in a complexity of life hitherto unequalled in any land or age.¹⁴⁴

Compared with the other social settlements discussed here, Chicago Commons had a more pronounced religious predilection and strove to foster a Christian environment within settlement walls due to Taylor’s training as a Dutch Reformed church minister.

For example the 1899 Residents’ Agreement decreed that, “[M]ost of all, That we shall

¹⁴¹ Graham Taylor Papers, Notes and Schedules 1910, Box 53, Folder 2365, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴² Graham Taylor Papers, Letter to Former Residents 1934, Box 50, Folder 2310, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴³ Graham Taylor Papers, Notes and Schedules 1910, Box 53, Folder 2365, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴⁴ Graham Taylor Papers, *Commons*, December 1904, Box 55, Folder 2414, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

at least begin to create within our own household, a living example of Christian cooperation and brotherhood.”¹⁴⁵

Taylor’s daughter, Lea D. Taylor, grew up in Chicago Commons, where her family had resided since 1895. She worked in the settlement nearly all of her life, rising to assistant head resident in 1917 and officially assuming her father’s position by 1922.¹⁴⁶ Therefore from her youngest days, she circulated among prominent women in the social settlement movement and eventually wielded similar power as they over the legacy of Chicago Commons, her father’s name, and the social settlement movement.

A group of citizens concerned for the Pilsen neighborhood on the Southwest side of Chicago organized Gads Hill Center in 1898.¹⁴⁷ Located just over two miles southwest of Hull-House, Gads Hill Center served a varied population similar to Hull-House and Chicago Commons: German, Irish, Swedish, Lithuanian, Polish, and Bohemian.¹⁴⁸ Though many settlements and their leaders supported and encouraged temperance, founders established Gads Hill Center specifically to, “sav[e] our boys and

¹⁴⁵ Graham Taylor Papers, 1899 Residents’ Agreement, Box 50, Folder 2312, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴⁶ The frequency with which Lea D. Taylor’s name appears in correspondence prior to 1922 suggests that she may have, practically speaking, acted in the full capacity of head resident for a number of years before attaining the official title.

¹⁴⁷ Gads Hill Center, originally called Gads Hill Social Settlement, adopted “Center” as early as 1914, though some records state that it was not officially changed until 1916. For clarity, I have elected to refer to it only as Gads Hill Center. The 1927 Annual Report gave this account of the genesis of the center’s name: “Back in the early [18] seventies, a hamlet in Missouri called Gad’s Hill was the scene of many daring holdups. As a result ‘Gad’s Hill’ became associated with all that was desperately wicked. In Chicago, Blue Island avenue, or the Black Road, gave the police so much trouble that the lieutenant of the local station christened it after the Missouri town.” Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), 1927 Annual Report. Box 8, Folder 46.

¹⁴⁸ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), 1927 Annual Report. Box 8, Folder 46.

young men from the blighting and degrading influence of intemperance that they may grow up into clear-headed, strong limbed vigorous young men; a joy to their home, an honor to the community in which they live, and worthy citizens of the grandest government on earth.”¹⁴⁹ However, by 1902 debate had begun over the direction of Gads Hill Center. Some board members wanted to expand the objectives to include civic instruction and act as a social and educational center, which would more closely align with the broader, more flexible goals of Hull-House, Northwestern University Settlement, and Chicago Commons.¹⁵⁰ The selection of a new head resident also paved the way for a shift in the focus of Gads Hill Center.

Ruth Austin assumed the duties of head resident in 1914, a position she held until her resignation in 1923, then again from 1926 to 1946.¹⁵¹ She arrived highly recommended by settlement leadership in Chicago, in part because of her association with Neva Boyd. Mary McDowell of the University of Chicago Settlement expressed her support of Austin to a Gads Hill Center special committee charged with vetting potential head residents because the settlement would benefit from the employment of students from Boyd’s Recreation Training School as practice teachers.¹⁵² Harriet Vittum had also encouraged the hiring of Austin and afterwards congratulated Gads Hill Center for their

¹⁴⁹ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Minutes 1898. Box 1, Folder 1.

¹⁵⁰ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago Historical Museum), Letter from Mr. Cannon and Miss Becks to the Board of Directors of Gads Hill Social Settlement, June 25, 1902. Box 1, Folder 1.

¹⁵¹ Records show Leila Martin as the first head resident and a founder of Gads Hill Center, however, little other information about her exists. Gads Hill Center, “History,” gadshillcenter.org/aboutus/aboutus_history.php.

¹⁵² Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), 1914 Report of Special Committee of Head Resident for Gads Hill Center. Box 1, Folder 3.

decision by writing, “It is a great pleasure to write you of the work which I feel Miss Austin is accomplishing at Gads Hill. I know, because Miss Austin has worked in our Settlement, how much joy she puts into the lives of the people with whom she comes into contact, and it is hard not to feel when you go to Gads Hill the enthusiasm and spontaneity of her work.”¹⁵³ Austin laid the groundwork for the growth of Gads Hill Center in the early twentieth century and its continued presence today.

Established much later than the social settlements already described, Park House still shared some characteristics with its predecessors and also demonstrated some of the post-Progressive Era problems most settlements encountered, in particular those resulting from the Great Depression. In the fall of 1934, Park House opened on the Near North Side of Chicago, northeast of Chicago Commons. Named in honor of sociologist and retired University of Chicago Professor Robert E. Park, from the beginning Park House attempted to distinguish itself, “as an experimental project. We avoided any closely defining word or phrase. We differed from existing institutions in remaining, so far as possible, tentative, inclusive, undefined, exploratory, curious.”¹⁵⁴ As an “experimental project” Park House mirrored the flexibility in purpose and terminology of the earlier settlements and also revealed the potential problems of remaining “undefined.” During its short existence – Park House closed in 1944 – it struggled with

¹⁵³ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), 1914 Report of Special Committee of Head Resident for Gads Hill Center, Letter from Harriet Vittum, December 7, 1915. Box 1, Folder 3.

¹⁵⁴ Park House. Records, Re: Defining Park House n.d., Box 1, Folder 7, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library. Park House did not identify itself solely as a social settlement; however, practically speaking its activities and commitment to research and social experimentation aligns it more closely with the traditions of social settlements than later community centers or YMCAs.

how to best remain experimental without committing to particular programs and strategies. Rather than immigrants and Americanization, James B. Nobel and his wife Ruth, who lived in and ran Park House for its ten years, focused on informal education and artistic expression. In 1939, James B. Nobel wrote of the house, “If as we have suggested, on the basis of our observations we can give some artistic expression to our findings and our experiences, this represents the uniqueness of Park House and its real contribution as an experiment.”¹⁵⁵ As part of the encouragement of self-expression, Nobel oversaw publications and entertainments produced by participants of Park House. Whether due primarily to the continued financial depression or contentions over the purpose of the house, the inability to secure funding after its initial private source withdrew its support ultimately led to the closure of Park House.

Despite the differences in location, population, and founding principles, the similarities of structure and purpose across Chicago settlement houses led to comparable programming and approaches to folk dance. Settlement workers enacted their ideals through regulations of bodies and spaces, many times through reinterpreted concepts from tenement housing reforms. In other words, by cleaning the structure and appearance of the physical space, the body and mind could also become clean – and therefore moral. Like buildings, bodies required proper ventilation and light (space between bodies) in order to prevent indiscretion: those who danced in bright, open spaces two-stepped toward morally correct thoughts and behavior. Leaders of the

¹⁵⁵ Park House. Records, Park House June 1939, Box 1, Folder 10, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

settlement houses provided proper spaces for dance, largely in reaction against commercial dance halls that facilitated close contact, slow dancing, greed of the business owners, and indiscreet behaviors, with the unfortunate results of unplanned pregnancy, drunkenness, and gambling.¹⁵⁶ Well-lit, open spaces, on the other hand, encouraged adherence to the ideals of refinement, appropriateness, cleanliness, and the sanctity of moral behaviors.

Much of the anxiety surrounding the drive for Americanization grew from concerns over urban vice. Dance halls reigned as one of the most prevalent issues for settlement leadership, against which they waged a long and generally futile campaign. Additionally, as settlement workers bemoaned, many other activities competed for the attention of America's youth. Vice, particularly in the form of the dance hall, proved an almost insurmountable adversary to the intentions of the settlement. The Friday night social dances for young men and women at Northwestern University Settlement, which Harriet Vittum described as, "a source of much apparent pleasure to them and source of interest and some apprehension to us" averaged a weekly attendance of 150 to 250. Estimated yearly attendance at the dance halls, however, topped 60,000, an average of over 1100 per week.¹⁵⁷ In response, houses offered programs and clubs to occupy the

¹⁵⁶ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, Report of the Head Resident October 1-April 1, 1918, 1922 Head Resident Report, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

¹⁵⁷ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, 1922 Head Resident Report, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

time of young people, and folk dance figured prominently as a healthy, safe option for girls and young women by the early 1920s.

Challenging moral depravity through dancing remained a crucial goal for all the houses throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Jane Addams complained vociferously about the style of American social dances, claiming that the “waltzes and two-steps are purposely slow, the couples leaning heavily on each other barely move across the floor, all the jollity and bracing exercise of the peasant dance is eliminated, as is all the careful decorum of the formal dance”¹⁵⁸ Social dances as found in the dance halls did not embody the values that Addams and her colleagues considered representative of the better class of Americans, with whom they wished immigrants to emulate. As a result, discussion of the negative influences of the dance halls filled newspapers, settlement publications, and speeches.

For example, Northwestern University Settlement devoted an entire edition of *The Neighbor* in 1903 to the perils of dance halls. In the issue, contributor Alderman John F. Smulski proposed an ordinance denying permits to saloons holding “Saturday Night Dances” and decried the saloon owners as, “[U]nscrupulous men, who care little as to what influences these dances have upon the morality of the young people who attend.”¹⁵⁹ Chicago Commons and Hull-House also endorsed Alderman Smulski’s proposal. Graham Taylor chimed in with the assertion that, “The saloon dance hall offers increased facilities for the young people of our city to be debauched and degraded.”¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ *The Jane Addams Reader*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain (New York: Basic Books, 2002), 181.

¹⁵⁹ “An Invitation. Dance Halls. Alderman Smulski’s Ordinance,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), February 1903.

Two years later the *Evanston Press* corroborated and continued condemnation of the dance hall, declaring that, “Among all the 65,000 neighbors of ours who crowd the Seventeenth ward there is not a single hall suitable.” This article gives an eye-witness account of 2,500 young dancers, “some of them girls as young as twelve, who were found whirling in drunken embrace at 3 o’clock in the morning in a single dance hall.”¹⁶¹ Drunken embraces greatly concerned settlement leaders, and especially what they perceived as the potential outcomes. In 1922, Vittum wrote, “While records show few moral cases directly traceable to dance halls, we know from our own experience with unfortunate young people how many indiscreet things happen in connection with these dances.”¹⁶² The expression about the immorality of certain manifestations of physicality emblemizes the constant moral struggle over heterosexual dancing, especially over the increasing popularity of “tough” and, later, “jazz” dancing.

Historian Kathy Peiss notes that dance hall dances, particularly “tough” dancing, functioned for working-class women similarly to the settlement houses for the middle and upper classes – as a mode of empowerment. In tough dancing, which bullied its way onto the dance scene at the turn of the twentieth century, “The dancer’s movements ranged from a slow shimmy . . . to boisterous animal imitations that ridiculed middle class ideas of grace and refinement.”¹⁶³ The extensive physical contact between the men

¹⁶⁰ Chicago Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers collection, *Commons*, April 1903, Box, 9, Folder 55, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

¹⁶¹ *Evanston Press* (Evanston, IL), January 21, 1905.

¹⁶² Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, 1922 Head Resident Report, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

and women who performed tough dancing proved most objectionable. An early Thomas Edison film that documents tough dancing does not suggest the animal dances, but it does show a brutal parity in the relationship between the man and the woman as they slap and throw each other around. A 1902 American Mutoscope film, *A "Tough" Dance*, ends with the couple rolling on the floor, a confirmation of the fears of settlement workers of the effects of close dancing.¹⁶⁴

Settlement leaderships' anxiety over dance continued with the growing popularity of "jazz" dancing in the late 1910s and early 1920s. Through an article in the November 27, 1921, *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, titled "Jazz Dance May Be Ousted by Law," reprinted by *The Neighbor* for the benefit of its readership, the author pontificated on the moniker "jazz": "[P]erhaps it can be said that its application to music and the dance came from its use in the red light district and that when young men desired to use one word to indicate the kind of music and dancing indulged in places of the old segregated district, they referred to them as "jazz" dances."¹⁶⁵ Earlier in the twentieth century, "segregated district" referred to the separation of vice areas from residential neighborhoods. However, by the 1920s, which coincided with the migration of many African Americans from the South to Northern cities such as Chicago, class and race intersected at jazz. "The middle-class activists and their political representatives eagerly

¹⁶³ Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 102.

¹⁶⁴ *Bowery Waltz (Apache Dance)*, Thomas A. Edison, September 24, 1897, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/item/00694157>; *A "Tough" Dance*, American Mutoscope & Biography Company, December 9, 1902, Library of Congress, <http://www.loc.gov/item/96520498/>.

¹⁶⁵ "Jazz Dance May be Ousted by Law" (reprint from *Chicago Herald-Examiner*, November 27, 1921), *Neighbor* (Chicago), February 1922.

led some of the campaigns to draw new social boundary lines dividing different groups,” which certainly included black Americans.¹⁶⁶ The suggestive jazz dancing that so disturbed the middle class was grounded in the Africanist aesthetic, including initiating movement from the pelvis. Jazz dancing included close-clutching and the Charleston, dance styles that the middle class certainly discouraged because many viewed the participants as acting out carnal instincts. Regulation of youths’ physical behaviors, including dancing, aligned with the goal of controlling sexual behaviors because in dancing existed the most physical “danger” of touching and acting out sexual desire.

In addition to supporting local legislation regulating the dance halls, settlement leadership in Chicago also promoted proper social dancing within settlement walls. Social dancing provided not only interaction between young men and young women, but much needed recreation and exercise to counteract sedentary, repetitive industrial work as well. Many settlement house leaders prided themselves on their progress in appropriate physical deportment among young people, no matter how limited the results. At Hull-House, which had included dancing classes “from the earliest days,” residents believed that social dancing, “offer[ed] a substitute to public dance halls, but is obviously a wholesome exercise and afford[s] an outlet for the natural high spirits of youth which have been repressed through the long day.”¹⁶⁷ In a report on a club’s social dance in October 1916, Gads Hill Center boasted of, “the clean fine attitude of the boys

¹⁶⁶ McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent*, 183. McGerr notes later in the same chapter that discrimination also extended to nuances among “the white races” as William Z. Ripley demarcated in his book *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1908), first published in 1899.

¹⁶⁷ Hull House papers, Hull-House Yearbook, 1906-1907, Box 43, Folder 434, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

and the absence of the suggestion of ‘tough dancing,’” though they also acknowledged that, “[N]early all of our young people go to the saloon dance halls more or less.”¹⁶⁸ The Northwestern University Settlement commended its dancers for the assimilation of the settlement’s preferred dancing style, claiming that, “Already, the majority of its regular patrons will not tolerate anything but dignified action from newcomers.”¹⁶⁹ However their measures often proved ineffective against the dominance of the dance halls. Harriet Vittum captured the tension between pride and lament in a head resident report from 1918:

Last Sunday night in a neighborhood dance hall in a group of more than a thousand young men and young women, it was perfectly easy to pick out the few in that great group who had been trained . . . in a Settlement dancing class . . . But, when we think that in a group of fifteen hundred people . . . there are as few as ten or twenty people who have come under our care, we realize too how small our work is.¹⁷⁰

Settlement workers continued their attempts to clean up social dances and dance halls through the 1930s. Concurrently, encouragement of folk dance provided a safe alternative to the dangerous dances.

Folk dances imported from the Old World fulfilled progressive ideologies concerning proper, moral body behaviors. Settlement workers refashioned folk dances collected from Europe, creating an Americanized interpretation of folk dancing. Though

¹⁶⁸ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Residents, Activities, Etc. Report, October 27, 1916, Gads Hill Center. Box 7, Folder 35.

¹⁶⁹ [Letter from outgoing resident], *Neighbor* (Chicago), November 29, 1919.

¹⁷⁰ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, Report of the Head Resident October 1-April 1, 1918, Box 4, Folder 6, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

settlement leadership often praised the beauty and merits of immigrant folk dances, their sentiments applied primarily to the favored dances from Northern and Western Europe, therefore lending an Anglo cast to the character of America and the process of Americanization.¹⁷¹ Folk dance expressed the valued characteristics of immigrants while also enacting and projecting desired American characteristics. Jane Addams, for instance, encouraged the retention of folk culture, explaining that she did not aim to erase immigrants' ties to their homelands but wanted, "[T]o preserve and keep for them *whatever of value their past life contained* and to bring them in contact with a *better* type of Americans."¹⁷² While acknowledging the possibility of immigrant cultures' worth, Addams also insinuated its limitations and the superiority of a certain class of Americans. Interestingly, settlement houses typically did not extend their helping hands to lower, working-class native-born white or black Americans.¹⁷³ Most settlement houses explicitly focused on assisting immigrants who had newly arrived, though

¹⁷¹ As Lynn Gordon has noted, "Most historians have found white middle-class women professionals culture-bound and lacking empathy." Lynn D. Gordon, "Education and the Professions," in *A Companion to American Women's History*, ed. Nancy A. Hewitt, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 238.

¹⁷² Addams, *The Jane Addams Reader*, 33. Emphases in original.

¹⁷³ Some settlements opened specifically to serve the African-American community in Chicago. According to the *Handbook of Settlements* (1911), Charles Sumner Settlement, Emanuel Settlement, Frederick Douglas [sic] Settlement, and Institutional Church and Social Settlement all offered their services to African Americans. In 1911, then, only 4 of the 34 houses in Chicago either invited or included blacks. Unfortunately, those responsible for the *Handbook* never published another edition, and little information exists on these houses. *Handbook of Settlements*, eds. Robert Archer Woods and Albert J. Kennedy (New York: Charities Publication Committee, 1911), 37-80. As noted by Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, the early Progressive settlement movement largely ignored African Americans, a tendency that she argues ultimately led to their decline. However, work among African Americans in line with the Progressive traditions of the social settlement movement, did take place, especially beyond both the 1920s and the epicenters of settlement activity in the North and Midwest. Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

second- and sometimes third-generation Americans continued to attend settlement activities into the 1950s; some would also later work in the settlements. Middle-class Americans did not typically participate in the classes with the immigrants (they taught them) nor did lower- and working-class native-born Americans, even though they often lived near the houses and the immigrant communities.

Folk dances did not require similar cleansing (though as shown in Chapter 4, they did require choosing) like that of modern American social dances, such as the Charleston or the animal dances. The safety and authenticity of folk dances, though in their Old World contexts included coeducational dances, did not pose the same sexual risk in the minds of settlement workers since they did not place dancers as close to one another as in the social dances. As a result, settlement workers initially provided space for immigrants to folk dance through foreign club nights and, later, public performances.¹⁷⁴ However, the encouragement and acceptability of folk dance did not exempt it from adaptation. Instead, two trajectories of folk dancing in the settlement houses developed from the beginnings of the settlement movement in Chicago and through the first half of the twentieth century. The first, ethnic clubs, were practiced within a single, culturally specific intergenerational group of men and women, largely without regulation or manipulation by settlement workers. A second path began in the early twentieth century and grew increasingly popular following World War I: an Americanized and essentialized version of several Old World folk dances taught in

¹⁷⁴ For more on these performances, see Chapter 6.

classes by white, middle-class, native-born Americans and performed by groups of multiethnic young females.

Photographs and settlement schedules indicate that immigrants continued to practice their native dances in the settlement houses upon arrival in the United States under the umbrella of foreign clubs or foreign nights.¹⁷⁵ From its opening, Hull-House provided space for several ethnic groups. In the late nineteenth century, Italian, German, and Bohemian groups met; by the 1930s, Greek and Mexican groups took advantage of the expanse of Hull-House to talk, sing, and dance. A German Club existed from the beginning of Northwestern University Settlement in 1890; the Polish Club followed in 1898.¹⁷⁶ Gads Hill Center organized Danish, Bohemian, and Polish “national and folk dancing” groups between 1917 and 1918.¹⁷⁷ Intermingling of the various nationalities of the groups seems negligible; indeed, they closely reflected the early national enclaves that formed in urban neighborhoods. However, clubs were more likely than the classes to be intergenerational and coeducational. At least into the interwar period, then, the settlement house provided space for the practice of ethnic folk dances.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁵ Similar arguments have been made about the retention of dance and other aesthetic forms as more resistant to assimilation than other cultural elements, such as language, food preparation and clothing styles. See especially John Thornton’s book: *Africa and Africans in the Formation of the Atlantic World, 1400 – 1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹⁷⁶ Northwestern University Settlement Association Clubs and Classes Attendance and Registration Cards, Northwestern University Settlement Attendance Records, 1895 – 1905, Addition, Folder 1, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL. The original essay that forms the basis of this chapter also included analysis of Greenwich House (New York City).

¹⁷⁷ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), March 1917. April and May 1917. Box 7, Folder 36; Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), March 1918 Attendance Report. Box 7, Folder 37.

Folk dance as encouraged and performed in the classes of the settlement houses removed the dances from their previous contexts and resituated them in urban, multi-ethnic, industrial contexts. Immigrants danced in the Old World for a variety of reasons, among them celebration, harvest, and socialization. However, the term *folk dance* in the settlement houses increasingly encompassed a group of dances that promoted healthy activity, a kind of “jollity and bracing exercise” for young girls and women.¹⁷⁹ Though ethnic clubs continued to practice and perform dances, the classes greatly outnumbered the clubs by the 1920s.¹⁸⁰

Classes in folk dance did exist in the settlement houses prior to World War I, though they did not reach the height of their popularity until the early 1920s. By the time folk dancing classes gained traction in the settlement houses a new generation of Americans had come of age. Settlement workers presented folk dance in ways to mold children into proper Americans; therefore, the rise of the classes changed the perception of folk for youth more than the older generations. Due to their allegiance to progressivism (and its flexible terminology and approaches), and its association with higher education, folk dance as presented in social settlements proved comparable across the houses regardless of differences in location, population, and organization. Though the neighborhood populations surrounding each house changed, in some cases several

¹⁷⁸ There exists far less documentation on the foreign clubs/nights in the settlement houses than for the classes. This may be due to the minimal involvement of the settlement workers in these groups, as the organization and composition of these meetings were left up to the immigrants.

¹⁷⁹ Addams, *The Jane Addams Reader*, 181.

¹⁸⁰ Examination of the recirculation of folk practices among American and European practitioners extends beyond the scope of this dissertation; however, see Daniel Walkowitz’s *City Folk: English Country Dance and the Politics of the Folk in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), for an example of how folk dance practices change over time in relationship to place and politics.

times between 1890 and 1940, the approaches to presenting folk dance demonstrated stability. Examination of when folk dance appeared as a class in the settlements, who taught and took the classes in each of the settlement houses, and the reasons for including folk dance reveals the emergence of this physical practice as rooted in nostalgia that expressed and enacted American middle-class ideals of proper physical behavior as “American.”

Hull-House first listed folk dance in 1910 as part of the “Children’s Dancing Classes” taught by Edith Nancrede. Two classes, one for boys and girls six to ten years of age and the other for boys and girls ten to sixteen years of age, incorporated folk dancing. The older group also learned “the beginnings of conventional dancing.”¹⁸¹ By 1921, four folk dancing classes appeared on the schedule: one for older girls, two for boys and girls, and one for “babies” aged five to eight. In addition to Nancrede, Hull-House pulled instructors from the Recreation Training School of Chicago, which for a time operated out of Hull-House. According to the class description, the students “are very eager for the stories and historic background which inheres in all carefully taught folk-dancing.”¹⁸² The folk dancing classes continued in these formats throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Without the benefit of more detailed registration and attendance records, it proves difficult to ascertain to what degree boys did or did not participate in

¹⁸¹ Hull House collection, Hull-House Yearbook 1910, Box 43, Folder 435, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago. Though this is the first instance of folk dancing as part of a class description, Hull-House had offered “Dancing Classes” since at least 1897. From around 1899 to 1908, Mary Wood Hinman taught these classes, which may have also included folk dancing. Edith Nancrede taught at Hull-House until her death in 1936.

¹⁸² Hull House collection, Hull-House Yearbook 1921, Box 44, Folder 438, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

the folk dancing classes at Hull-House; however, information from other settlements supports that boys likely participated in folk dancing classes in small numbers, if at all.

At Northwestern University Settlement, the Girls' Department offered folk dancing classes by 1920.¹⁸³ In June 1924, *The Neighbor* announced "A New Club" intended for young women over the age of seventeen. It met on Friday evenings and, "has for its purpose the learning of the various national dances and it is directed by a *trained* instructor, Miss Julia Kloss."¹⁸⁴ Until 1927, general schedules distributed near the beginning of fall registration only listed folk dancing for girls; between 1927 and 1940, though, the Boys' Department also included folk dancing among its classes for boys aged nine to twenty-one. However, until Vytautas Beliajus began teaching at Northwestern University Settlement in 1937, any accounts of folk dancing belong exclusively to girls and young women, and, in fact, more detailed schedules of the Girls' and Boys' Departments only show folk dancing as a girls' class. Folk dancing also comprised part of the gymnasium work for girls.¹⁸⁵

Chicago Commons, like Hull-House and Northwestern University Settlement, also incorporated folk dancing into a general "Dancing Class" and its gymnasium work, as early as 1911.¹⁸⁶ Folk dance continued through the Girls' Work until at least 1924,

¹⁸³ *The Neighbor*, Northwestern University Settlement's self-published newspaper and the primary source for information about classes in the settlement, did not publish between 1903 and 1918, when it began again primarily to disseminate news about the neighborhood's members of the military during and after World War I. Therefore, it proves difficult to discern whether folk dancing classes appeared much earlier than 1920.

¹⁸⁴ "A New Club," *Neighbor* June 21, 1924. Emphases mine.

¹⁸⁵ "Doings With the Girls," *Neighbor* (Chicago), January 16, 1932.

though no evidence of who taught the classes exists.¹⁸⁷ In 1936, workers organized three folk dancing classes for Junior Boys and Girls, aged nine to twelve years old, but no records show who actually participated in the classes. However, descriptions of the dancing at Chicago Commons claimed that, “the rhythm of folk dancing is enjoyed by several groups of children or adolescents each week.”¹⁸⁸

The records from Gads Hill Center offer the most complete image of folk dance in the settlement houses through its collection of data on worker-led clubs and classes from 1920 through 1933. Materials include reports by group leaders that show the average ages, purposes, favorite activities and, occasionally, the names and nationalities of participants. All groups identifying folk dancing as either the primary or a favored activity, belonged to girls or young women, led by women.¹⁸⁹ A “Children’s Folk Game Hour” in 1915 also likely incorporated some basic folk dances as demonstrated by a remark by Ruth Austin in her July report of that same year: “Dramatics and dancing classes [are offered] for boys and girls, where a taste for good literature and clean, wholesome folk dancing may be developed to off set the ‘movies’ and the dance halls

¹⁸⁶ Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1894-1911, Box 55, Folder 2421, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁸⁷ Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1894-1919, Box 56, Folder 2430, The Newberry Library, Chicago; Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1924, Box 56, Folder 2435, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁸⁸ Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1936, Box 57, Folder 2448, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁸⁹ Between 1920 and 1933, leaders of the those clubs and classes who incorporated folk dance were (in chronological order): Mary R. Titus, Helen Goodrich, Frances Caldwell, Anna Zaloha, Marian Wilder, Elizabeth Schenck, Francis Fischer (the only possible man), Ida Levin (who wrote books on folk dance, especially American square dances in the 1920s), Doris Ewell, Anne Smith, Stella Schumacher, Helen Bicknell, Charlotte Hall, Anne Gordon, and Ada Baker. Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Box 2, Folders 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; Box 3, Folder 15. Club Data Records for 1908-1919 and 1934-1940 proved far thinner than 1920-1933.

where boys and girls get only unnatural and abnormal pleasure.”¹⁹⁰ Beginning in 1916 Gads Hill Center offered girls’ gym and folk dancing. Intermittently between 1917 and 1920, folk dancing appeared as a class for boys under the age of fourteen. Between 1920 and 1933 the girls clubs and classes ranged in age from eight to eighteen, and group registration averaged in the twenties. Most of the dances listed as taught hailed from Denmark and Sweden, with a smattering from England and the occasional American Virginia Reel. However, the nationalities listed for participants, in those years recorded, indicate that nearly all the students identified as Polish.¹⁹¹

Unlike the settlements established in the late nineteenth century, evidence from Park House does not suggest that they encouraged or facilitated ethnic groups or gatherings. Though possibly due to its later founding in 1934, the lack of ethnic-specific organizations links to the composition of the neighborhood and the nature of its “experiment.” Nevertheless, Park House did embrace folk dance as part of its program because it offered, “a means of social and individual expression.”¹⁹² By December 1934, just two months after opening, the Saturday Folk Dancing Class enjoyed increased popularity to the point that it had risen to a weekly, rather than bi-monthly activity. German-born Paul Dunsing led the class by 1936.¹⁹³

¹⁹⁰ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), July 1915 Report. Box 7, Folder 31.

¹⁹¹ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Box 2, Folder 12; Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Box 2, Folder 1.

¹⁹² Park House. Records, Report of the Director of Park House for November 1934, Box 2, Folder 13, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

¹⁹³ Park House. Records, Letter to Mr. Anker Jensen from J.B. Nobel dated April 1, 1936, Box 1, Folder 14. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library; Park House. Records, Report of

A survey of Park House participants reveals demographic differences of folk dance practitioners from the other settlements. Of the forty-seven questioned, nineteen included folk dancing in their responses: eleven women and eight men.¹⁹⁴ In addition to a relative gender balance, the respondents were much older than the participants of the average settlement house folk dancing class. The women ranged in age from twenty to thirty-five, while the men skewed slightly younger at twenty-one to thirty. The ethnic composition also differed from that of other social settlements. Seventeen identified themselves as American or as a hyphenated American. One person claimed German heritage and another Swedish. Despite the contrast in participants' ages and ethnicities, the presence of folk dance at Park House in the mid to late 1930s marks it as an American activity, drawn from the legacies of the Progressive Era social settlements.

The codification of American dance teachers' training through colleges and universities, as addressed in detail in Chapter 2, gave the middle class the tools to teach new Americans through social settlements and to perpetuate the character of Americanized folk dance. Once immigrants left their homelands, and especially with the onset of World War I and the subsequent legislation of 1921 and 1924 that severely limited immigration, immigrants no longer directly contributed to nor received the influence of their native dances, which remained fluid in their absence. Instruction of European folk dances in America flattened the dynamism in the clubs but particularly in the classes. The practice of training teachers to teach folk dance privileged certain

the Director of Park House for November 1934, Box 2, Folder 13, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

¹⁹⁴ Others referred to "dancing," which could have meant folk dancing; however, I only included those responses that specifically listed folk dancing.

regions and often “national” dances. Dances, like language dialects, varied among countries, regions within countries, and sometimes among tiny villages within the regions. Folk dancing classes and clubs led by native-born American women did not reflect these nuances.

Immigrants did not teach their native dances in the settlement house classes; instead, trained teachers – usually young, upper- and middle-class women – determined what dances to teach, as well as how to teach them. Though opportunity for exchange among middle-class teachers and immigrants existed, the extent to which it occurred remains unclear. In an article on folk dance in New York City, Linda Tomko explains that the predominance of women as instructors and the higher numbers of girls taking dance classes fostered the feminization of folk dance. Absence of boys from folk dancing classes also further altered the traditional practice and intention of folk dances since classes offered primarily through Girls’ Departments suggests that girls either learned girls-only dances or only the girls’ roles within the dances.¹⁹⁵ As Tomko notes, folk dance provided a noncompetitive physical activity for young girls and women that complemented the rise of athletics among young men, which further encouraged a feminization of folk dance specifically and engendered the growing dominance of women in dance generally.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Linda Tomko, “*Fete Accompli*: Gender, ‘Folk-Dance,’ and Progressive-Era Political Ideals in New York City,” in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster, (London: Routledge, 1996), 169. Tomko’s investigation of the Girls’ Branch in New York City suggests that instructors focused on the girls’ parts in folk dances only. However evidence in folk dance manuals suggests that girls and women may have learned men’s and women’s parts. For more on gender in relationship to Americanized folk dance practices, see Chapter 4.

Regardless of the female dominance of dancing and teaching dance, by the 1930s, male folk dance instructors had achieved increased prevalence, most often within the settlement houses. Typically the male folk dance instructors who immigrated to the United States more likely had a performing folk dance company for which they provided the name, face, and expertise. Three men in particular left impressions in the social settlements in Chicago as folk dance teachers: Vytautas Beliajus, Viggo Bovbjerg, and Paul Dunsing. They lent authority and at least the perception of authenticity to settlement folk dancing classes.

Settlements often cited the instructors' nationalities as sources for their knowledge of folk dance. Their European nativity provided a verification of authority not offered to female folk dance leaders, though male folk dance instructors in no way approached supplanting females overall. For instance, while teaching at Park House, head resident James B. Nobel described the German-born Dunsing's qualifications as reliant on his origins: "He participated in the German Youth Movement following the war, and actively witnessed the revival of folk dances. Consequently he knows the dances thoroughly and at first hand. More than that his foreign culture has enabled him to grasp at once the significance of this enterprise."¹⁹⁷ Similarly, Beliajus taught at Northwestern University Settlement beginning in 1937, and Danish-born Bovbjerg taught throughout Chicago. Beliajus immigrated to Chicago at the age of fifteen from

¹⁹⁶ Tomko, "*Fete Accompli*," 171. Of the New York City Girls' Branch park fetes, Tomko writes, "[F]etes were structured to assert female presence without dissolving into male modalities. Thus, as the culminating event of a year's work, park fetes were structured as celebrations rather than competitions. This was in decided contrast to boys' work, which featured competitive athletics as early as 1903."

¹⁹⁷ Park House. Records, Report for the Director of Park House for November 1934, Box 2, Folder 13, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

Lithuania. In addition to working in settlements, he founded the folk dance magazine *Viltis* (“hope” in Lithuanian), which remained in print publication until his death in 1994.¹⁹⁸ Of the three, Bovbjerg proved most involved with settlement work and education in Chicago more generally. Between 1914 and 1940, Bovbjerg taught in both higher education and social settlements, including Hull-House, Gads Hill Center, the Recreation Training School of Chicago, Columbia College, and the National College of Education. He gave courses in Manual Training, Danish Gymnastics, Athletics, and Playground Techniques in addition to classes on folk dance. Prior to his work in Chicago, he trained at the Denmark State Normal School and the School of Physical Education in Copenhagen, Denmark. In an article titled “Develop Mind and Body in Harmony” that appeared in the National College of Education’s student newspaper *Chaff*, Bovbjerg briefly explained the benefits of Danish physical education programs: “Danish gymnastics, play and dance are known all over the world as being based upon sound principles to promote a harmonious and supple body and will readily respond to demands.”¹⁹⁹ Bovbjerg’s nationality and training particular to his home country thus appealed to colleges and universities. As noted in Chapter 2, the German and Danish

¹⁹⁸ Mirjana Lausevic, *Balkan Fascination: Creating an Alternative Music Culture in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 144-9.

¹⁹⁹ “Develop Mind and Body in Harmony,” *Chaff* (Chicago), December 1932; Gads Hill Center records. (Chicago History Museum), January 1915 Report, Box 7, Folder 31. Gads Hill Center records (Chicago Historical Museum) Box 8, Folder 40. Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Box 8, Folder 42; National College of Education Catalog, 1929 – 1940, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago; “Mr. Bovbjerg Introduces Himself,” *Chaff*, January 4, 1930. Columbia College Chicago, “1915 – 1916 Course Catalog” (1915). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 4. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/4; Neva Leona Boyd papers, Training for Group Leadership and Recreation 1920, Box 1-SI, Folder 5, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

folk dance traditions had already met with acceptance in the United States because of their associations with earlier exercise systems from Germany and Denmark, which accounts for the popularity of native-born German and Danish, respectively, male folk dance instructors Dunsing and Bovbjerg and the positioning of them as experts.

However, men's presence and circulation as (paid) performers further corroborated their expertise in ways unavailable to American – or foreign-born – women.²⁰⁰ Paul Dunsing, for example, organized a performing troupe that specialized in German, Swedish, and Dutch dances and music. With his wife, Gretel, and a small group of other man-woman couples, they gave presentations for schools, clubs, and private social functions.²⁰¹ They intended the group to, “give a glimpse into the wide world, and at the same time to encourage people at home to take an active part in the music and dance of the people of various nations.”²⁰² However, their brochure only provides detailed information on Paul Dunsing's artistic achievements, and not Gretel Dunsing's, though he credits his wife “for the success of his work.”²⁰³ Beliajus also had a performance group, often comprised by drawing dancers from the settlements. He

²⁰⁰ I have found no evidence of women from other countries teaching folk dance in Chicago settlements, though Neva Boyd sometimes collaborated with native-born female folk dancers from other countries for her folk dance manuals. See *Old English and American Games for School and Playground* (Chicago: Recreation Department Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 1915) and *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia for School, Playground and Social Center* (Chicago: Saul Brothers Publishers, 1917). Research and training persisted as the ways for women to gain credence and legibility as teachers.

²⁰¹ Park House. Records, Paul Dunsing Brochure with handwritten date 1939, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²⁰² Park House. Records, Paul Dunsing Brochure with handwritten date 1939, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²⁰³ Park House. Records, Paul Dunsing Brochure with handwritten date 1939, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

coordinated the Polish Folk Festival Players at Northwestern University Settlement, who performed in Polish neighborhoods throughout Chicago, as well as other venues, and also ran the Lithuanian Youth Society Folk Dancers.²⁰⁴

Despite the importance assigned to their nativity in support of their expertise, Beliajus, Bovbjerg, and Dunsing all taught dances from outside of their home countries. As already mentioned, Dunsing's performing group included Swedish and Dutch dances in their repertoire. At Northwestern University Settlement, Beliajus taught the Polish Krakowiak, Tango, Swedish, Bohemian, and Russian dances, American square dance, and the Scottish Highland Fling.²⁰⁵ Therefore, even with their authority as native-born European men, the stability of folk dancing programs in social settlements persisted.

It remains unclear whether the hiring of men as folk dance instructors attracted, or if it intended to, greater numbers of male students, female students, or both. Because women already often learned both men's and women's roles in the dances, they did not necessarily require a male teacher for that purpose. The only evidence of men's participation in folk dance classes taught by a native-born European man occurred late in the period examined here at Northwestern University Settlement and Park House. A blurb on a folk dancing class in *The Neighbor* notes that both, "young men and young women are quite adept at performing the difficult and intricate steps found in folk dances

²⁰⁴ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, *Those Fifty Years: A Brief Story of Northwestern University Settlement Association For Its Organizers, Supporters, Workers and Friends*, December 31, 1940, Box 43, Folder 14, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL; Park House. Records, Chicago Park District and Division of Recreation, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²⁰⁵ "Folk Dance of Other Lands Give Pleasure," *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 6, 1939; "Folk Dancing," *Neighbor* (Chicago), November 9, 1940.

of all nations,” acknowledging men’s presence, which rarely appears in notices on folk dance.²⁰⁶ The relative gender parity in the folk dancing classes led by Paul Dunsing at Park House, as indicated by the survey on participants, may suggest that he drew in more male students. In both cases, only the numbers of young men appear to have grown, rather than those of boys. Another possible explanation for the, still seldom, mentions of men in folk dancing classes involves a generational shift in relation to heritage and culture. By 1940 the dancers participating in folk dance classes, likely second- and third-generation Americans, possibly had a desire to learn about their ethnic roots instead of rejecting them. Nothing explicitly states that settlement leadership employed men folk dance instructors with the intent of increasing the numbers of boys and men in folk dancing classes.

Reasons for the inclusion of folk dancing in settlement programs resemble higher education with some subtle differences. For instance, settlement leadership promoted folk dance as a healthy activity, but also one that could help instill correct ideas concerning social dancing.²⁰⁷ They also viewed folk dance as appropriate recreation, though instead of providing balance to the work of a life of the mind, it could help counter the sedentary, repetitive factory labor with play, as presented by Hull-House: “Recreational work, especially folk dancing and games, is brought into almost every occupational group of girls in the settlement, so that they will have a balance of work

²⁰⁶ “Folk Dancing,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), November 9, 1940.

²⁰⁷ Hull House collection, Hull-House Yearbook 1910, Box 43, Folder 435, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

and play.”²⁰⁸ Within the context of the settlement house, folk dance also offered a mode of learning or retaining cultural heritage. Northwestern University Settlement appealed to prospective dancers by invoking the past, suggesting that, “If you shuld [sic] like to learn folk dances of your ancestral country and those of all foreign lands and of America join one of our three Folk Dancing Classes.”²⁰⁹ While enjoying some much-needed recreation and learning one’s ancestral dances, participants also absorbed the tenets of American deportment promoted by settlement leadership, including discipline of the body, space between bodies, and verticality, as described earlier in the chapter.

Ideas about folk dance and the social settlement movement circulated not only between the settlement houses but also through colleges and universities. Besides the sponsorship and affiliations present at the founding of some settlements, students could gain familiarity with the settlement movement through special lectures, visits to the houses, and the incorporation of social work training schools into universities. Schools without direct affiliations with settlements, such as Columbia College and Chicago Normal College, most commonly held lectures. For example, Columbia College invited Graham Taylor to speak during the 1915-16 school year; Chicago Normal College hosted Jane Addams, Graham Taylor, Harriet Vittum, Mary McDowell, and Neva Boyd, some of them multiple times, between 1920 and 1926.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1894, Box 56, Folder 2430. The Newberry Library, Chicago.

²⁰⁹ “Folk Dancing,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), January 26, 1929.

Visits and experience working in the houses also facilitated exchanges between settlements and higher education. During its summer sessions, Columbia College treated students to, “Supervised trips [which] include investigation of some of the leading settlements in Chicago, notably Hull House and Chicago Commons, with a glimpse of the ghetto.”²¹¹ Beyond visiting, some worked in the settlements. In 1917 students from the Senior Oratory and Junior Physical Education classes at Northwestern University worked at Northwestern University Settlement and Chicago Commons, instructing classes in “story-telling, dramatics, table games, and folk and aesthetic dancing.”²¹² Professor Gordon McNicol, a colleague of Neva Boyd’s in the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University, helped to organize student volunteers for Northwestern University Settlement in the 1930s. For example, twenty-five students earned credit towards their degrees for their work in the fall of 1930; in the spring of 1931 the emphasis on the work shifted from teaching clubs and classes to surveys and analyses of the neighborhood.²¹³ Also in 1931, Northwestern University Settlement and Northwestern University reinstated the “Northwestern Fellow,” who resided at the

²¹⁰ Columbia College Chicago, “1915-1916 Course Catalog” (1915). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 4. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/4; Chicago Normal College Catalogs, 1920-1921, 1921-1922, 1924-1925, 1925-1926, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

²¹¹ Columbia College Chicago, “1923 Summer Course Catalog” (1923). *Course Catalogs*. Paper 9. http://digitalcommons.colum.edu/cadc_coursecatalogs/9. The same blurb appeared in the Summer Session Announcements for 1925 and 1929.

²¹² “Northwestern Settlement Begins Work in Chicago,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), October 12, 1917.

²¹³ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, Sociology Student, November 1930, Student Volunteers March 1931, Box 45, Folder 11, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

settlement and shared the experience with fellow students on campus.²¹⁴ Interactions between settlement houses and higher education introduced potential social workers to the neighborhoods and the techniques used to improve them.

In addition to settlement leadership lecturing, facilitating visits, and accommodating student workers, some established training schools for social workers. The development of the schools sometimes resulted in sustained collaboration through their incorporation into universities. Two instances occurred in Graham Taylor's Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy and Neva Boyd's Recreation Training School of Chicago. Though with different emphases, each school ultimately provided practical training specifically to students who intended to pursue careers in social service by working in tandem with sociology departments at the University of Chicago, in Taylor's case, and Northwestern University, in Boyd's.

The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, an outgrowth of Taylor's work in Chicago Commons, began its association with the University of Chicago in 1908.²¹⁵ In 1920 Taylor's school fully merged with the University of Chicago's Philanthropic Division as the School of Social Service Administration. Before offering degrees, the program issued certificates for completion of a series of courses. After the absorption into the university, it became a fully-fledged graduate school, on equal terms with the University of Chicago's medical and law schools. The Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy followed the larger national trend towards specialization,

²¹⁴ "Northwestern University," *Neighbor* (Chicago), October 24, 1931.

²¹⁵ The school existed previously as the Institute of Social Science and Arts (1904-1905) and the Chicago Institute of Social Science (1905 – 1907).

professionalization, and standardization of academic disciplines and careers. Beyond the theoretical underpinnings often viewed as the purview of higher education, the school balanced, “a general knowledge for intelligent interest and participation in whatever promotes the welfare of the community, but also to offer a more technical preparation for professional and volunteer service in specific line of organized effort.”²¹⁶ Early on settlement leadership lamented the lack of people skilled in social work. As Taylor explained, “Those who have been longest and most directly at work among the people have always felt the force of two facts. One is the lack of trained helpers . . . The other is the unfailing supply of people capable of training and, when trained, of high efficiency.”²¹⁷ Taylor’s school succeeded in its mission to provide trained helpers prepared for social settlement work; by 1911 it had enrolled 929 students.²¹⁸

Like the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, the Recreation Training School of Chicago evolved out of the settlement movement. Neva Boyd founded the school in 1911 and aimed to, “equip workers to bring under scientific direction the aesthetic and creative impulse and the urge for primary group experience and to make them developmental and remedial in the leisure time pursuits of children, adolescents and adults.”²¹⁹ Boyd steered clear of, “academic analysis of group life as expressed in

²¹⁶ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1904-1905*, 212, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²¹⁷ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1903-1904*, 245, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

²¹⁸ Graham Taylor Papers, Chicago Commons Program 1894-1911, Box 55, Folder 2421, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

play and recreation,” and instead promoted, “an equipment of technique, which gives the students a working knowledge of those play activities through which youth finds developmental expression,” similar to the normal school training programs at the National College of Education and Chicago Normal College.²²⁰ Between 1914 and 1920 the school operated as part of Taylor’s Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, but separated into an independent entity once again with Taylor’s school’s merger with University of Chicago. From 1920 through 1927 the Recreation Training School of Chicago ran privately out of Hull-House. Boyd cited the years at Hull-House as the most conducive to developing a curriculum appropriate and necessary to training recreation workers; regardless, in 1927, Boyd agreed to the incorporation of her school with the sociology department at Northwestern University.²²¹ From 1927 to 1940, the program enrolled 301 students, 254 of them female.²²² Though Boyd lamented the loss of, “the freedom and informality we enjoyed at Hull-House,” the association with Northwestern, as in the case of Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, provided financial security and stability that remaining private and independent did not.²²³ The Recreation Training

²¹⁹ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Training for Group Leadership and Recreation 1920, Box 1-SI, Folder 4, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²⁰ Hull House collection, Hull-House Yearbook 1925, Box 44, Folder 439, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²¹ Neva Leona Boyd papers, History of the Recreation Training School of Chicago, Box 14, Folder 308, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²² Neva Leona Boyd papers, Northwestern University Sociology Department Group Work and Recreation Division 1942-1943, Box 14, Folder 305, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²³ Boyd continued, “[B]ut let us dry our tears with the comforting picture of a monthly check that we haven’t had to scramble to provide, with the fact that the whole office routine is fading out of my program.” In the move, the program lost Viggo Bovbjerg, who transitioned into a full-time position at the

School program at Northwestern University had dissipated by 1945, in the years following Boyd's retirement in 1941; however, the School of Social Service Administration at the University of Chicago continues today.

As in colleges and universities, settlement workers exercised positions of power in determining the kinds of folk dances chosen for dance education. Settlement workers also believed in the inherent health and goodness of folk dance. The absence of boys from the classes eliminated the physical connections that reformers feared would disintegrate into immoral behavior, which dovetails with the progressive goal of social improvement. However, instruction by the middle class in the dances chosen by the middle class reinforced the middle-class agenda and imposed middle-class ideas of health and morality onto immigrants.²²⁴

Folk dancing in the settlement houses showed no signs of abating in 1940. By then, folk dancing appeared in gymnasium activities, general dancing classes, its own classes, and ethnic clubs. Folk dance in the settlement houses before 1940 focused on Northern and Western European folk dance as a mode of exercise, expression of American ideals of propriety in physical behavior, and as a way to teach and create balance in the arduous work life experienced by many young women who lived in the neighborhood. Female social settlement leaders attempted to educate and regulate

National College of Education around this time. Neva Leona Boyd papers, Newsletter for Alumni of Recreation Training School of Chicago dated April 1927, Box 1-SI, Folder 5, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²⁴ Jane Desmond suggests that people may develop "body bilingualism" in much the same way that one adopts another language. This may have been the process at work with folk dance in the settlement house. See Desmond's chapter "Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Studies," in *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance*, ed. Jane C. Desmond, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 29-54.

immigrant behavior through folk dance. Conversely, immigrants did not passively accept the direction of settlement leadership; rather, they both adapted their folk practices through ethnic clubs and allowed youth to participate in the Americanized versions of folk dance. Now part of “normal recreational activities,” folk dancing followed two distinct though complementary trajectories in the settlement houses, illustrating the desire to simultaneously Americanize and maintain Old World traditions by both immigrants and settlement workers. Through settlement houses and higher education, female social settlement leaders and workers circulated middle-class ideals concerning proper embodied behavior, including the proximity of bodies, the position of bodies, and the permissible movements of bodies. Common practices and approaches developed through the repetition of similar training programs, shared curricula, and the network of settlement houses and higher education in Chicago.

CHAPTER IV

COLLECTING AND SELECTING: FOLK DANCE MANUALS

Like contemporary concerns over the fitness of school-aged children, many progressives feared that increasingly sedentary lifestyles would render future generations unfit to sustain the United States as a player on the world stage. In the expansion of the public education system implemented by progressives in the early twentieth century, schools taught not only the “3 Rs” but also took responsibility for the physical education of its students. In *Old English and American Games* (1915), one of her earliest folk dance tracts, Neva Boyd composed a note to teachers that implored them to carefully consider the manner in which they taught folk games and dances to children. She intimated concern over changes made by instructors, which might diminish their educational and social values. Boyd also expressed her belief in the power of folk games and dances to engender universalist, humanist sentiments, declaring that, “It does not seem possible to overemphasize the educational value of these simple old games which melt away both national and social differences and help children find that common bond, the expression of world-old emotions and social relationships.”²²⁵ Progressive educational methods, addressed in Chapter 1, emphasized the experimental yet scientific as well as the professionalization of teaching. The reliance of folk dance instructors on folk dance manuals and their processes, organization, content, and guidance offered

²²⁵ Florence Brown and Neva L. Boyd, *Old English and American Games for School and Playground* (Chicago: Recreation Department Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 1915), 4.

through the texts exemplified the attempts at accuracy and authenticity in documenting a physical practice that accompanied the rise of anthropology and other social sciences.

Folk dance manuals, when considered as a genre, offered the primary sources of information for the teaching of folk dance during the Progressive Era and interwar period in Chicago. In addition to providing ways to interrogate assumptions of authorship and authenticity, the manuals, many “collected and selected” by women, contributed to an Americanized amalgamation of folk dance that privileged the idyllic – simplicity, joy, rural, agricultural – ideals that folk dance proponents then layered onto female bodies. Presentation of women as among the leading compliers of folk dance manuals demonstrates their prominence as the promoters who facilitated the circulation of a set of Americanized folk-dance practices. Examination of the methods of collecting material and some of the reasons behind selecting the dances highlights how prevailing racial concepts and the privileging of Northern and Western European dances persisted through the 1930s. Finally, close scrutiny of the content of the manuals explains some of the motivations and limitations of the cultural pluralism of folk dance advocates.

Analysis builds on work by Linda Tomko, Daniel Walkowitz, Mirjana Lausivic, Anthony Shay, and Selma Odom concerning gender, folk dance, and the matrix of relationships of education, urbanization, and immigration in Progressive Era Chicago.

Folk dance proponents, including Neva Boyd, Elizabeth Burchenal, Caroline Crawford, and Mary Wood Hinman produced the preponderance of folk dance manuals that proliferated in urban centers such as Chicago in the early twentieth century. As first discussed in Chapter 2, Boyd, Crawford, and Hinman all worked in Chicago at some

point in their careers. Boyd worked in the social settlements, including Hull-House and Gads Hill Center. She also established the Recreation Training School, absorbed by the Department of Sociology at Northwestern University in 1927, where she served as a professor until her retirement in 1941. Crawford taught at both the University of Chicago and the National College of Education. Hinman taught at Hull-House and the University of Chicago in addition to founding the Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing in 1904. Most of the women carefully sidestepped the assignation of “author” and instead labeled themselves alternately as collectors, selectors, editors, compilers, or translators of folk dance manuals. Sometimes they changed their designations from one book to another. For example, in *Folk-Dances of Denmark* (1915), Burchenal “Selected, Edited and Translated” the text, whereas she “Translated and Edited” *Folk-Dances of Finland* (1915). For *American Country-Dances Volume I* (1918) Burchenal merely “Edited,” and she “Collected and Described” the dances in *Folk-Dances From Old Homelands* (1922).²²⁶ In keeping with the titles they chose, in addition to the contention that the proponents did not in fact compose the songs, games, and dances, I refer to them throughout as collectors, selectors, editors, translators, and, most frequently, as compilers.

²²⁶ *Folk-Dances of Denmark Containing Seventy-Three Dances*. Selected, Edited and Translated by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915); *Folk-Dances of Finland Containing Sixty-Five Dances*. Translated and Edited by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, 1915); *American Country-Dances, Volume I, Twenty-Eight Contra-Dances Largely From the New England States*. Edited by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York and Boston: G. Schirmer, 1918); and *Folk-Dances of Old Homelands. A Third Volume of Folk-Dances and Singing Games Containing Thirty-three Folk-Dances From Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, England, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden and the United States*. Collected and Described by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, 1922).

Collectors and selectors valued and recognized the authorship of folk as located “in the people,” and some noted the preference for the inability to determine a singular origin for folk dances. In the introduction to *Treasures From Abroad: Joyous Folk Dances from Other Lands* (1932), a compilation taken from the books of Elizabeth Burchenal, Mary Wood Hinman, and Neva Boyd, among others, Chester L. Bower explains the desirability of a lack of single authorship in matters of the folk: “It is very seldom that we can know the composer of a folk tune or the inventor of a folk game. Indeed many people believe that if an author is found the game ceases to be a folk game. Folk songs and games simply grow out of the experience of the common people.”²²⁷ Neither did most of the compilers see themselves as choreographers, nor as creating something new. Rather, they aimed to rekindle a relationship to an imagined past.²²⁸

The research for their projects involved travel to the regions from which they hoped to learn the dances and/or associate with natives. For example, dance historian Selma Odom explains that for her widely-distributed five-volume series of gymnastic and folk dances, Mary Wood Hinman began traveling the world in 1906, first to Sweden, where she studied at the Royal College at Naas. Hinman then acquired dances from Ireland, England, Russia, France, Sicily, Switzerland, Germany, Hungary, the Middle

²²⁷ Dora Nelson Collection, 1917 – 1941. Box 1, Folder 13. *Treasures From Abroad: Joyous Folk Dances*, 1932, 1. University of Illinois at Chicago.

²²⁸ Anthea Kraut’s conceptualization of the folk in *Choreographing the Folk* as a constructed category based on stereotypes, including collectivity and modern nostalgia, proves useful when considering these female collectors and selectors of folk dance because it incorporates nostalgia as a driving element of the folk. They differ, however, from Kraut’s examination of Zora Neale Hurston in their racialized position of power. While women certainly did not wield unlimited power in higher education or the publishing world, their situation as native-born, white, middle- and upper-class women imbued them with greater authority, particularly in matters concerning children and their welfare. Anthea Kraut, *Choreographing the Folk: The Dance Stagings of Zora Neale Hurston* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 20-21.

and Far East, and Central and South America.²²⁹ Luther Gulick, himself a compiler and proponent of the physical education movement, vetted Burchenal's research for *Folk-Dances and Singing Games* (1909). He claimed that she learned the dances first hand "from groups of people whom she discovered in this country [the United States] and whose traditions she resurrected," in addition to learning dances as she traveled abroad, "where she has seen the dances performed in their original setting."²³⁰ Research through travel and usually short-term immersion and corroboration with native dancers served as a seal of authenticity for the manuals, as in the preface to her second volume of *Dances of the People* (1913), Burchenal explains that she learned many dances "Through friendly intercourse with people of other countries."²³¹ However, as Linda Tomko notes about Burchenal's attempts to learn and teach the contemporary folk dance practices of Western Europe in her article "'Fait Accompli': Gender, Folk-Dance and Progressive-era Political Ideals in New York City": "The material she collected and taught seemed to make only limited reference to the originals."²³² Regardless of the accuracy of

²²⁹ Selma Landen Odom, "Sharing the Dances of Many People: The Teaching Work of Mary Wood Hinman," in *Society of Dance History Scholars Conference Proceedings*, 1987, 68. Note how the countries become less specific as they fall lower on the racial typing totem pole.

²³⁰ *Folk Dances and Singing Games. Twenty-Six Folk-Dances of Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Bohemia, Hungary, Italy, England, Scotland and Ireland With the Music and Full Directions for Performance, and Numerous Illustrations*. Arranged and Edited by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1909), Preface.

²³¹ *Dances of the People, A Second Volume of Folk-Dances and Singing Games Containing Twenty-Seven Folk-Dances of England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Switzerland*. Collected and Described by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1913), Preface.

²³² Linda J. Tomko, "'Fait Accompli': Gender, 'Folk-Dance', and Progressive-era Political Ideals in New York City," in *Corporealities: Dancing Knowledge, Culture and Power*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (New York: Routledge, 1996), 167.

Burchenal's accounts of the dances, the acts of research and documentation reinforced the perception of power and prestige of the information as presented in print.

Though she traveled extensively as well, Boyd also often worked with native dancers in the compilation of folk dance manuals. For *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden*, Boyd partnered with Viggo Bovbjerg, who she acknowledged, "for his valuable help in translating and interpreting these games, many of which he played as a child."²³³ As explained in Chapter 3, Bovbjerg, born and educated in Denmark, also worked with Boyd at her Recreation Training School, where he published his own manual of Danish folk dances in 1917. In *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia for School, Playground and Social Center* (1917), Boyd credited Miss Marie Steyskal who, "went out among the people of Moravia and with care and accuracy collected the dances."²³⁴ Florence Brown collaborated with Boyd on *Old English and American Games*, her experience validated as native since she had performed many of the dances as a child in London.²³⁵

In addition to working with individuals, some sought out corroboration from other countries' cultural heritage groups. For instance, Burchenal collaborated with the Danish Society for the Promotion of Folk-Dancing for *Folk-Dances of Denmark*, who, according to Burchenal, authorized the translation for the book. In fact, contrary to Gulick's comments about her research for other books, for this volume, "The dances

²³³ Dagny Pedersen and Neva L. Boyd, *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden* (Chicago: Saul Brothers Publishers, 1915), 3. Despite his assistance in interpretation, Bovbjerg did not receive credit as a co-compiler.

²³⁴ Anna Spacek and Neva L. Boyd, *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia for School, Playground and Social Center* (Chicago: Saul Brothers, 1917), Preface.

²³⁵ Brown and Boyd, *Old English and American Games*, 3.

contained . . . are real folk-dances of Denmark which were collected, described and published by the Danish Society for the Promotion of Folk-Dancing.”²³⁶ For *Folk Dances of Germany* (1938), one of Burchenal’s later tracts, she collected the dances through research funded by the Oberlander Trust, an organization based out of Reading, Pennsylvania, with the goal of “furthering cultural relations between American people and German-speaking peoples.”²³⁷ Affirmation of authority via nativity, as explored concerning male folk dance instructors in Chapter 3, gave an assurance of expertise and the implication of authenticity to the dances presented through the folk dance manuals.

The slightly anthropological and somewhat scientific methods employed for the folk dance manuals lent credibility to the compilations, as often verified by other experts in the opening pages of the texts. For example, in his introduction to *The Second Folk Dance Book* (1916), C. Ward Crampton, the co-compiler of Elizabeth Burchenal’s first volume of *Dances of the People*, alluded to the pretense of scientific methods to determine the “best” dances for circulation, though without any specifics of the methods. He explained that, “During the last seven years, many new forms of folk plays and dances have been collected and tested. The best have been selected and included in this collection.”²³⁸ Gulick describes Burchenal as “a skilled technical teacher of dances,” who had, “entered fully into the spirit of the dances – some of which are relatively

²³⁶ Burchenal, *Folk-Dances of Denmark*, Preface. According to Burchenal, the Danish Society for the Promotion of Folk-Dancing began in 1901 and, “was organized and the work of collecting the folk-dances, music and costumes of Denmark was begun.” Burchenal, *Folk Dances of Denmark*, Preface.

²³⁷ *Folk Dances of Germany Containing Twenty-Nine Dances and Singing Games*. Collected and Provided with Full Directions for Performance by Elizabeth Burchenal (New York: G. Schirmer, 1938), vii.

²³⁸ *The Second Folk Dance Book*. Compiled by C. Ward Crampton (New York and Chicago: A.S. Barnes Company, 1916), Introduction.

unformed and even uncouth, others highly technical in form and meaning; and has selected those dances which were most obviously fitting to American conditions.”²³⁹

Though most did not possess any research-based training or degrees, folk dance proponents relied on some semblance of scientific methodology through the collection, testing, and selecting in the compilation of their manuals; however, the rigor of their processes has proven debatable. Folk dance compilers viewed their methods not only as a way to share folk dances with wider audiences, but also as a plan to save folk dance for future generations.

Folk dance advocates often commented on (and praised themselves for) the discovery, rescue, and preservation of dances they viewed as on the verge of extinction. As Boyd phrased it, “If the contribution of beautiful folk dances, made by other nationalities to our own endure, it will be because of our integrity in preserving them from change.”²⁴⁰ She also characterized the activities of documenting and disseminating folk dances as an act of rescue, though, as already acknowledged, some European nations had their own folk dancing and other cultural heritage organizations. Boyd argued that not only Old World dances required saving, but also the dances “in our own foreign communities and Southern mountains settled by early colonists from the British

²³⁹ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, Preface.

²⁴⁰ Neva Leona Boyd papers, The Techniques of Teaching Folk Dancing, Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Isles.”²⁴¹ Bower concurs with Boyd in the introduction to *Treasures From Abroad*: “Unlike many other forms of art . . . folk songs and games have been neglected . . . It is only recently that interested persons have developed a method of discovering and writing down these games. Workers are now going to the ends of the earth collecting and putting into permanent form the folk lore of many peoples.”²⁴² The acts of discovery, rescue, and preservation required documentation and the setting down of dances in print. While admirable, the authority of inscription reinforces the association of folk dance as part of an immutable rural past. Most of the proponents who researched and published folk dances, either from abroad or within the borders of the United States, hailed from cities and circulated the dances within urban areas. In their rescue, folk dance compilers propagated the falsehood of the fixity of folk dance, and that proper, singular ways existed to perform them.²⁴³

Beginning during the Great Depression, often through Works Progress Administration programs, dances from the American past and rural areas enjoyed a resurgence and recognition as folk. The projects often cast the documentation of American folk songs and dances as requiring discovery, presumably by collectors and selectors trained to account for the notes and the steps, in order for them to survive for

²⁴¹ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Folk Dance, Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago. See Chapter 2 for more on the correlation between the foreign and the rural within the borders of the United States.

²⁴² Dora Nelson collection, *Treasures From Abroad: Joyous Folk Dances*, Box 1, Folder 13, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁴³ Assessment of how or whether this affected the dances and dancers in a remote village in Germany or in the mountains of Kentucky, for example, must wait for another researcher. However, I suspect that a spectrum of responses occurred, ranging from reliance on the new manual as a reference to outright rejection.

posterity. In the introduction to *American Folk Dances* the unnamed compiler acknowledged that American folk traditions needed saving: “Many Americans have just discovered an interesting and valuable antique – and are polishing it up for regular use. . . . Many of them [dances] have never been written down, and we can rejoice that traditional lore has strong vitality and resists for a considerable period the standardizing tendency of the machine age.”²⁴⁴

Folk dance served several purposes, according to collectors and selectors, including as a form of exercise and physical training, a kind of play with social value, an educational tool, a fun and joyful activity, and a counterpoint to modern life. From the beginning of the folk dance movement in the early twentieth century, the physical benefits of folk dancing dominated the reasons why people should folk dance. In an early guide to folk dance by C. Ward Crampton, simply titled *The Folk Dance Book* (1909), Crampton explained that folk dances, “supply a charming addition to our physical training procedure and we can expect large results from their intelligent use.”²⁴⁵ Some also touted the superiority of folk dance to provide physical benefits when compared with the formal gymnastics systems popular from the mid to late nineteenth century. Mary Wood Hinman professed her preference for folk dance most eloquently: “As a means of physical education in schools and colleges, dancing has proved itself the best expression of pure play and of the motor needs of youth. Whether one regards

²⁴⁴ Dora Nelson collection, *American Folk Dances*, Box 2, Folder 14, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁴⁵ C. Ward Crampton, *The Folk Dance Book for Elementary Schools, Class Room, Playground and Gymnasium* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1909), ix.

dancing from the physiological, psychological, or aesthetic standpoint, he is forced to admit its superiority in many respects to formal gymnastics.”²⁴⁶ Folk dance therefore offered a full-bodied engagement that required the acquisition of motor skill, and presented an alternative to drill-oriented formal gymnastics. In contrast, folk dance represented a freedom of movement (though certainly within a set of given steps) and mobility – circles and weaving instead of exercises executed in unison in straight lines – in what many considered a more “natural” form of physical training.

Many manuals stressed the naturalness of folk dance as a form of exercise. Caroline Crawford, elsewhere mentioned as an instructor at both the University of Chicago and the National College of Education, cited Professor Frederick Peterson of Columbia University (NY) in her 1908 edition of *Folk Dances and Games* concerning folk dance as the ideal exercise: “the practical use of all the muscles, the acme of pleasurable emotion, and the satisfaction of the esthetic sense. This is true of the folk dances. They are the ideal form of *natural* exercise. Moreover, they are simple, pretty and enjoyable and give body control as nothing else does.”²⁴⁷ While neither Crawford nor Peterson expound on what constitutes “natural,” this affinity for movement that uses the entire body, offers joy, and recalls a “simpler,” agricultural (and therefore pre-industrial) past, cast folk dance as somehow more natural than the circumstances under which people danced in urban, industrial areas.

²⁴⁶ Mary Wood Hinman, *Hinman Gymnastic and Folk Dancing in Five Volumes, Volume IV. Group Dances* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1926; First published 1916), 1.

²⁴⁷ Caroline Crawford, *Folk Dances and Games* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1908), iii.

Within discussions of the value of folk dance as exercise, its function as an element of play and as an activity promoting social values also frequently arose, especially from prolific folk dance collector and proponent Neva Boyd. Throughout her career, Boyd emphasized the importance of play in the development of youth, which she stressed to the many recreation workers that she trained. Boyd viewed folk dance as, “free spontaneous play of the imagination and feeling, as well as harmony and rhythm in bodily movement,” and argued that her perspective lent dance the ability to generate “warm friendly feeling,” that “continues beyond the duration of the activity.”²⁴⁸ The elements of play also bolstered the social value seen in folk dance. As Boyd notes, the ability to engage in play through folk dance afforded participants a way to learn how to interact with others. Caroline Crawford proffered one of the earliest, though non-specific, declarations that folk dance held social value beyond that of merely exercise once “studied in primitive life, and its function and relation to other factors of life were discovered.”²⁴⁹

Advocates of folk dance often presented the dances as a way to socialize young people, especially regarding proper physical interactions, in addition to offering cultural heritage education. Concerning folk dances and their social value, Burchenal explained that, “They contain so much that is basal to race development . . . that it is essentially fitting and proper that they be expected to subserve a large class of functions in our

²⁴⁸ Neva Leona Boyd papers, [Untitled], Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁴⁹ Crawford, *Folk Dances and Games*, vii.

advancing educational endeavor.”²⁵⁰ Burchenal believed that by teaching and learning folk dances, people, in particular children, absorbed the lessons of generations past. She also, as did other folk dance proponents, lamented the absence of folk dancing as a primary activity among Americans, as it diminished the transmission of embodied understanding from one generation to the next.²⁵¹ They also worried that the children of immigrants would not know their own traditions. Therefore folk dance offered a way for second- and third-generation Americans to not only remember but also help build what Burchenal called the “social composite” of the United States. She proposed that folk dance, “makes the people feel that they ‘belong,’ that they are being recognized, that the old is being used in the construction of the new.”²⁵² Her last statement identifies the core of the folk dance movement in the United States in the early twentieth century: an Americanized version of folk dance, built on this “social composite” of new and old Americans, in which selected dances from several countries represented the best ways to socialize and educate the new generations.

Beyond the social elements, folk dance provided education about history, geography, occupations, and traditions, as shown by Agnes Jones’ syllabi for folk dancing. In addition to her notes containing information about the history of the nation, geographic situation, and temperaments of people, the assignments completed by her

²⁵⁰ *Folk-Dance Music: A Collection of Seventy-Six Characteristic Dances of the People of Various Nations Adapted for use in Schools and Playgrounds for Physical Education and Play*. Selected and Compiled by Elizabeth Burchenal and C. Ward Crampton (New York: G. Schirmer, 1909), Preface.

²⁵¹ Burchenal and Crampton, *Folk-Dance Music*, Preface.

²⁵² Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, xv.

students – most often short papers on the dance and context of a particular country or region – demonstrated that Jones expected similar understanding of these facets by her students. For instructors, then, learning dancing extended beyond mere mastery of the steps. Full comprehension required context.

Some dance manuals extolled the importance of experiencing joy through folk dance. For example, Mary Wood Hinman, who began her career as an instructor and compiler of folk dances in Chicago, wrote extensively on the essential tenet of joy in folk dancing.²⁵³ She claimed that responsibility for encouraging joy in students lay with the instructor. According to Hinman, “Each pupil is entitled to joy when dancing. It is the very main-spring of the art, and unless it is present at every lesson, the teacher is misusing a great art and the pupil is being cheated.”²⁵⁴ Hinman challenged other folk dance experts by asserting that, “It is the joy that is of value and not the physical exercise,” though she agreed that folk dance held universal appeal across generations and cultures.²⁵⁵ Writing in 1940, Seymour Meyerson and Frank Johnson agreed wholeheartedly with Hinman, declaring that, “The only reason . . . for preparing this collection of dances is . . . that they are fun to do.”²⁵⁶ They alleged great success in

²⁵³ Mary Wood Hinman also founded a normal school for dance instructors; the lack of records, however, meant that it could not be included for consideration for this study. See Linda J. Tomko, *Dancing Class: Gender, Ethnicity, and Social Divides in American Dance, 1890-1920* (Bloomington, IN: Indian University Press, 1999).

²⁵⁴ Mary Wood Hinman, *Hinman Gymnastic and Folk Dancing in Five Volumes, Volume I. Solo Dances with Descriptions* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1922; First published 1916), 76.

²⁵⁵ Hinman, *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Volume IV. Group Dances*, 2.

²⁵⁶ Seymour Meyerson and Frank Johnson, *Folk-Dancing for Fun*. Dances Collected by Seymour Meyerson and Frank Johnson (Copyright Seymour Meyerson and Frank Johnson, 1940), Introduction.

teaching at Hull-House (though I have not found any evidence of them having taught there), and also with, “teachers’ unions, with groups of social workers, and with young people’s church groups.”²⁵⁷ Though Hinman embraced the fun and joy of folk dance as one of its primary purposes earlier than many, by 1940, joy as an aspect of folk dance rivaled exercise as one of the most important benefits of folk dancing.

In addition to their usefulness as exercise and as an educational tool, teachers and authors also presented folk dance as a challenge to modern, industrial life. In the preface to *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, Burchenal pronounces folk dance as a vehicle for learning, “the love of beauty and rhythm for which modern life seems to afford little opportunity.”²⁵⁸ By capturing the movements and emotions of folk dances as associated with an agricultural past, folk dance proponents confronted the mechanized, flurried circumstances of urban life. As explained in the discussion of the relationships between the social settlement movement and the dance halls in Chapter 3, folk dances also countered the “modern” social dances that threatened middle-class mores of embodied behaviors. Exercise remained an important element in the arguments for folk dance between 1890 and 1940, though throughout the period calls for attention to fun, socialization, education, and the dangers of modern life further supported the cause for folk dance. Such sentiments remained consistent in published folk dance manuals throughout at least the 1940s.

²⁵⁷ Meyerson and Johnson, *Folk-Dancing for Fun*, Special Announcement.

²⁵⁸ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, xv.

Emphasis on the inherent universality of folk dance complemented the similarities of purposes found in folk dance manuals. Folk dance, in theory, provided a common link among the many peoples inhabiting urban areas. Neva Boyd similarly stressed community consciousness through folk dance as a basis for the expression of a group of people in *Old English and American Games*: “It does not seem possible to overemphasize the educational value of these simple old games which melt[s] away both national and social differences and help children find that common bond, the expression of the world-old emotions and social relationships.”²⁵⁹ Repeatedly champions of folk dance called upon universality as an explanation for why folk dance should appeal to people regardless of age, social status, nationality, or religion. But what about folk dance lent itself to this often cited universal appeal? Like much of the language of the progressive movement, the description of the universality of folk dance proved vague and unsubstantiated, though, remarkably, fairly consistent.²⁶⁰ In addition to the term “appeal,” simplicity and comprehensibility appear as themes of the universal nature of folk dance.

Burchenal wrote extensively on the role of universality in *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation*. She claimed that, “As with all folk-art, it [folk dance] has a fundamental and human quality and simplicity that gives it a universal appeal.”²⁶¹ The

²⁵⁹ Brown and Boyd, *Old English and American Games*, 4.

²⁶⁰ See Chapter 2 for more on the “progressive ethos” as coined and described by historian John Whiteclay Chambers, II, that engendered the imprecise language of Progressivism.

²⁶¹ Elizabeth Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation: A Handbook by Elizabeth Burchenal* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1922), 1.

compilation *Folk-Dancing for Fun* by Seymour Meyerson and Frank Johnson closely echoed Burchenal's language, "Like folk arts in general, they [folk dances] are universal in their appeal."²⁶² Neva Boyd describes the process of learning dances from other groups as, "universal in their appeal and enable groups of different nationality [sic] to enjoy each others' folk-lore."²⁶³ Burchenal also addresses the transcendence of folk dance beyond the understanding of one's nationality: "The great value of these folk-games is that, having a universally appealing play element, they are adaptable for general use regardless of nationality; they are readily understood and need no 'translation' (as do songs) for common use."²⁶⁴ Their opinions suggest that folk dance proponents viewed embodied expression not only as universally comprehensible, which anyone who has visited a foreign country has likely discovered is not the case (in other words, the expectations of bodies vary from one place to another), but that people may use the body as a way to understand others.²⁶⁵ The insinuation of simplicity that often

²⁶² Meyerson and Johnson, *Folk-Dancing for Fun*, Introduction.

²⁶³ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Folk Dancing, n.d., Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁶⁴ Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation*, 11-12.

²⁶⁵ For example, during my recent stay in Qatar, a small, peninsular, predominantly Muslim country jutting into the Persian Gulf, I learned many of the nuances concerning body behaviors that pose no concern in the United States, but might insult natives of Qatar (of which there are around 250,000). Unsurprisingly, many of them deal with approaches to members of the opposite sex. For example, a woman (of any religion, race, or ethnic background) shaking hands with a native Qatari man generally meets with frowns or bewilderment – unless the man extends his hand first. Hugs, especially in public, between men and women do not occur, except by unsuspecting, or maybe transgressive, expats; holding hands or kissing also generally receive stares. Other postures of the body echo the native ideals of respect. For instance, one may cross his or her legs in thawb or abaya (the traditional dress for Qatari men and women, respectively); however, the sole of a foot or sandal should never face another person. Even this cursory review of my personal experiences abroad debunks the myth of universal comprehensibility of body behaviors. Though

appears in concert with universal appeal also proves problematic. Even if we accept that folk dance conveys the simplicity of agricultural, rural life, the dances themselves are not necessarily simple in their ease of execution, except to the extent that folk dance collectors chose dances less complicated to learn and perform. Folk dance compilers, however, fabricated simplicity.

The organization and the contents of folk dancing manuals, in addition to their use in higher education and social settlements as instructional materials, also reveal the intentions, motivations, and prejudices of their collectors and selectors. The following analysis reviews thirty-nine manuals published between 1908 and 1940, all of which appeared among course syllabi from colleges and universities or records from the social settlements examined throughout the dissertation. The texts compiled by teachers verified as having worked in the Chicago area in higher education or social settlements also appear here. While quite a comprehensive list, time has abandoned other manuals consulted but not documented, as well as some listed as sources by instructors. Aspects of the manuals investigated include authorship, notation, music, visual representations of the dances, language, qualities of movement, and the nationalities of the dances chosen to represent the folk.

Complementing the number of women teaching and promoting folk dance as an excellent exercise and educational tool, of the thirty-nine folk dance manuals analyzed, men penned six, while women composed twenty-seven. Only *Folk-Dance Music* credits

some might contend that European countries have more in common with the United States, I would argue for a closer examination, as I do not possess any experience in those places of my own.

both a man and a woman as responsible for its content – Elizabeth Burchenal and C. Ward Crampton. Five other tracts did not give any author.

The notation used throughout the manuals does not adhere to any sort of standardization.²⁶⁶ They primarily rely on prose descriptions of the steps, some offering more details while others remain rather basic. Many break down the steps to correspond with measures of the supplied music, and some include line drawings or diagrams to illustrate patterns and pathways for the dancers. For example, in *Folk Dances and Games* Caroline Crawford provides a fair amount of detail for the Swedish Bleking: “Both hop, placing the right heels forward and the right arms forward each in front of the partner’s shoulder. Hop and change to the left feet, with the left arms forward (measure one).”²⁶⁷ Some of Mary Wood Hinman’s descriptions required at least three pages, while others battled with the music for space on a single page. Burchenal typically kept her instructions brief and specific as in these for the May-Pole Dance: “1.A (Meas. 1-6.) In couples, beginning with the single circle with hands joined. 2.B (Meas. 1-2.) With four skipping steps, all advance towards the pole. (Meas. 3-4.) With four skipping steps, all move back from the pole.”²⁶⁸ While every compiler had their own tone, they all used fairly plain language rather than, for instance, ballet terminology, to explain the dance steps.

²⁶⁶ Generally speaking dance notation proves far less common, as recognized and utilized among both practicing choreographers and the general public, than that for music. Labanotation offers one model, but many, if not most, choreographers devise their own methods for capturing their work, including myself. I use a blend of prose, abbreviations of my own ilk developed over many years, and drawings to depict my choreographic work.

²⁶⁷ Crawford, *Folk Dances and Games*, 20.

²⁶⁸ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, 72.

Despite the unlikelihood of a piano providing accompaniment for folk dances in the Old World due both to its expense and immobility, all musical arrangements in the folk dance manuals specifically use the piano, implying that compilers presumed the availability of a piano, as noted by ethnomusicologist Mirjana Lausevic in *Balkan Fascination*. She also asserts that the music, true as well of the descriptions of the dances, left out any attention to style and instead focused on the melody, or in the case of the dances the steps, which, in theory, held the essence of a people's characteristics.²⁶⁹ Others, especially Hinman, recommended specific records for the dances, most commonly from Victor (of Victrola fame). Sometimes, though, compilers noted the preference for other instruments. For example in *Folk-Dance Music*, Burchenal and Crampton declared that, "Music for the Scotch dances should properly be played upon the bagpipes, as no other instrument can express the peculiar quality and rhythm of the Scotch dance-music."²⁷⁰ However, they provided only a piano score for the Scotch dances the Highland Fling and Foursome Reel. Similarly, some of the manuals focusing on American country dances praised the violin, fiddle, guitar, and banjo, or "home made" music, as the best accompaniment for the dances, but they also only provided music for piano, or no musical directions at all.²⁷¹

²⁶⁹ Mirjana Lausevic, *Balkan Fascination: Creating an Alternative Music Culture in America* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 2006), 118. See also pages 116-125 for more on folk dance music.

²⁷⁰ Burchenal and Crampton, *Folk-Dance Music*, 56.

²⁷¹ For examples, see Burchenal, *American Country-Dances Volume I; Kentucky Square Dances*. Collected and Arranged by Ida Levin (Louisville, KY: Recreation Council, 1928); and *American Folk Dances: Longways and Circle Figures from New England, Midwest, and the South Kit 49* (Delaware, OH: Cooperative Recreation Service, 1939).

In addition to music for the dances, about half of the manuals included photographs of dancers. The nature of and settings for the photos varied widely. Some showed dancers outside; others staged dancers in a studio. Overwhelmingly, the photographs in the manuals show girls and young women, usually dressed similarly. While some depicted dancers in native dress (though they may not have shared the heritages shown), most presented dancers in some sort of uniform. In *Dances of the People*, Burchenal included photos of each dance, nearly all of them of girls and young women – even for those dances described as requiring “girl/man” couples. For example, Burchenal’s photos for the Swedish dance Gustaf’s Skoal shows eight girls paired off in matching white dresses and hair bows, even though the dance calls for “four couples standing in a square set,” where the “man stands on the left.”²⁷² For the Oxdansen, a dance done “in Sweden only by men, and [which] represents a mock fight,” Burchenal portrays its performance through a series of photos of six young girls in dresses.²⁷³ Also, she presented the Russian Kamarinskaia both in line drawings of a man and a photograph of a large group of young women in a gymnasium.²⁷⁴ Could Burchenal not find any willing young men for photographs? Rather, and more likely, the girls and young women in the photos had learned the dances through her tenure with the Girls’ Branch Athletics at New York City Public Schools and demonstrate the emphasis on folk dance as an activity for girls and young women.

²⁷² Burchenal, *Dances of the People*, 56.

²⁷³ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, 26.

²⁷⁴ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, 45-50.

Most folk dance manuals included to and referred to men and boys, though they generally emphasized the benefits of folk dancing for women and girls. In *Physical Health and Recreation for Girls* (1920), Mary E. Moxcey declared that, “As exercise for the forms of rhythmic motion included under the term “dancing” are the most instinctive, the most universal, and the most enjoyed by girls.”²⁷⁵ She did not explain exactly why girls rather than boys would prefer the “rhythmic motion” of dancing; however, her inclusion of the term “instinctive” largely absolved her from further elaboration. Her assumptions underlie many of the arguments for folk dance as suitable for girls.

Men most often appeared in photographs of native groups dancing, such as those of the Yurok tribe of California in Mary Severance Shafter’s volume of *American Indian and Other Folk Dances for Schools, Pageants and Playgrounds* (1927); German people of all ages in Burchenal’s *Folk Dances of Germany*; and a Slovak couple in the frontispiece of Anna Spacek and Neva L. Boyd’s *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia*.²⁷⁶ Hinman offers the most examples of men in photographs in her five volumes of *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing*, and Burchenal included men and women together in both *Folk-Dances of Finland* and for the Scotch dances the Highland Fling and Foursome Reel, which appeared in several of her books. Sometimes women dressed

²⁷⁵ Mary E. Moxcey, *Physical Health and Recreation for Girls: A Handbook for Girls and Volunteer Leaders* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1920; Reprint 1923), 75-6.

²⁷⁶ Mary Severance Shafter, *American Indian and Other Folk Dances for Schools, Pageants and Playgrounds*. Collected by Mary Severance Shafter (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1927); Burchenal, *Folk Dances of Germany Containing Twenty-Nine Dances and Singing Games*; and Spacek and Boyd, *Folk Dances of Bohemia and Moravia*.

in men's attire, as they did in Nellie Chaplin's books, which concentrate on French and English court dances and English country dances.²⁷⁷ Regardless of the exceptions, the rule remained that girls and young women provided the visual representations for folk dancing, a particularly compelling point when compared with the language used to describe the dances.

Because folk dance proponents often waxed rhapsodic on the especial benefits of folk dancing for girls and young women, seeing their images as a reference in a folk dancing manual feels expected. However, the gendered language that punctuates the descriptions of the execution of the dances belies these professed purposes. Several iterations of heteronormative gender relations occur in the manuals, including: girl/boy, woman/man, lady/gentleman, and girl/man. A few compilers used gender-neutral terms, such as dancers, couples, partners, or designated dancers by numbers. Lady/gentleman appears most frequently in the descriptions of country dances.²⁷⁸ To further confound matters, some manuals varied their terminology within a text, from one dance to another. Most interestingly, whether or not one used the girl/man construction does not coincide with whether or not the compiler identified as a woman or a man. For instance, Neva Boyd, one of the most prolific folk dance collectors, used girl/man repeatedly in her

²⁷⁷ *Ancient Dances and Music, Six Dances from Playford's 'Dancing Master'*. Revived by Nellie Chaplin (London: J. Curwen Inc., 1909); and *Court Dances and Others*. Revived by Nellie Chaplin (London: J. Curwen and Sons, Ltd., 1911).

²⁷⁸ For examples, see the descriptions of the Portland Fancy and Virginia Reel in Henry Sperling, *The Playground Book* (New York and Chicago: A.S. Barnes Company, 1916); Tressie M. Dunlavy and Neva L. Boyd, *Old Square Dances of America* (Chicago: Recreation Training School, 1925); Levin, *Kentucky Square Dances*; and *Square Dances of the Great Smokey Mountains, Kit 47* (Delaware, OH: Cooperative Recreation Service, 1939).

books.²⁷⁹ This language, in conjunction with the photographs, suggests that girls learned both women's and men's roles, as several photos show girls dancing with one another in a closed position.

As mentioned in the discussion of music, the qualities of the movements in the dances – slow, fast, sprightly, weighted – received surprisingly little attention. However, it appears that, as Lausevic notes concerning folk dance music, the dance descriptions, which tend to the execution of the steps rather than the manner in which to *do* them, also rely on the idea that the inherent national qualities of a people lay in the steps, akin to musical melodies. Though the prose style of the dance descriptions renders the ability to distinguish between groups difficult, some manuals include examples of differences, often quite subtle. For instance, in *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden*, Dagney Pedersen and Neva Boyd explain the singular distinction between the Swedish and the Danish waltz: “The man puts his right arm around the girl’s waist a little above the waist line, takes her right hand in his left, and holds it about shoulder high,” whereas in the Danish position, “the man grasps the girl’s right hand in his left, and stretches his left straight down at the side.”²⁸⁰ However, most manuals did not offer observations on the distinctions of the steps between the many different nationalities often included in a single volume. The ambiguities leave instructors options for interpretation even in

²⁷⁹ Their linguistic choices could insinuate an internalization of the infantilization of women, or it could merely produce an awkward image of young girls dancing with fully-grown men. Though seemingly common, I must leave that analysis to someone far better versed in the literature on linguistics.

²⁸⁰ Pedersen and Boyd, *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden*, 5.

simple combinations of steps that could lead to drastically different results according to the manner in which one directed their execution.

As contended in Chapters 2 and 3, folk dance proponents and instructors privileged dances from Northern and Western Europe, therefore an analysis of the nationalities included in the manuals merits attention here. In assessing the texts, I have followed the labels as given by the compilers rather than my own, which more closely adheres to their vision of what the dances represented. Of the manuals, twenty of the thirty-nine contained a combination of dances from many nations. Seven manuals concentrated on a single country: five on the United States; two on England; two on Denmark; and one each on Finland, Germany, Italy, and Czechoslovakia. Two books, *Quadrilles* and *Folk Games and Gymnastic Play for Kindergarten and Playground* did not designate nationalities for their dances.²⁸¹

Of the twenty manuals that presented dances from several different nations, twelve specifically identified the nationalities of each dance, for a total of 353 dances. Swedish, Danish, and English dances comprise 50.1 percent in the manuals.²⁸² All other nationalities that had ten or more dances across these volumes constitute 28.3 percent of the total dances, including dances of German, Scotch, Irish, Bohemian, North American, Hungarian, and French origins.²⁸³ Other manuals attended to a duet of nations – England

²⁸¹ The manuals for Italy and Czechoslovakia cover one dance each, though in great detail. Several nations claim a quadrille, or dance with four couples in a rectangle, among their folk dances. However, most identify the quadrille as of French origins and as an ancestor to modern-day square dancing.

²⁸² Swedish – 27.8%; Danish – 11.9%; English – 10.5%.

²⁸³ German – 7.1%; Scotch – 4.8%; Irish – 4.0%; Bohemian – 3.7%; United States (including Native American dances) – 3.1%; Hungarian – 2.8%; and French – 2.8%.

and America, Denmark and Sweden, Bohemia and Moravia, and France and England. The remaining four texts offer only a series of nationalities without designating which dances, and how many dances, hailed from each country. The more generalized lists also reflect the trends in the books that specified their dances. While admittedly not an exhaustive analysis of all folk dance manuals published during the period, the sample provides evidence to support the argument that folk dances from Northern and Western Europe dominated the repertoire of folk dancing instructors between 1890 and 1940 in Chicago, even through changes in immigration patterns towards predominantly Eastern and Southern European arrivals after 1910. Despite a range of potential nationalities and dances, those especially from Sweden, Denmark, and England persisted as favorites.

Many folk dance proponents feared the slippage of folk dance from socially valuable and instructive into “entertainment” with its increased popularity in the 1920s. The language concerning the threats generally targeted three issues: biases against folk dance performances as entertainment and, worse, as commercialized; comparisons with ballroom or social dances as a way of elevating folk dance as the more stable and safer of the two forms; and the responsibility of folk dance teachers to foster correct attitudes and postures towards dancing. Some grounded their opposition to folk dance as entertainment in an insistence that in its origins it “did not grow out of any attempt to entertain an audience.”²⁸⁴ As dancers and choreographers who today view dance as either artistic or commercial, folk dance advocates worried that performances intended

²⁸⁴ Neva Leona Boyd papers, [Untitled], Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

for an audience diminished their authenticity. Folk dance champions positioned the practices and concepts of drill, competition, creation, and concern with perfection as pejorative in relation to folk dance performance.

Some folk dance proponents worried that preparation for performances would, “change the whole purpose of folk dance and frequently require drill . . . perfection that tends to kill the enjoyment of dancing.”²⁸⁵ In addition to diminishing the joyful element of folk dance, Boyd believed that its public performance might introduce competition among dancers, which would, “destroy the genuine folk dance and to induce teachers to add their own creations in style and form until little or nothing of the native folk dance remains.”²⁸⁶ Public performances of folk dance, then, risked affecting the authenticity of the dances, without regard to the fact that the urban, multi-ethnic classes that Boyd and others promoted had already altered the purposes and particulars of the “original” dances. Boyd herself worked for organizations that sponsored public folk dance performances, including Hull-House and Gads Hill Center, offering one piece of evidence that their own denouncements fell largely on deaf ears.²⁸⁷

Others seemed more willing to concede the inevitability of public performances of folk dance and instead wrote more specifically about avoiding their commercialization. Moxcey, for instance, recommends that, “Under no circumstances

²⁸⁵ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Folk Dancing, Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁸⁶ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Folk Dancing, Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁸⁷ Chapters 5 and 6 will further illustrate the many ways folk dance performances appeared through institutions of higher education and the social settlements.

should admission be charged or the general public to attend. The children should not be given the idea that their dancing has commercial value.”²⁸⁸ Elimination of monetary exchange and only allowing certain people to watch, presumably family members, therefore minimized the dangers of children absorbing the concept of the financial worth of their activities. Furthermore, Moxcey argues that taking the extra step to present the performances, “on a sufficiently large scale that the individual dancers are lost sight of,” audiences, and by extension the participants, would only see the dance as a group activity rather than value the virtuosity of an individual’s performance. Their approaches, proponents expected, would protect the social, educational, and recreational value of folk dance.

As seen in Chapter 2, social dances often provided the foil against which folk dance apostles measured the benefits of folk dance.²⁸⁹ In contrast to “modern” social dances, advocates glorified the perceived immutability of folk dances and encouraged instruction in folk dances from an early age as a primer for youth to learn appropriate attitudes about dancing. Though many considered folk dance a social activity – and there exists no shortage of references to its social value throughout the folk dance manuals – the language of the period differentiates between folk and social dances, as exemplified in an article from Northwestern University Settlement’s newspaper *The Neighbor*:

Many have heard the term folk dancing and are likely to have associated this term with social-dancing. A relationship may be seen between the two but there is a definite distinction between them. Social-dancing includes all of our popular American

²⁸⁸ Moxcey, *Physical Health and Recreation for Girls*, 32.

²⁸⁹ Lausevic corroborates this argument in *Balkan Fascination*, 76.

ballroom dances while folk-dancing covers a much wider scope and probably a more interesting one.²⁹⁰

The perception of the fixity of folk dance on the part of folk dance compilers facilitated the view of social dance as different or separate from folk dance, especially in comparison with “modern” ballroom dances. As Neva Boyd explained, “Ballroom dancing is subject to change of fashion, whereas folk dances . . . tend to remain unchanged . . . While it is characteristic of folk dancers to interpret the dance spontaneously and with a margin of difference they still tend to adhere to the general pattern.”²⁹¹ Folk dance proponents recognized the potential for (and perhaps even the appeal of) commercial performances, and argued that teachers needed to combat commercialization of folk dances. Their attitudes led them to treat folk dance with an ironic sacredness and preciousness in light of the fact that the same proponents made judgments regarding the usefulness of dances in the American context. In addition to a sense of the constancy of folk dance practices from the Old World, some employed folk dance as a method to encourage proper social dancing behaviors later. Moxcey claimed that folk dance offered a “preventative” to the perils of social dancing, which, if administered to girls early enough, would counter their potential descent in to the “vulgarizing environment” of the urban dance halls.²⁹² Therefore proper instruction

²⁹⁰ “Folk Dance of Other Lands Give Pleasure,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 6, 1939.

²⁹¹ Neva Leona Boyd papers, Folk Dancing, Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁹² Moxcey, *Physical Health and Recreation for Girls*, 33.

would act as a prophylactic against the commercialization of folk dance and instill proper embodied behaviors for a lifetime.

Folk dance manuals regularly stressed the responsibility of the teacher, and therefore typically included special guidance for instructors. They covered an array of topics, such as how to choose the content for a class, the importance of emphasizing joy in the dance over accuracy or mastery, and techniques for how to convey the material. Concerning content, manual compilers offered many suggestions, including choosing “simple” dances, prioritizing group dances over solo dances, and methods for selecting age and gender-appropriate pieces. As Mirajana Lausevic has noted, not all folk dances fit the goals of folk dance proponents.²⁹³ Most advocated teaching people many simple, easier to execute dances, possibly as one way to generate and maintain interest. While this suggestion makes sense for children and adult beginners, it also fulfills the aim of encouraging participation by larger numbers of people rather than instructing a few capable individuals in more complex dances.²⁹⁴ This approach also avoided some of the perils of performance, in particular competitiveness and an emphasis on virtuosity. By selecting dances “easy to understand and pass on to others,” their large groups could then share them among friends and family.²⁹⁵ Some manuals facilitated transmission by classifying the dances according to appropriate age, sex, skill, and dancing surface. For

²⁹³ Lausevic, *Balkan Fascination*, 124.

²⁹⁴ Neva Leona Boyd papers, [Untitled] Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago; Elizabeth Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation: A Handbook by Elizabeth Burchenal* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1922), 5.

²⁹⁵ Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation*, 5.

instance, Hinman's five-volume series *Gymnastics and Folk Dancing* follows a graded system for kindergarten through high school as developed through her association with John Dewey, a progressive pedagogy innovator initially based in Chicago, according to dance scholar Selma Landen Odom.²⁹⁶ Elizabeth Burchenal also organized some of her books in a similar fashion, and Neva Boyd sometimes geared her books toward a certain age group.

The two primary techniques promoted for folk dance instructors in the manuals include demonstration and providing historical background. As noted in Chapters 2 and 3 concerning the reasons for incorporating folk dance into physical education curricula in higher education and social settlements, many proponents advocated for the recognition of the importance using folk dance to learn about other people. Some even argued that students wanted to hear the stories that accompanied the dances, which often resulted in combined folk story, dance, and game classes, especially for younger students. Most preferred instructors to offer at the minimum the name and national origins of the dance before beginning a demonstration, though some also suggested a more detailed approach. For example, Hinman recommended that, "Every folk dance should have its history given as it is taught," and Elizabeth Burchenal asked teachers to, "Pay particular attention to the instructions, given in almost every description, in regard to general character, meaning and spirit of the dance."²⁹⁷ Directives from folk dance compilers associated people with certain movements and encouraged students to embody

²⁹⁶ Odom, "Sharing the Dances of Many People," 67.

²⁹⁷ Hinman, *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Volume I. Solo Dances*, 77; Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, xiv.

their characteristics through folk dance. Demonstration also comprised a primary component of correct folk dance teaching. Boyd called it “fundamental,” however many also stressed that perfection or accuracy should not interfere with the learning and teaching of the steps.²⁹⁸ As Burchenal advised concerning teaching: “Be a *leader* not a *teacher*; play with a crowd and it will play with you!”²⁹⁹

Above all, folk dance proponents accentuated the responsibility of teachers to instill joy and fun into their students, usually with the accompanying note to prioritize this practice over accuracy or authenticity. Hinman especially emphasized this point, composing an entire section on the topic for the 1922 editions of her manuals titled “The Necessity of Joy in the Teaching of Dancing.” Rather than relying solely on the inherent joyful properties of folk dance, Hinman assigned teachers the authority and duty to cultivate joy in their students through participation in folk dance. In fact, she claimed that, “If the joy is absent *we* [teachers] have failed – not the pupil or the dance.”³⁰⁰ Hinman, however, did believe folk dances to possess inherent joyful properties but attributed the death of joy in dancing to poor teaching: “*Joy is in* dancing and it takes bad teaching to kill it but when it once dies it is almost impossible to revive.”³⁰¹ Neva Boyd also stressed the importance of fostering pleasure through folk dance at the expense of accuracy of execution. She encouraged instructors to, “[K]eep clearly in

²⁹⁸ Neva Leona Boyd papers, “The Techniques of Teaching Folk Dancing,” Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

²⁹⁹ Elizabeth Burchenal, *Folk Dancing as Popular Recreation*, 14. Emphases in original.

³⁰⁰ Hinman, *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Volume I. Solo Dances*, 77.

³⁰¹ Mary Wood Hinman, *Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Volume V. Clogs and Jigs with Descriptions* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1922; First published 1916), 6-7. Emphases in original.

mind the fact that accuracy in teaching need not kill spontaneity and joy, which are after all the life of the game.”³⁰² The attitudes concerning joy, which might seem at odds with their allegiance to authenticity in the collection and documentation of dances, illustrates the differences between documenting dances and the process of imparting embodied practices to others. Though the level of their meticulousness in the transcription, interpretation, or translation of these dances may prove questionable, practically speaking, one may never achieve anything if she waits for accuracy and perfection in her students before introducing another step, dance, or concept. Regardless, folk dance proponents’ positions on teaching and joy contrast with the simultaneous emphasis on preservation, resurrection, discovery, and saving of authentic dances from Old World European nations.

Despite the confidence in their processes, anxieties over authenticity remained, as shown through appeals to instructors in several of the books.³⁰³ Some collectors and selectors worried that shoddy teaching methods might lead to the denigration of idyllic dances. Burchenal and Boyd in particular called for careful attention to transmission of the dances. In the opening of her second volume of *Dances of the People*, Burchenal wrote:

In the excitement and haste of securing a working knowledge of the new subject, teachers have seized upon many kinds of attractive and unusual dances, regardless of whether or not they were actual folk-dances, but using them as such. The result has

³⁰² Florence Brown and Neva Leona Boyd, *Old English and American Games*, 3.

³⁰³ I do not seek to designate the degree of authenticity of the dances chosen by folk dance manual “authors,” because I agree with Regina Bendix, who challenges the productivity and possibility of discovering “origins” in her book *In Search of Authenticity*. Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

been a general confusion and misunderstanding in regard to the whole subject, and an unfortunate tendency to label as “folk-dancing” any dances invented by dancing masters, that contain steps or movements that are characteristic of other countries, and indeed almost any novel dances other than those of the ball-room. . . . we can turn to folk-dances and know that we are on safe ground, for they are spontaneous, genuine and sincere. They are the wild flowers of the dance world, unspoiled by the hand of man. They have sprung naturally from the hearts of simple, wholesome country folk in response to the human need for “self-expression.”³⁰⁴

Authenticity, then, lay in the “sincerity” of these dances having sprung from “real” people, in other words from rural, agricultural communities rather than contemporary urban ones.³⁰⁵ Others also concerned themselves with the best ways to reach those students. Boyd, for instance, believed that, “The safest procedure for the student of folk dancing of a particular country is to apply to teachers of folklore of leading universities.”³⁰⁶ Therefore in addition to appealing to the rural for the “authentic,” institutions of higher learning conveyed the authentic versions of folk dances.

Though the manuals represented similar approaches and depictions of their material, one considerable point of divergence occurred over teaching dances with perceived authenticity versus using folk dances as a basis for choreography. Burchenal

³⁰⁴ Burchenal, *Dances of the People*, vii.

³⁰⁵ For more on the challenges of the urban dance hall, see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Twentieth Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986; and Paul G. Cressey, *Taxi-Dance Hall: A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. Concern over the dance halls also appears in greater detail in Chapter 3.

³⁰⁶ Neva Leona Boyd papers, “Folk Dancing,” Box 8, Folder 144, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

warned against the practice of composing one's own dances and deeming them folk, recommending that teachers not label dances as folk unless they knew they originated from a "traditional source."³⁰⁷ In his volume on folk dances from his native Denmark, Viggo Bovbjerg explained that he closely adhered to the dances as given by the Danish Folk Dance Society and that he had, "not tried to make anything of my own, but have simply made an effort to write a clear, easily understood description of these folk dances."³⁰⁸ Bovbjerg, then, claimed to translate rather than compose or interpret. Mary Severance Shafter expressed similar sentiments in her compilation *American Indian and Other Folk Dances for Schools, Pageants and Playgrounds* when she asserted that,

[F]olk dances, unlike others, cannot be composed conveniently by the individual to fit a need or an occasion, but have to be searched for in their native environment and when found, transcribed authentically, and where changes have to be made as in the Indian ceremonial where the actual dance may occupy three days and begin on a plain and end on a hill-top, they must be made as sympathetically as possible.³⁰⁹

Shafter offers boundaries to her interpretation of authenticity for the sake of preservation of the dances, a trend that appeared even amongst those most devoted to conveying the authentic idyll for Americans. For instance, in her first book, Burchenal included a Russian Kamarinskaia in which she admits that she chose some of the steps of the many used and simplified them for "practical use by small children as well as by larger boys and girls."³¹⁰ She provided "a definite form for convenience of teaching" of the Italian

³⁰⁷ Elizabeth Burchenal in Henry Sperling, *The Playground Book*, 23.

³⁰⁸ Bovbjerg, *Danish Folk Dances* (Chicago: Recreation Training School, 1917), 3.

³⁰⁹ Shafter, *American Indian and Other Folk Dances for Schools, Pageants and Playgrounds*, Introduction.

Tarantella as well. Boyd also acknowledged alterations to folk dances. Regarding *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden*, she endorsed the approach of S.T. and O. Thyregod and Otto Hellgren in their respective collections of Danish and Swedish folk games, in which they “recorded only the most common versions, eliminating almost entirely the variations found in different communities, thus preventing their work from becoming unwieldy with unimportant details.”³¹¹ Adjustments to the dances for the sake of preserving something easily digestible within the urban American context proved permissible.

Perhaps fellow advocates that shared the sentiments of Burchenal, Bovbjerg, and Shafter hoped to counter approaches like those taken by Hinman. As Odom explained in her article on Hinman, she, “valued creativity in what she called “dance building,” which consisted of helping a group make an arrangement of variations on a given traditional dance or dance style.”³¹² In her first volume of gymnastic and folk dances, Hinman

³¹⁰ Burchenal and Crampton, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, 45.

³¹¹ Pedersen and Boyd, *Folk Games of Denmark and Sweden*, 3. Boyd shares a story with her Recreation Training School students via a letter of an instance of teaching dances about which, as she willingly acknowledges, she knew nothing during a trip to Paris in 1919. She claims she had encountered an enthusiastic instructor who “begged” Boyd to teach a group of Parisian boy scouts an Indian dance. Despite Boyd’s insistence that she did not know any, the two reached an agreement for her to instruct the boys the following day. In order to fulfill her commitment, Boyd checked out a book from the American library and read it on the way to teach. Boyd describes how she navigated this uncharted territory: “I told the boys a little about Indians, described the occasion and the particular dance I proposed to teach [neither of which did she expound on in her story]. . . I danced and yelled, and the boys imitated . . . That was the only time I had to teach something I didn’t know.” Truly Boyd tells of an instance of staying one step ahead of the students, though it certainly violated much of her rhetoric on conveying only authentic dances to students. Though she claims this only happened to her once, I have to imagine (well, I really don’t have to – many times I have taught movement classes with minimal preparation!) that many folk dance teachers encountered exactly this situation in which they made do with limited time and information. Neva Leona Boyd papers, Report of the Summer’s Work – Paris 1919, Box 14, Folder 308, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

³¹² Odom, “Sharing the Dances of Many People,” 69.

explained that, “It becomes necessary many times for a teacher to build dances of her own . . . The following suggestions are offered as an outline from which teachers may learn to work out their dances,” though she stipulated that, “This work should be taken up by students who possess a thorough working knowledge of the necessary character steps and folk traditions belonging to the music selected.”³¹³ Hinman’s approach to folk dance, and dance in general, certainly rhetorically challenged the deep-seated commitments to authenticity of some of the prominent folk dance proponents; however, given the limitations exhibited even by the folk dance champions most emphatic about the importance of relating the dances in their purest state, one wonders how much the dances differed in practice.

In contrast to changes made in the folk dances in the name of preservation and ease of teaching, some worried about the alterations made to Old World folk dances within the American context, in particular Neva Boyd. Though none defined the “American context,” they implied that the urban and ethnically and racially diverse circumstances of the United States might irrevocably alter the benefits of the folk dances and that the changes would offend “people whose youth was made happy by them.”³¹⁴ In *Folk Games and Gymnastic Play*, Boyd warned that changes made to dances to make them simpler or to otherwise adapt them to “American conditions” would “destroy” their social and educational value. Similar to Hinman’s assignation of responsibility to teachers for joy in the folk dancing class, Boyd criticized the carelessness of instructors,

³¹³ Hinman, *Hinman Gymnastics and Folk Dances, Volume I. Solo Dances*, 1.

³¹⁴ Pedersen and Boyd, *Folk Games and Gymnastic Play*, 7.

“who have approached the subject of play [in folk dance] from an intellectual rather than from an emotional or social point of view; for some of these honest efforts on the part of teachers to adapt games to American conditions and methods of education have resulted practically in killing many folk-games that have lived for centuries in other lands.”³¹⁵

Preservation of the dances, then, benefited Americans, at least for their perceived social value and invocation of rural traditions such as simplicity, beauty, and joy.

Compilers’ attempts to rescue and preserve folk dances through documentation and then conveying the values and characteristics of Old World and rural American folk dances merit commendation, despite the limitations applied by the dominant racial beliefs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through folk dance manuals women like Boyd, Burchneal, Crawford, and Hinman collected and selected an Americanized folk based on idyllic notions of simplicity, joy, universality, the rural, and the agricultural. Examination of the methods, purposes, and content of the manuals reveals the prevalence of Northern and Western European dances, as well as the limits of folk dance compilers’ cultural pluralism, which extended to the institutions of higher education and social settlements in Chicago that relied on the manuals in their folk dance instruction. Therefore, the predominantly female collectors and selectors of folk dance influenced the tenor of the curricula for college and university students and the children of immigrants in the settlement houses. Female folk dance proponents thus left textual and embodied legacies of the ideal of American idyll as exercised through female bodies.

³¹⁵ Brown and Boyd, *Old English and American Games*, 4.

CHAPTER V
PERFORMING AND WATCHING: HIGHER EDUCATION

Proclaiming that, “Northwestern Women Will Demonstrate Their Ability in an Athletic Way,” Northwestern University coeds presented their first athletic exhibition on campus in the spring of 1911. Under the auspices of the newly formed Women’s Athletic Association (WAA), the program introduced female students playing basketball, demonstrating their expertise with dumbbells, and performing folk dances. A reporter for the student newspaper *The Daily Northwestern* explained that,

Among the folk dances, which are perhaps the most picturesque entrees [sic], since they are the only costume events, are the Csehbohan and Hop Mothes Anika. These are neither new breakfast foods, nor Hungarian counts, but are the native names for a Russian and a Norwegian dance. These dances have been well worked out and should prove to be interesting as well as instructive.³¹⁶

The debut public performance of folk dance at Northwestern University (NU) marked a critical moment in the recognition of women in higher education as they exercised their presence through the mediation of Progressive Era standards of acceptable physical activity, beauty, joy, and simplicity ascribed to a foreign, rural, preindustrial world.

Exploration of the performances of American college coeds in Chicago and Evanston illustrates that folk dance performance provided a conspicuous activity in higher education for both college women and foreign-born students. Furthermore, folk dance performances in institutions of higher education enacted acceptance of certain

³¹⁶ “Exhibition is Now Planned,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), April 12, 1911.

elements of the Old World while projecting middle-class images of American womanhood as physically fit, but non-competitive, while also glorifying the beautiful, simple, and joyous elements of perceived immigrant traditions. Lastly, colleges and universities in the Chicago area circulated folk dance performance practices as opportunities to learn about foreign cultures.³¹⁷ Higher education in Chicago ultimately supported the sentiments of nativism through its sponsorship and encouragement of folk dance by its coeds. Furthermore, the choices made concerning the nationalities of the dances presaged and later reinforced the Congressional acts of 1921 and 1924 that privileged the acceptance of immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. The institutions taught folk dances to their students both as healthful exercises and as part of their curricula for use as classroom teachers; however, certain performances and presentations of folk dance in campus clubs reveal a broader acceptance of dances from a wider range of national groups than students learned in their classes or than the nativist sentiments fueling immigration reform might suggest. The frequency of and participation in folk dance by native-born American coeds in the first part of the twentieth century suggests that folk dance helped female students to negotiate their existence as women in higher education, tensions between idealized pasts and the

³¹⁷ Here I employ one of performance studies scholar Judith Hamera's ideas concerning dance technique, specifically that "aesthetics are social" and determine where art produces meanings that are community-specific. Dance technique serves as one example of aesthetics in motion that acts as both a historical and personal archive. This technique also renders bodies legible through a process of negotiation with the self and others, and, I would argue, the self and perception of others, in space. Judith Hamera, *Dancing Communities: Performance, Difference, and Connection in the Global City* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 3.

“modern” present, and helped map the territory of “American-ness” through adaptations of limited cultural pluralism.

Perceptions of immigrants’ lives both in the recent and distant past captivated the imaginations of folk dance proponents in the United States in the early twentieth century amidst currents of nativism that fed calls for immigration restrictions. Before the 1890s, immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, in particular Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia, entered the United States in proportionally greater numbers; by the mid-1880s, those from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Poland, the Balkans, and Greece predominated on the immigration rolls.³¹⁸ As addressed in Chapter 2, according to William Z. Ripley, many considered this latter group of immigrants less desirable and categorized them as third-tier Europeans behind Teutons and Alpines, respectively.³¹⁹ Many immigrants planned to and did return to their homelands; however, due to the arrival of over twenty-seven million immigrants onto American shores between 1870 and 1915, fears pervaded America that the inundation of undesirable immigrants would dilute “pure” Americans.³²⁰ The two aforementioned acts passed “to limit the immigration of aliens into the United States” in the early 1920s responded legislatively to these concerns.³²¹

³¹⁸ John Whiteclay Chambers, II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1890-1920* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2000), 11.

³¹⁹ See also Chapter 2. William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1908) 103-130.

³²⁰ Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change*, 11, 13.

³²¹ 1921 Emergency Quota Law, H.R. 4075; Pub. L. 67-5; 42 Stat. 5. 67th Congress; May 19, 1921. US immigration legislation online,

During the same period folk dance gained popularity throughout the United States, in particular in urban areas, among both immigrants and the native-born. While many immigrants practiced folk dance as a mode of retaining national identities, participation and encouragement of folk dance by and for American-born college women also flourished and, in fact, persisted following the immigration measures taken in 1921 and 1924 that severely restricted the immigration of Eastern and Southern Europeans.³²² However, the preference for Northern and Western European dances that had begun at the turn of the twentieth century actually corresponded with the reversion to earlier immigrant groups through the legislative acts of 1921 and 1924; therefore, teaching and performing these dances through institutions of higher education reinforced those immigrants as preferable. Only certain campus clubs countered the trend, though through display and observation of foreign-born dancers rather than participation and

http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1921_emergency_quota_law.html. For more on anti-immigration sentiments during the Progressive Era, see Robert H. Weibe, *The Search for Order* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), in particular Chapter 3, "Crisis in Communities." Weibe explains nativism as part of a quest for purity, one of several movements that helped generate Progressivism, in addition to anti-monopoly and Prohibition. The widespread xenophobia among many native-born, white Americans in the 1920s and 1930s suggests a concern that the Americanization measures of the Progressive Era proved insufficient, or, worse, a complete failure.

³²² Earlier legislation had curbed Asian immigration to the United States, namely the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 and the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement between the US and Japan. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited Chinese from obtaining American citizenship and made entry for non-laborers into the US exceedingly difficult, requiring them to secure certification proving their non-laborer status prior to immigration. Congress renewed the act in 1892 and made it permanent in 1902. Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Our Documents, www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=47&page-transcript. Before the 1924 Immigration Act banned all immigrants from Japan, the 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement between the US and Japan led the Japanese government to cease issuance of passports to the US for laborers. 1907 Gentlemen's Agreement. EBSCOHOST Connection, <http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/detail?sid=6893ead0-ea80-4a4a-be837506318f8b99%40sessionmgr11&vid=1&hid=10&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWZWhvc3QtbG12ZQ%3d%3d#b=f5h&AN=21212715>. The 1917 Immigration Act, also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act, banned, "persons who are natives of islands not possessed by the United States adjacent to the Continent of Asia . . . or who are natives of any country, province, or dependency situate on the Continent of Asia . . ." US immigration legislation online, www.library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1917_immigration_act.html.

performance by native-born American college students. Examination of the immigration legislation in comparison with the increase in foreign-born residents and urban growth demonstrates the limitations of both xenophobia and cultural pluralism in higher education.

In 1907 Congress established an immigration commission, comprised of three Senators, three Representatives, and three at-large appointees, charged with researching and reporting on aspects of immigration in the United States. Concerns of many, citizens and politicians alike, over the number and perceived quality of immigrants entering the United States between 1890 and 1920 drove the passage of two measures concerning immigration: the 1921 Emergency Quota Law, and the 1924 Immigration Act. The 1921 Emergency Quota Law limited the number of immigrants allowed annually to 3 percent of each country's population according to the 1910 US decennial census. With the restrictions scheduled to expire on June 30, 1924, Congress passed another round of immigration restriction, which superseded that of 1921. Approval of the 1924 Immigration Act dropped the quota for each nation to 2 percent of the population as determined by the US decennial census of 1890.

After 1924, immigrants from Eastern and Southern European nations, such as Poland, Russia, and Lithuania found their possibility for emigration to the United States far more restricted than those from England, Sweden, Germany, and Denmark, as the former did not immigrate to America in large numbers until after 1890. Interestingly, both acts exempted professors and ministers and their families from the quotas in most instances; the law of 1921 also permitted "actors, artists, lecturers and singers" beyond

the national quotas.³²³ In contrast to the 1921 Emergency Quota Law, the 1924 Immigration Act laid out regulations concerning the obtaining of visas, including the establishment of credibility by at least two American witnesses; provided reasons for deportation; and outlined penalties for illegal transportation of immigrants and falsification of immigration documents. The act also assigned burden of proof to the immigrant to demonstrate that he qualified for entry into the United States. Though the 1921 Emergency Quota Law clearly aimed to restrict the number of immigrants to the United States, the act of 1924 moved beyond the determination of quotas and more stringently addressed not only the number of immigrants arriving in the United States but also the punishments for violating the law.³²⁴ These legislative measures legalized the nativism that had simmered in America over the previous two decades, which corresponded with the rapid expansion of American cities.

As early as 1890, the United States government associated immigrants with urban growth. According to “Progress of the Nation,” in the report of the 1890 US decennial census, “If the population of the foreign born in the principal cities is

³²³ 1921 Emergency Quota Law, H.R. 4075; Pub. L. 67-5; 42 Stat. 5. 67th Congress; May 19, 1921. US immigration legislation online, http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1921_emergency_quota_law.html. 1924 Immigration Act, H.R. 7995; Pub. L. 68-139; 43 Stat. 153. 68th Congress; May 26, 1924. US immigration legislation online, http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1924_immigration_act.html. The timing of one’s application to emigrate remained important. If these groups entered before their nation of citizenship had reached its maximum allotted, they would count towards the quota. If one applied after the figure had been reached, professors and ministers and their families could still receive clearance to enter the United States as immigrants.

³²⁴ 1921 Emergency Quota Law, H.R. 4075; Pub. L. 67-5; 42 Stat. 5. 67th Congress; May 19, 1921. US immigration legislation online, http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1921_emergency_quota_law.html. 1924 Immigration Act, H.R. 7995; Pub. L. 68-139; 43 Stat. 153. 68th Congress; May 26, 1924. US immigration legislation online, http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1924_immigration_act.html.

contrasted with the proportion of the foreign born in the country at large, a very fair measure is obtained for their appetency for urban life as compared with that for rural life.”³²⁵ That year foreign-born residents comprised 14.8 percent of the entire US population but 29.2 percent of the population in the 124 cities with populations over 100,000.³²⁶ In reality, the United States did not transition to a majority urban population until 1920, when 51.4 percent of the population lived in urban areas and 48.6 percent in rural.³²⁷ These figures would stretch to 56.2 percent urban and 43.8 percent rural in 1930 and remain steady at 56.5 percent urban and 43.5 percent rural in 1940.³²⁸ However, the acceleration of the presence of foreign-born residents in the cities worried many

³²⁵ Department of the Interior, Census Office. *Report on the Population of the United States at the Eleventh Census 1890, Part I* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1895), lxxxix.

³²⁶ Data from: US Census 1890, *Population, Part I*. This news of urban and immigrant expansion coincided with Frederick Jackson Turner’s announcement in 1893 of the closing of the American frontier, which helped to generate the xenophobia that led to Congress’ establishment of quotas in 1921 and even further restrictions in 1924. Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the American Frontier In American History,” American Historical Association Annual Meeting, 1893, Chicago, IL. Historian John Whiteclay Chambers, II, counts Turner’s “frontier thesis” as one among a series of issues that he argues produced the “Crisis of the 1890s,” including Herbert Spencer’s social Darwinism, the destruction of Native American lands and peoples, the transition of the United States from primarily agrarian to urban, and the increasing use of modern technologies. See Chambers, *The Tyranny of Change*, 6 and Chapter 1.

³²⁷ Data from: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920. Population, 1920, Volume I. Number and Distribution of Inhabitants* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921).

³²⁸ Data from: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930. Population, Volume I: Number and Distribution of Inhabitants. Total Population for States, Counties, and Townships or Other Minor Civil Divisions; for Urban and Rural Areas; and for Cities and Other Incorporated Places* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1931); and United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Volume I: Number of Inhabitants. Total Population for States, Counties, and Minor Civil Divisions; for Urban and Rural Areas; for Incorporated Places; for Metropolitan District; and for Census Tracts* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1942).

Americans who worked to manage the immigrant element of American life in urban areas such as Chicago.³²⁹

Settled in the 1770s, but not incorporated until 1837, Chicago would not attain the status of America's "Second City" until the turn of the twentieth century. Between 1860 and 1900, Chicago witnessed greater population growth than any other city in America, or the world.³³⁰ By 1890 Chicago had more than doubled its number of residents from the preceding decade to over 1 million. While it did not replicate this feat in subsequent years, Chicago continued to experience exponential expansion, reaching over 2 million by 1910 and 3 million by 1930.³³¹ The population increase fueled the rise of higher education, primarily for native-born Americans, although much of Chicago's growth between 1890 and 1920 stemmed from its influx of immigrants. Following the passage of the 1924 Immigration Act, though, the proportion of the foreign-born population in Chicago plummeted from 41 percent in 1890 to 25 percent by 1930 and

³²⁹ Weibe, *The Search for Order*, 12, 47, 145, 153, 293. Weibe argues that bureaucracy, fostered and entrenched by the growing middle class, provided the solution to this anxiety.

³³⁰ Michael H. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore: A Suburban History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), xxi.

³³¹ Data from: US Census 1890, *Report on the Population, Part I.; Census Reports Volume I. Twelfth Census of the United States, Taken in the Year 1900. Population Part I.* (Washington: United States Census Office, 1901); Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910. Volume II: Population 1910. Reports by States, With Statistics for Counties, Cities and Other Civil Divisions, Alabama – Montana* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913. Reprint 1915); US Census, *Population, 1920, Volume I*; US Census 1920, *Population, Volume II*; US Census 1930, *Population, Volume I.*; US Census 1930, *Population, Volume II. General Report Statistics By Subjects, 1930*; US Census 1940, *Population, Volume I.*; and United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Population, Volume II. Characteristics of the Population. Sex, Age, Race, Nativity, Citizenship, Country of Birth of Foreign-Born White, School Attendance, Education, Employment Status, Class of Worker, Major Occupation Group, and Industry Group. Part II: Florida – Iowa* (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1943).

finally to its lowest point of 19.9 percent in 1940.³³² Chicago's foreign-born numbers still exceeded the national averages, but they also reflected the power of the legislation of 1921 and 1924.

While the rise of American cities, along with increased accessibility to public transportation and automobiles, helped stimulate suburban expansion, suburbs also retained many of the characteristics from their earlier foundations, including dedication to independence from the city in municipal matters and the cultivation of identities focused on moral living.³³³ Evanston, Illinois, a suburb of Chicago situated on Lake Michigan thirteen miles north of Chicago's downtown "Loop," especially fulfilled the tenets concerning independence and morality. North Shore historian Michael H. Ebner aptly describes the establishment of Evanston as concomitant with Northwestern University in 1850: "From the beginning the relationship between town and gown was direct, immediate, and especially well-defined. The embodiment of this spirit was

³³² Data from: US Census 1900, *Population, Part I.*; US Census 1910, *Population, Volume II.*; US Census 1920, *Population, Volume II.*; US Census 1930, *Population, Volume II.*; US Census 1940, *Population, Volume II.* National averages of the proportion of the foreign-born population for those years accounted for were: 1890 – 14.77%, 1930 – 11.6%, 1940 – 8.8%. US Census 1890, *Population, Part I.*, lxxix; US Census 1930, *Population, Volume II.*, 25; US Census 1940, *Population, Volume II.*, 9.

³³³ Historian Henry C. Binford challenges the belief that all suburban histories derive from the growth of mass transportation and the extension of cities. Rather, he argues, suburbs took on "characteristic traits" as early as the 1830s, and during the antebellum period suburbs became "residentially oriented," "commuter dominated," and established "civic independence." Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on the Boston Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 3-5. North Shore historian Michael H. Ebner corroborates Binford's contentions concerning public transportation as not the sole driver of suburban expansion in his account of the founding of Evanston. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore*, 23-25. Furthermore, Evanston struggled over its accessibility to Chicago via mass transportation, and therefore the electric trolley between the North Shore and Chicago was not completed until 1899. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore*, xxvii. Transportation into Evanston from Chicago remains somewhat limited today; after 1:50am one cannot catch an "L" train into Evanston until 4:30am; similar schedules hold true for other train lines to outlying areas. The red and blue lines, the primary arteries into and out of Chicago, however, run all day, every day.

temperance.”³³⁴ From the inception of Evanston and Northwestern University the morality-motivated residents affirmed their commitment to temperance through the “four mile law” and the presence of its “most famous resident,” Frances Willard.³³⁵ The “four mile law,” which forbade the sale of alcohol within four miles of the Northwestern campus, passed in 1853 as an amendment to the university’s charter. With the incorporation of Evanston in 1863, the “four mile law” became a city ordinance. The allegiance to temperance persisted into the late nineteenth century through Frances Willard, who called Evanston home beginning in the 1850s. She served as the dean for the Evanston College of Ladies before its merger with NU in 1874 and acted as the national president of the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) from 1879 until her death in 1898.³³⁶ Ebner argues that although the allegiance to temperance had diminished somewhat by the early twentieth century, the independent character and identity centered on moral fortitude remained strong in Evanston.³³⁷ The connection of Evanston to the pro-Prohibition movement aligned the suburb with certain elements of progressivism, while also distinguishing it from Chicago.

Progressive reformers succeeded on many fronts in combating the ills of city living through improved regulation of sanitation, living spaces, and food quality.

However, the perception of Evanston as uniquely tied to Chicago culturally and

³³⁴ Ebner, *Creating Chicago’s North Shore*, 25. According to Ebner’s study, the “North Shore” includes the following eight Illinois suburbs north of Chicago, all bordering Lake Michigan: Evanston, Glencoe, Highland Park, Kenilworth, Lake Bluff, Lake Forest, Wilmette, and Winnetka.

³³⁵ Ebner, *Creating Chicago’s North Shore*, 25, 94.

³³⁶ Ebner, *Creating Chicago’s North Shore*, 94.

³³⁷ Ebner, *Creating Chicago’s North Shore*, 103.

intellectually, yet self-sufficient led many residents to ensconce themselves in the suburbs, which they perceived as safer, cleaner, and morally upright. In 1890, only 9000 people resided in Evanston. By 1910 the population reached nearly 25,000; in 1930, Evanston numbered over 63,000.³³⁸ Though in close proximity to Chicago and its high concentration of foreign-born residents, Evanston's foreign-born population remained considerably lower over the same period. At its highest point in 1910, Evanston's foreign-born residents made up less than 23 percent of the population, compared to Chicago's 35.9 percent.³³⁹ When Chicago experienced its lowest proportion of foreign-born residents in 1940 at 19.9 percent, Evanston's barely reached 11 percent.³⁴⁰ The statistics illustrate the overwhelmingly native-born, and likely white, American population residing in Evanston and, in fact, the decreasing likelihood of immigrants moving to this burgeoning suburb of Chicago as the twentieth century progressed.

The perceptions of Evanston as moral and beautiful attracted not only residents, but also another institution of higher education. After several moves within the downtown Chicago area, the National College of Education (NCE), founded in 1893, purchased three and one half acres on Sheridan Road (near Lake Michigan) at the

³³⁸ Data from: US Census 1890, *Population, Part I.*; US Census 1900, *Population, Part I.*; US Census 1910, *Population, Volume II.*; US Census 1920, *Population, Volume I.*; US Census 1930, *Population, Volume I.*; US Census 1940, *Population, Volume I.* The Chicago fire of 1871 also contributed to the expansion of those suburbs nearest to downtown. Ebner, *Creating Chicago's North Shore*, 91.

³³⁹ Data from: US Census 1910, *Population, Volume II.*

³⁴⁰ Data from: US Census 1940, *Population, Volume I.* See also Appendix D for tables on Evanston's and Chicago's total, foreign-born and native populations between 1890 and 1940, compiled from information available in the United States decennial census, 1890-1940. Until 1940, the census reports separated foreign-born whites from foreign-born non-whites. These figures only account for foreign-born whites, as the numbers in the census reports did not distinguish nativity for those of "other" or "colored" races (including people from India, Japan, China and Africa).

boundary of Evanston and Wilmette in 1922. Students and faculty of NCE officially moved into its new building, Harrison Hall – named for founder Elizabeth Harrison – in 1926.³⁴¹ The National College of Education embraced Evanston as a promotional point for the college. The 1926-1927 course catalog described the benefits of its new location:

Evanston is one of the most beautiful suburbs, north of Chicago. It is a city home of churches, schools, including one of the leading educational institutions of the middle west, Northwestern University. The opportunities of Evanston are supplemented by the general great advantages of the great City of Chicago. Thirty minutes on the Chicago Elevated Road or twenty minutes on the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad will bring the student to the heart of the Chicago's loop district.³⁴²

Though they had moved eighteen miles north of their previous home, NCE still capitalized on its proximity to Chicago as a cultural site and a place in which its students could practice their teaching skills while also touting Evanston as an ideal, if not idyllic, place for study. Furthermore, the move led to an association with the Northwestern University School of Education, beginning in 1932-1933, in which “advanced students and experienced teachers may secure additional courses in the field of elementary education.”³⁴³

Changes in the curriculum and student population growth also accompanied NCE in the move from downtown Chicago to Evanston.³⁴⁴ Perhaps due to the addition of

³⁴¹ Course Catalogs, 1894-2009, National Kindergarten and Elementary College Bulletin, 1924-1925, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

³⁴² Course Catalogs, 1894-2009, National Kindergarten and Elementary College Bulletin, 1926-1927, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

³⁴³ Course Catalogs, 1894-2009, National College of Education Bulletin, 1932-1933, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

courses in secondary education as well as the generally increasing population, enrollment numbers at the National College of Education steadily increased through 1940. In 1920, six years before the transition to Evanston, the student register listed the names of 285 students enrolled at NCE; in the two years immediately preceding the move, attendance had risen to 445 and 543. Magnifying the already upward trend, enrollment jumped significantly to 712 in the first year following the relocation (1926-1927) and remained steady through 1940, despite the Great Depression. All figures include summer school students and “special students,” in other words, registrants who took only mother’s, and in a lone year, father’s classes, without the aim of a teaching degree. Women comprised the majority of the students, save for those few who attended the father’s classes.³⁴⁵ Most of the students hailed from Illinois, if not Chicago, but several students traveled from far-flung states and other countries, including California, Texas, Washington, China, Czechoslovakia, and Canada, in particular for summer sessions. NCE explained the spike in enrollment for summer classes in part as a product of, “[A]n unusually fine faculty and a broad range of subjects offered in the curriculum . . . but it is due also undoubtedly, to the growing appreciation of the many advantages afforded by the North Shore.”³⁴⁶ Northwestern University also experienced increased

³⁴⁴ The name also changed at this time from National Kindergarten and Elementary College to National College of Education. Today the National College of Education remains one of the colleges that comprise National-Louis University, which has now returned to downtown Chicago.

³⁴⁵ Course Catalogs, 1894-2009, Bulletins/Course Catalogs, 1920-1940, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago. Mother’s and father’s classes taught parenting skills.

³⁴⁶ “Registration for Summer Jumps Fifty Percent,” *Our Guidon* (Evanston, IL), May 1927. National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections, Chicago.

student populations from 1890 through 1940.³⁴⁷ In 1890, NU counted 398 enrolled; by the 1910-1911 school year the figure had grown to 1868, and in 1930-1931, the attendance reached 3110. Like NCE, Northwestern University's student body steadily increased in the interwar years and during the Great Depression. By 1938-1939, Northwestern University had nearly 6500 students.³⁴⁸

While administrators at the National College of Education and Northwestern University may have attributed student population growth to their suburban situation, colleges and universities in Chicago also augmented their student bodies between 1890 and 1940. The University of Chicago, perhaps expected given the city of Chicago's expansion, grew at a far more rapid rate than either school in Evanston. In its inaugural year, 1891-1892, the University of Chicago enrolled 698 students, not quite twice Northwestern University's figure. By 1900, the University of Chicago outpaced NU's student population growth by nearly four times, and in 1910-1911, 6355 students attended the University of Chicago. Though numbers dipped during World War I, in 1920-1921 University of Chicago again claimed over 11,000 students and over 14,000 by the 1929-1930 school year.³⁴⁹ Many reasons might account for the more pronounced

³⁴⁷ These figures do not include those students enrolled in the preparatory academy at Northwestern University through the 1915-1916 school year nor summer session students. These numbers do include graduate students.

³⁴⁸ Harold F. Williamson and Payson S. Wild, *Northwestern University: A History, 1850-1975* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1976). 78,113,156, 188.

³⁴⁹ *Annual Register of The University of Chicago, 1891-1930*, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

growth at the University of Chicago, such as proximity to downtown Chicago, different admission standards, and emphasis on different academic programs.³⁵⁰

Given Evanston's cultivated independence and demographic differences from Chicago, it might follow that folk dance performances by Northwestern University and the National College of Education differed from the performances held at the University of Chicago, Columbia College, and Chicago Normal College. However, the similar curricula and the circulation of folk dancing practices through students and teachers in the greater Chicago area, as described in Chapter 2, resulted in comparable performances in both Chicago and Evanston. While rhetorical differences distinguished Evanston from Chicago, the embodied practice of folk dance performances reinforced both the prominence of the native-born, white middle- and upper- class women as instructors in the suburbs and the city and confirmed the circulation of ideas among students, teachers, and audiences.

Folk dance as presented and performed by university students appeared in a variety of venues and formats, such as university celebrations, gymnastics exhibitions, spring festivals, campus organizations – in particular cosmopolitan and international clubs – and social events. “Performance” here includes dances presented both on and beyond the proscenium stage, including outdoors, on gymnasium floors, and in social gatherings. Folk dance performances affiliated with institutions of higher education

³⁵⁰ Enrollment figures are unavailable for Columbia College and the American College of Physical Education. See Appendix B for Enrollment figures for Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Chicago Normal College, and the National College of Education. Some of the records for the latter two schools remain incomplete. See Appendix C for graduation figures from Columbia College. Columbia College included numbers of graduates for 1892-1923.

served three primary functions. First, folk dance performances, especially those associated with university celebrations, gymnastic exhibitions and spring festivals, displayed and promoted the physical fitness of native-born American women through a non-competitive activity, while also affirming their presence as college students for faculty, staff, and the surrounding community. Second, presentations sponsored by campus organizations often featured foreign-born dancers, and more often included men, as a measure of validating their native cultures. Finally, folk dances also appeared in social gatherings, providing a means of interaction among college-aged men and women. All kinds of folk dance performances overlapped and predominated at the institutions between the 1910s and 1930s. Though no films exist, analysis of the dances included, who performed, the locations where students presented them, and the potential audiences helps untangle the implications of such performances and account for their continued popularity through the contraction of immigration and the prevalence of nativist sentiments in the 1920s and 1930s in the United States.

In May of 1911 the women of Northwestern University were “invited to participate in folk dances in national costumes,” as part of the celebration of University Day, which, “Every year . . . has been devoted to the most important college interests and has usually been given over to the men,” suggesting that folk dance held the status of one of “the most important college interests.”³⁵¹ Though women had attended Northwestern as early as 1869, their participation provided official, public exposure of

³⁵¹ “Folk Dances Proposed,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 23, 1911. These spellings differ from those used in the April 12, 1911, *Daily Northwestern* article that describes the same dances.

women as members of the student body. It remains unclear exactly who requested or campaigned for women's inclusion. A report on the University Day festivities claims that "a large crowd witnessed" the folk dance performance by "about twenty-four women" who danced a Norwegian Mountain March, Russian Csehbobogar [sic], Hoppmoranika [sic], Scotch Harvest, Danish Polka, and an English May-Pole Dance.³⁵² The inclusion of folk dance in University Day indicates not only its popularity among female students and instructors, but also recognized women as university students at Northwestern, as mediated through the national dances of other, mostly Northern and Western European, countries. The same reports from University Day 1911 do not give any information on the men's activities.

The Daily Northwestern describes students as again "cast[ing] dull care aside and abandon[ing] themselves to the general pursuits of happiness on University Day," in 1914.³⁵³ The account provides greater details of the day's program. "A large part of the entertainment will be in the form of athletic contests and exhibitions," such as baseball, wrestling, tug-of-war, track and field events, the marching band, stunts, and a lantern procession. Like 1911, women appeared only as dancers, performing an "Indian dance," the French vineyard, and a "folk dance with wooden shoes" in addition to an "esthetic" (read: aesthetic) dance.³⁵⁴ As their predecessors had hoped after their debut in 1911,

³⁵² In folk dance manuals, the Cshebogar is also identified as Hungarian, Hungarian Gypsy, or Sicilian. Hopp Mor Annika is generally regarded as Swedish.

³⁵³ "Lots of Fun on Tap for University Day," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 20, 1914.

³⁵⁴ It is not clear what exactly "Indian dance" entailed, though this most likely refers to an impression of a pan-Native American dance.

women students had successfully integrated themselves into the celebration of University Day. However, their participation remained limited to performing dance as a non-competitive physical display.³⁵⁵ Schools with predominantly female student bodies, including Columbia College, Chicago Normal College, and the National College of Education did not experience tensions over the inclusion of women students in college events.

Gymnastics exhibitions offered one the most common venues for folk dance performance by women in higher education. The demonstrations displayed women's fitness skills of coordination, rhythm, and memorization. Women's participation in college and university functions as folk dance performers in gymnastics exhibitions verified their status as students and broadcast their physical capabilities as learned through Women's Athletic Associations and physical education and physical culture classes. Both Northwestern University and the University of Chicago established Women's Athletic Associations: NU founded its WAA in 1911; the University of Chicago, 1904.³⁵⁶ WAAs provided organized athletic activities and interclass competitions in the absence of varsity sports for women. The Women's Athletic Associations worked closely with the departments of physical education and physical

³⁵⁵ Within the Women's Athletic Association at Northwestern University, though, female students could engage in a range of competitive sports, including basketball and soccer.

³⁵⁶ University of Chicago still has a WAA. Northwestern University still technically has its WAA, though only nominally. It comprises half of the now-renowned WAA-MU (Women's Athletic Association – Men's Union) show, an annual musical production nearly entirely composed, performed, and produced by NU undergraduates since it began in 1929. NU has NCAA varsity women's (and men's) athletics.

culture; many on the women's faculty also sponsored the WAA. Schools with majority female student bodies did not organize WAAs.

The American College of Physical Education (ACPE), Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago, the institutions in the analysis that enrolled both men and women, held gymnastics exhibitions most frequently. Sponsors of the events often invited the public in addition to faculty and students. While the WAA exhibitions presented women only, others showed both men's and women's physical activities, though performed separately by gender. The range of dances included in the demonstrations represented what students learned in their classes.³⁵⁷ Initially the gymnastics exhibitions highlighted women's physical skills absent competition; however, folk dancing evolved into a competitive activity at some schools, a practice that challenged many folk dance proponents' emphasis on folk dancing as a healthy, non-competitive exercise.³⁵⁸

Demonstrations mirrored the curricula of the physical education and physical culture departments, privileging Northern and Western European dances. For example, the newly organized WAA at Northwestern University held their first gymnastics exhibition in April 1911, as introduced at the beginning of the chapter, where the women performed the Czechbogar (Russian/Czech), Hopp Mor Annika (Swedish, sometimes Danish), Scotch Harvest, and the Danish Polka, the same dances, in fact, presented by

³⁵⁷ See Chapter 2 for details about the folk dance curricula in colleges and universities in Chicago and Evanston.

³⁵⁸ For more on the motivations of folk dance proponents and instructors, see Chapter 4.

women at University Day later that same year.³⁵⁹ In 1925, female students gave “Gathering Peacods” (English) and a Russian solo dance at an exhibition that featured both men and women from the physical education department.³⁶⁰ The female physical education students at Northwestern University held a guest night in 1929, which featured German, Danish, and Dutch folk dances; a similar program in 1930 presented Polish, English, Danish, and Spanish dances. Similarly, the American College of Physical Education presented a series of demonstrations between 1913 and 1915 of Northern and Western European folk dances. The nationalities represented at ACPE included English, Bohemian, Swedish, Irish, Polish, Danish, and French.³⁶¹

With its increased presence in gymnastic exhibitions, folk dance regularly graced *The Daily Northwestern*'s sports page beginning in 1924 through the 1930s, which reflects the situation of folk dance – and dance more generally – as a healthful exercise within physical education departments. However, its popularity also provided an opportunity for female students to increase their visibility on campus by publicly engaging in physical activity. Other demonstrations, such as marching and calisthenics,

³⁵⁹ “Girls Hold Athletic Fete,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), April 28, 1911.

³⁶⁰ “Gymnasts to Stage Annual Show Tonight,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 25, 1925.

³⁶¹ The dances given by American College of Physical Education at demonstrations between 1913 and 1915 were: English (Dargason, Peascods, If All the World Were Paper – Cecil Sharp); Bohemian (Besda – Bohemian National Folk Dance, according to the ACPE program from 7 August 1914); Danish (Schottische); Swedish (Vingaker Barn, Gottland Quadrille, Klapp Dans); Belgian (Ostend); Irish (Dublin Jig); Polish (Mazurka Couple Dance); French (Rejane – Court Dance); and the Trekarlspolka (nationality unclear). *The Radical*, American College of Physical Education/McFadden College of Physcultopathy, Chicago, IL, February 1, 1915; American College of Physical Education Summer Session Visitor's Day, Saturday August 7, 1914; American College of Physical Education Mid-Year Gymnastic Demonstration, January 29, 1915; American College of Physical Education Annual Gymnastic Demonstration, May 12, 1916; Program, Gymnastic Demonstration Physical Culture Training School, December 18, 1913; Program, Gymnastic Demonstration Physical Culture Training School, September 26, 1913. DePaul University Archives, (Chicago, IL).

were available to women in mixed-gender exhibitions, but competitive intercollegiate athletics remained the purview of men. Folk dance, though, proved the most consistent inclusion of all women's activities. For example for the 1925 gymnastics exhibit the "Purple Sports" page described the features of the third annual program. Women figured prominently in eight of the thirteen pieces presented; however their central form of participation occurred through various terpsichorean numbers, including folk dance and interpretive dancing.³⁶² The 1926 "Purple Sporting Dope" page of *The Daily Northwestern* previewed women's participation in the annual gymnastics exhibition: "The women will take an important part in this exhibit . . . the second number will be a folk dance . . . this is expected to be one of the interesting events of the evening."³⁶³ Though vague, no other piece of the program received such notice. In 1927 the sports page covered the exhibition in which folk dancing again constituted the primary contribution of women.³⁶⁴

Beyond its recognition in the sports pages, folk dance acquired the characteristics of a competitive activity in the exhibitions organized by the WAAs and physical education and physical culture departments at Northwestern University and the University of Chicago. As early as 1918, women squared off in a competitive folk festival at the University of Chicago. That year the freshmen "won" folk dancing in "What was considered the best women's gym meet ever held in the University . . . About

³⁶² "Gymnasts to Stage Annual Show Tonight," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 25, 1925.

³⁶³ "Gym Exhibit at Patten Tonight," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 24, 1926.

³⁶⁴ "Gym Students to Perform in Annual Exhibit," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 29, 1927.

two hundred and fifty women took part in the folk dancing and apparatus work.”³⁶⁵ Only one year later, “Some three or four hundred women participated” in the “Annual Athletic Contest,” required by the department of physical culture, from which the Frosh emerged victorious.³⁶⁶ In the competition of 1920, the sophomores reigned victorious in every event – except folk dancing, which the freshmen again won.³⁶⁷ At NU, the “Woman’s Section” of the April 6, 1921, edition of *The Daily Northwestern* announced that in the “Frosh-Soph Indoor Gymnastic Competition . . . The best material from all the girls in both classes has been selected to compete . . .” The sophomores submitted their renditions of “Dutch Villagers, When I Was a Bachelor and Indian Sun Dance” for the judges’ consideration.³⁶⁸ An exhibition in March 1927 at Northwestern University rewarded female participants points towards their WAA letters, where “Folk dancing,

³⁶⁵ “Women to Contest in Gymnastic Meet Soon,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 28, 1918; “250 Women Take Part in Gymnasium Meet,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 15, 1918.

³⁶⁶ “Women to Hold Annual Athletic Contest Today in Ida Noyes Gymnasium,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 13, 1919; “Freshmen Winners of Women’s Gym Contest,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 14, 1919.

³⁶⁷ “Sophomores Victors in Women’s Gym Meet,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 12, 1920. Women from the Chicago Normal School of Physical Education, a program of the Chicago Normal College, judged the meet. “Sophomores Victors in Women’s Gym Meet,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), March 12, 1920. Dance remains largely feminized, and in many high schools and colleges, dance team members, typically young women, earn athletic letters for participation. These folk dance competitions, in the tradition of drill and tactics before them, are the dancestors to present day drill and dance team competitions. Imagine a group of 30 women marching into the gym in a straight line with military precision. A woman at the back of the line counts off “5, 6, 7, 8!” The line splits, as half march forward and the other half march in place. Again the drill sergeant shouts, “5, 6, 7, 8” over the polite clapping of the crowd. All thirty heads snap into position as do legs and feet, arms, and hands. A record crackles the opening notes of the music and the women begin, executing each step exactly like one another, smiling at the audience. Each hop, step and clap occurs simultaneously. Perfection! Full disclosure: I earned letters for dance team from Civic Memorial High School in Bethalto, Illinois, (double state champions in 1996) and participated for a season and a half on the Northwestern University Varsity Dance Team, aka The Ladycats.

³⁶⁸ “Hold Frosh-Soph Indoor Gymnastic Competition,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), April 6, 1921.

one of the major activities of the coeds taking gym, will be demonstrated by the women who have chosen that type of exercise.”³⁶⁹

Most colleges and universities required physical education classes for undergraduates at the time, which largely explains the high levels of participation in gymnastics exhibitions.³⁷⁰ However, membership in the WAAs was voluntary, and the organizations may have helped to encourage women to continue with their physical education beyond their requirements. The large numbers of dancers supports the prevalence of colleges and universities teaching folk dancing to their female students. Also, the spectacle of hundreds of women performing folk dance projected, probably quite convincingly, the image of American college women as happy, healthy, and yet versed in traditions of an agricultural, pre-industrial world.³⁷¹ Therefore, through competitive folk dancing American college women enacted acceptable foreign-ness as part of a vision of American-ness that involved women performing healthful dances. The sources from Columbia College and the National College of Education do not suggest that they held similar gymnastics exhibitions.

Concurrent with gymnastics exhibitions, folk dance appeared annually in spring festivals such as May festivals or May fêtes at Northwestern University, the National

³⁶⁹ “Gym Students to Perform in Annual Exhibit,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 29, 1927. Though none of the articles explained the evaluation methods of folk dance competitions, one imagines that, at minimum, execution, synchronicity, aesthetics, and accuracy – however defined by the judges – might warrant consideration.

³⁷⁰ The University of Chicago provides one exception; see Chapter 2 for further discussion.

³⁷¹ The performances also complement the rise of the chorus girl on Broadway and in film. For more on the training of chorus girls, see Ned Wayburn, *The Art of Stage Dancing* (New York: The Ned Wayburn Studios of Stage Dancing, 1925); and Barbara Stratyner, *Ned Wayburn and the Dance Routine: From Vaudeville to the Zeigfeld Follies* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).

College of Education, and the University of Chicago. The performances, which often accompanied the crowning of a May Queen, reified women's beauty as privileged and valued, referenced agricultural idyll through outdoor settings, and helped enact a vision of American "folk" in colleges and universities. Though grounded in English Maypole dance traditions, the performances grew to incorporate an array of dances presented through the curriculum of the physical education departments, which fostered the expansion and reconceptualization of May festivals within the context of American higher education.

Three documenters of folk dance, Neva Boyd, Elizabeth Burchenal, and Mary Wood Hinman, include descriptions of Maypole dances in their published folk dance compilations that illuminate the customs followed by colleges and universities for their performances. All three identify the Maypole dance as English. Boyd and her co-author, Florence Warren Brown, explain that the dance "is said to date back to 1450. Practically every recorder of old May-day customs mentions this dance. It was danced by the villagers about the May-pole."³⁷² Each account provides detailed instructions for the dance, down to considerations for colors of the streamers (bright colors worked better than pastels), the height of the center pole (ten to fifteen feet), and the appropriate length for the streamers (one and a half times longer than the center pole). Boyd locates the authenticity of her depiction in her co-author's nativity and heritage; Brown claimed to have performed the Maypole dance growing up in London. On the other hand, Hinman

³⁷² Florence Warren Brown and Neva L. Boyd, *Old English and American Games for School and Playground* (Chicago: Recreation Department Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, 1915), 52-53.

ties her interpretation of the Maypole dance to a specific time and place, Leicester, England, in 1909.³⁷³ All depicted the dance as one primarily for children through language and images. For example, Burchenal photographically portrayed her Maypole dance through twelve identically dressed girls, likely between the ages of eight and twelve. She also recommended the Maypole dance for grass playgrounds, playgrounds with dirt surfaces, indoor playgrounds, small children, larger girls (though not larger boys), adults, and special occasions – certainly an all-purpose dance. Regarding the quality of the performance, Burchenal stated that, “Every movement of the dance should be free and joyous, expressive of the sunshine and new life that comes with spring.”³⁷⁴

In keeping with English Maypole traditions, many May festivals occurred outside. The National College of Education, upon its move to Evanston, Northwestern University, and the University of Chicago all claimed spacious outdoor areas, ideal for invoking the rural through performing. In Evanston, NCE had purchased three and one half acres, allowing room for expansion of the institution itself but also for the maintenance of dedicated outdoor recreation areas. Northwestern University retained several green spaces on its campus, including one near Patten Gymnasium (the women’s gym) and another in front of Deering Library, commonly called Deering Meadow. The University of Chicago sat adjacent to the Midway Plaisance from the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition, and, therefore, enjoyed that open space in addition to one next to

³⁷³ Mary Wood Hinman, *Hinman School of Gymnastic and Folk Dancing, Vol. III: Ring Dances with Descriptions* (New York: A.S. Barnes and Co., 1922), 10-17.

³⁷⁴ Burchenal, *Folk Dances and Singing Games*, 75.

its women's gym, Ida Noyes Gymnasium. Welcoming spring by dancing in outdoor spaces conjured the rural, pre-industrial world for performers and the public.³⁷⁵

Part of the rural celebration of the new life of spring involved the honoring and elevation of women's beauty. As a reporter from *The Daily Northwestern* explained, May Fête, “repeats the old English custom of crowning the most attractive girl in each town or village Queen of the May.”³⁷⁶ Schools with mixed-gender and single-gender student bodies alike annually crowned a May queen. Practically, additional criteria may have existed in the selection of the May queen, but across the institutions of higher education addressed here, all commented on the appearance of the queen.³⁷⁷

Though the May festivals often featured the English tradition of the Maypole as the primary folk dance, the performances also incorporated a greater variety of folk dances. For example, the 1913 fête at NU included a Spanish folk dance following “the twining of the May-pole.”³⁷⁸ At the University of Chicago's June fest of 1911, the women included the Danish Schottische in their performance, and, interestingly, that

³⁷⁵ Though evidence exists, primarily through photographs and newspaper articles, of the prevalence of outdoor performances by women in colleges and universities throughout the United States, no one has yet synthesized these materials to analyze their implications on a national scale, nor has anyone written about them to any appreciable extent. Perhaps I have found a second project? The trend of outdoor performances in the 1920s and 1930s likely reflects the increasing popularity of “natural” dancing engendered by several pioneers of American modern dance, especially Isadora Duncan.

³⁷⁶ “Crown New May Queen,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 2, 1913. Other countries certainly had spring festivals that incorporated versions of the Maypole dance as well. Some have continued to the present, for example the German legacy of Maifest continues in many small towns across Texas.

³⁷⁷ Though beyond the scope of this analysis, the performance of selecting and reifying the relationship between women and beauty as privileged and valued begs the question: why did this ritual take hold and persist in higher education? These traditions continue today in high schools and colleges and universities across the United States in prom queens and homecoming queens.

³⁷⁸ “Crown New May Queen,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 2, 1913.

year included men in the Maypole dance.³⁷⁹ NCE also incorporated dances beyond the traditional English Maypole dance in their May festivals, in particular dances from Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland. For instance, the 1934 May Festival at the National College of Education featured a set of Scandinavian dances as taught to the women by Viggo Bovbjerg, a faculty member at NCE of Danish descent; the 1938 festivities included a Polish Mazurka and a Swedish folk dance.³⁸⁰

Despite the backwards glances, folk dance in the context of May festivals also embodied contemporary concerns. A comment on a Mazurka presented at the National College of Education during the 1932 May festival reveals an interpretation that required “modern” experience: “[I]n the Mazurka, fire and spontaneity were outstanding. The subtle humor and syncopation inherent there were an excellent reflection on the twentieth century machine age.”³⁸¹ Therefore, even in performing an imagined past, the dancers, or at least some viewers, did not foreclose on the possibility of interplay between past and present.

Evidence indicates that organizers, typically the colleges and universities themselves, opened their festivals to the public, and sometimes schools worked with the community. For instance in 1925, the Northwestern University May Fête included “school children of Evanston” who danced around sixteen Maypoles in addition to the

³⁷⁹ “Annual June Fest of W.A.A. Takes Place Today,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), June 1, 1911. Mary Wood Hinman coached the women’s dances for the 1913 fête, though in which dances we do not know. “Virginia Hinkins is Selected as Queen,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), May 20, 1913.

³⁸⁰ “Esther Kovinsky Named May Queen at Spring Festival,” *Chaff* (Evanston, IL), May 15, 1934; “Many Answer Curtain Call This Evening,” *Chaff* (Evanston, IL), May 20, 1938.

³⁸¹ “Leila Coldren Chosen May Queen,” *Chaff* (Evanston, IL), May 19, 1932.

coeds from the physical education department who performed folk dances.³⁸² Organizers expected 2000 participants from the community and university for the celebration in response to President Herbert Hoover's designation of May Day as Child Health Day. After the grand pageant of 1925, May festival celebrations in this style ceased at Northwestern; however, the National College of Education picked up the mantle of spring festivals in Evanston and continued to present them into the 1930s.

The reconfiguration of May festivals created hybrid "American spring festivals" that could include a range of national and ethnic performances, though still circumscribed by the curricula presented in colleges and universities that focused on dances of Northern and Western Europeans. They also celebrated and promoted women's beauty, the health and fitness of women, and nostalgia for certain perceptions of agricultural, pre-industrial society – joy, beauty, and simplicity as instilled by progressive reforms and reformers. Public outdoor folk dance performances loosely based on English May festival traditions rendered visible and enacted white, middle-class, native-born American ideals as developed during the Progressive Era, although progressivism as an organized political movement had diminished by the end of World War I. Both Northwestern University and the University of Chicago abandoned the May festivals before the National College of Education, sometime in the mid-1920s. No information exists to suggest that the National College of Education held any

³⁸² "May Time Fete to be Like Day of Robin Hood," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 6, 1925.

performances, May festivals or otherwise, during the years it spent in downtown Chicago.³⁸³

Campus clubs provided sites for folk dancing during this period, in particular Cosmopolitan Clubs and International Clubs. The presentations complemented the traditions of the May festivals and gymnastics exhibitions by including a variety of folk dances; they also often tailored performances to the talents of their memberships, which included both native- and foreign-born students from countries all over the world. As a result the clubs expanded the realm of acceptable folk performance for higher education, countered the nativism legislated by the 1921 Emergency Quota Act and the 1924 Immigration Act, and included dances beyond those taught in women's physical education curricula in colleges and universities. These kinds of performances debuted in the 1910s and continued throughout the 1920s and 1930s. In contrast to the others addressed here, campus club presentations of folk dance more often involved men as dancers, especially men who performed the dances of their native countries. Cosmopolitan and International Clubs typically situated folk dance performances within other social events, such as fundraisers and lecture-demonstrations, in which the audience observed foreign cultures over the course of an evening. The broad range of dances, inclusion of men as dancers, and the presence of foreign-born performers

³⁸³ A consistent method for recording student events at the National College of Education did not exist until the student newspaper began during the 1923-1924 school year, and the school's archives hold very few yearbooks.

challenged both American gender norms regarding dance performance and the nativist sentiments in early-twentieth-century United States.³⁸⁴

Both Northwestern University and the University of Chicago had chapters of the Cosmopolitan Club, “an international organization, having chapters in universities all over the world.”³⁸⁵ The clubs welcomed both American and foreign-born students into its membership with the goal to “develop international friendship and good will; to promote the social welfare of the foreign students on campus; [and] to foster cooperation for one common end, ‘World Brotherhood’.”³⁸⁶ In 1910, its inaugural year at the University of Chicago, the Cosmopolitan Club claimed that its membership of “about forty” represented thirteen nations: Sweden, Canada, Armenia, Turkey, Brazil, China, Philippines, Germany, United States, Russia, India, Japan, and Poland.³⁸⁷

Folk dancing through the Cosmopolitan Clubs primarily displayed dances by foreign-born students from their respective countries and seldom offered opportunities to learn the dances. Usually their performances, like the May festivals and gymnastics

³⁸⁴ The Emergency Quota Act of 1921 did not delineate specific provisions concerning students. However, the Immigration Act of 1924 included students in Section 4 of the legislation under “Non-Quota Immigrants,” which provided that, “An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age and who seeks to enter the United States solely for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn.” Therefore students from throughout the world could attend colleges and universities in the US without subjection to immigration restrictions. 1924 Immigration Act, H.R. 7995; Pub. L. 68-139; 43 Stat. 153. 68th Congress; May 26, 1924. US immigration legislation online, http://library.uwb.edu/guides/usimmigration/1924_immigration_act.html.

³⁸⁵ “Cosmopolitan Club Open Up New Chapter House,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), October 6, 1910.

³⁸⁶ *Syllabus* 1928 (Evanston, IL), 407.

³⁸⁷ “Thirteen Nations are Represented in Club,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), October 11, 1910.

demonstrations, presented a variety of dances in one evening. For instance, an International Night sponsored by the University of Chicago's Cosmopolitan Club in 1911 featured both a Russian folk dance and a Japanese sword dance, performed by dancers from these countries in their native dress.³⁸⁸ The third annual International Night at University of Chicago broadened the trend, offering a program advertised as, "Almost Wholly by Foreign Students" and included the Kenbu (Japanese Sword Dance); Inkay-inkay (Philippine dance); European dances, "Pa de Quatre [sic], Pompadure [sic], Pas de Espana [sic];" and three Polish dances: Polka Traika, Krokovyak, and Mazur.³⁸⁹ International Night had expanded even further by 1918, when the nations representing themselves through folk music and dance included Japan, China, India, Croatia, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Poland, Russia, France, Scotland, Bohemia, Serbia, Sweden, Mexico, Jamaica, and the Philippine Islands. That year, "Many of the city's prominent artists and nationalistic societies will be represented," suggesting that the event had grown beyond the confines of the university.³⁹⁰

Northwestern University also had an active Cosmopolitan Club chapter that produced programs similar to the performances at the University of Chicago. For example, in March 1928, "Foreign students of Northwestern will present a program of international entertainment . . . under the auspices of the Cosmopolitan Club . . . The

³⁸⁸ "National Dances for International Night," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 7, 1911. Mary McDowell of the University Settlement also appeared on this program as a guest speaker.

³⁸⁹ "Nations Combine for International Night," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), April 13, 1912. The national designations and spellings are those from this edition of *Daily Maroon* and not my own.

³⁹⁰ "International Night to be Repeated Sunday," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), November 5, 1918.

Spanish group will dance the tangos of Old Spain . . . Filipino students will favor us with singing and dancing, and the Japanese boys will portray their native songs and dances.”³⁹¹ An April 1930 party of the Cosmopolitan Club presented an evening of Bulgarian culture, including dance. In 1940 the club held a “kaffe klatsch,” “under the supervision of the German students who are members of the club.”³⁹² The open meeting for “all foreign students and all American students who wish to attend” also featured phonograph recordings, some made before the onset of World War I, and German folk dancing by Northwestern student Hans Ullman.³⁹³

The International Club at the National College of Education functioned similarly to the Cosmopolitan Clubs of Northwestern University and the University of Chicago. Even though it operated within the context of a majority female student body, the club still featured men as dancers and adhered to presentational and observational rather than participatory formats. At NCE the International Club regularly held events that presented folk dancing, such as a semi-formal dance in November 1931 that acted as a scholarship fundraiser, which Chicago-based consuls attended as the guests of honor. Their evening

³⁹¹ “Students Give International Play Tonight,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 21, 1928. Also note the problematic use of “boys,” if this, in fact, refers to college-aged students.

³⁹² “Cosmopolitan Club Will Show Pictures at Meeting,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), December 6, 1935; “Kaffe Klatsch Planned by Cosmopolitan Club,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 19, 1940.

³⁹³ “Kaffe Klatsch Planned by Cosmopolitan Club,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), March 19, 1940. Though most Cosmopolitan Club events presented folk dance through foreign-born dancers, on occasion all members had an opportunity to dance. One meeting of the chapter at University of Chicago stands out for its attempt “to develop the cosmopolitan spirit among students of all nations,” through learning different nations’ folk dances. This club worked to, “have Miss Hinman instruct the members in folk dances of all nations.” Whether or not they succeeded in this project remains unclear. “Cosmopolitan Members Plan to Learn Dances,” *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), February 17, 1912.

covered a wide range of dances through, “A program of folk dancing by foreign students in their native costumes will precede the ballroom dancing. This will include dances of Denmark, Japan, Russia, Bulgaria, South America and the Phillippines.”³⁹⁴ The National College of Education also invited students from the University of Chicago and Northwestern University to attend. In 1933 the International Club repeated its successful event. A writer for *Chaff*, NCE’s student newspaper, described the affair: “The night of March 25 is memorable for a strange phenomenon. On the stroke of nine, National became **international** . . . The front hall and gym were gay with pennants of every land and palms and ferns made attractive the platform which held the very American orchestra.”³⁹⁵ Polish, Mexican, and Estonian folk dance performances intertwined with the ballroom dances of the evening, completing the contrast between American participation in dance and the watching of foreign dance performance. NCE yearbooks shed some light on the membership of the presenting organization. In 1931 the International Club claimed twenty foreign-born students, twenty American students, eighty-four associate members, and one hundred sustaining members – “men and women of the community who are actively assisting the Club in many ways.”³⁹⁶ By 1933 the numbers remained strong with fifteen foreign-born members, fifteen American members, one hundred and twenty associate members, and one hundred and ten

³⁹⁴ “International Club Sponsors Dance,” *Chaff* (Evanston, IL), November 3, 1931. Bold in original.

³⁹⁵ “Plan for Spring Festival,” *Chaff*, (Evanston, IL), April 6, 1933.

³⁹⁶ *National College of Education Yearbook 1931*, 100, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections.

sustaining members.³⁹⁷ The club believed that it, “[M]ade the girls from other countries feel at home and has helped them to solve many problems and has tried to give a fair idea of American people and their way of living and doing things.”³⁹⁸

Unlike the May festivals and gymnastics exhibitions, the presentations by Cosmopolitan and International Clubs focused on American college students watching foreign-born dancers rather than learning and performing the dances themselves. The range of dances and dancers included in the presentations certainly challenged nativist sentiments present in the curriculum, though the likelihood that the foreign-born students enrolled and attending school in the United States shared a similar class status with the American students might also have tempered xenophobia. Here folk dance provided a path to understanding as measured by observation and recognition rather than embodiment through participation as in the case of the May festivals and gymnastics exhibitions. However, the performances also focused more on the dances qua dances rather than as modes of exercise. By using culture as a point of connection and universality rather than as a demonstration of fitness and beauty, folk dance opened an avenue of awareness and “World Brotherhood.” Despite the emphasis on “cosmopolitan spirit,” American students did not share or perform American folk dances alongside those of the foreign-born.

³⁹⁷ *National College of Education Yearbook 1933*, 91-92, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections.

³⁹⁸ *National College of Education Yearbook 1933*, 100, National-Louis University Archives and Special Collections.

In the instances of the Cosmopolitan and International Clubs, foreign-born students performed folk dances, most commonly as a display of the merits of a particular culture. Though native-born students less often performed in folk dances at Cosmopolitan and International campus club events, their participation as spectators and supporters juxtaposed the foreign against the American while also signaling acceptance of the value of folk dances of other nations. The collegiate clubs in Evanston and Chicago therefore practiced a more broadly conceived vision of acceptable foreignness by including dances from the Pacific Islands, Southern and Eastern Europe, and Japan. Furthermore, the dances performed mirrored the dynamism of the clubs' membership and the talents of the students belonging to the organization at any given moment. One can only guess to what degree their interactions shaped the sentiments of its native-born participants, though the performances to some degree defied the nativist tendencies of the early twentieth century, and, at minimum, moved beyond the folk dance traditions learned through the schools' curricula.³⁹⁹

Lastly, folk dance took place as part of social dance events. At the gatherings, which typically did not achieve popularity until the 1920s, folk dance often provided a

³⁹⁹ The evidence for folk dance presented through ethnic clubs and organizations on campus is thin but bears mentioning. Swedish folk dancers entertained at a meeting of the Scandinavian Club at the University of Chicago in June 1926. "Swedish Folk Dancers Entertain Campus Club," *Daily Maroon* (Chicago), June 2, 1926. In the 1930s, *Daily Northwestern* advertised the inclusion of folk dance at a recital sponsored by the University Polish Club and at a meeting of the Spanish club. "University Polish Club Will Sponsor Recital," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), May 2, 1934; "Spanish Club Holds First Meeting Tonight," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), October 23, 1935. Also, the University of Chicago's Russian Scientific Cultural Fraternity gave, "A program of Russian folk songs, dances and classical pieces followed by social dancing to an American as well as a Russian band." "U. of Chicago Frat Plans Russian Dance," *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), January 5, 1933. It remains unclear whether these clubs invited American students as well as foreign-born students as members or whether these clubs could maintain membership capable of sustaining them as campus organizations from one school year to the next.

warm-up of sorts to other social dancing, following in the traditions of focusing on teaching girls proper dancing methods through folk dancing before their introduction to social dancing.⁴⁰⁰ In the legacy of progressive approaches to dance, folk dances in the context of social dancing enacted sites of safe socialization for men and women college students. Unlike the Cosmopolitan and International Clubs, native-born men participated rather than observed, although it remains unclear whether or not foreign-born students attended these events as well.

Both folk dance parties and social dance events where folk dance acted as a practice session and prelude to other social dancing rehearsed and sustained progressive ideas about proper dance and embodied interactions between men and women by offering safe social interaction. Many events took place within churches; faculty members sponsored others. For example, between 1939 and 1940, the Methodist student foundation at Northwestern University held several folk dances in conjunction with lectures on a variety of topics, such as “Murder Confronts our Youth,” “A Look at the Colored Community of Evanston,” and “Recent Developments in Student Christian Work.”⁴⁰¹ In other words, the inclusion of folk dance at social events did not necessitate the pretense of addressing foreign-ness. The same approach applied to folk dancing parties, such as those organized by Leon Krantz and Agnes Jones at Northwestern

⁴⁰⁰ For more on folk dance as a primer for social dance, see Chapters 3 and 4. The practice of using folk dance before social dancing also reminds me of social dance events where an expert provides lessons to beginners for a period before the main event, something that occurred frequently with the swing dance trend of the 1990s, for instance.

⁴⁰¹ “Methodist Church,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), October 20, 1939; “Methodist Student Foundation,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), December 1, 1939; “Methodist Foundation Meets,” *Daily Northwestern* (Evanston, IL), January 5, 1940.

University and Viggo Bovbjerg and his wife at the National College of Education. Social dancing events, even when they included folk dancing, occurred under the watchful eyes of faculty who supervised the interactions, again without any expressed purpose towards learning and appreciating other cultures, but for social interaction.

The pervasiveness of nativist sentiments as legislated through the 1921 Emergency Quota Law and the 1924 Immigration Act did not prevent the presentation of folk dance in urban areas. Despite the differences in demographics between suburb and city, the kinds of performances proved remarkably similar throughout the interwar period and Great Depression in Chicago and Evanston. The similarities affirm the circulation of similar curricula and the decisions made by the predominantly female folk dance instructors throughout the Chicago area as detailed in Chapter 2.

The “interesting and instructive” dances performed by American-born college women and foreign-born college students between the 1910s and 1930s in Chicago and Evanston illuminate some of the ways in which folk dance embodied and enacted acknowledgement and acceptance of women in higher education. Although men performed folk dances in social settings and in exhibitions that displayed foreign-born students, women remained the primary performers of folk dancing through university celebrations, gymnastics exhibitions, and spring festivals. The Women’s Athletic Associations and physical education and physical culture departments encouraged women’s physical fitness, though competition remained limited to interclass dance matches and athletic contests rather than intercollegiate sports. Women therefore presented a vision of American womanhood to the academic and surrounding

communities through folk dance performances that now included physical activity, circumscribed by the legacy of progressive ideals concerning beauty and expressions of joy, simplicity, and pre-industrial society.

CHAPTER VI

PERFORMING AND WATCHING: SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, social settlements organized folk dance performances for several different purposes and places. For instance, beginning in 1919, the Chicago Federation of Settlements sponsored an Annual All-Settlement Adult Party. According to the Northwestern University Settlement's *The Neighbor*, for the 1921 assembly, between "four and five hundred men and women were there representing almost every Settlement and almost all nationalities that go to make up Chicago."⁴⁰² The gathering promoted the sharing of Old World cultural traditions, especially song and dance, but it also encouraged the primary project of Americanization of the social settlements. Following the performances, which included dancers from Northwestern University Settlement in a Polish Mazur, the writer for *The Neighbor* applauded the efforts of the settlements for their ability to enact American-ness: "[W]hen at the end of the program we join together in the singing of America we feel ourselves to be indeed the melting pot and we know that the Settlements . . . are **thinking** and **working** and **playing** out the program of true Americanism."⁴⁰³

Analysis of the folk dance performances sponsored and organized by settlement workers both within the settlement house and in their neighborhoods illustrates women as the primary movers in the folk dance performances in social settlements across

⁴⁰² [Untitled] *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 1921.

⁴⁰³ [Untitled] *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 1921. Emphases in original.

Chicago. Performances by the social settlements enacted American idealizations of agricultural societies in a series of performances and venues even more varied than similar presentations in higher education; however, they also show the development of an Americanized version of folk dance that while based in the nostalgia of Old World dances, it now accommodated new American celebrations. Illumination of the network of social settlements shows how they facilitated the circulation of similar performance practices despite differences among the settlement houses in location, population served, and the goals of leadership.

Theories concerning the performance of nationalism and national identity inform the analyses of the chapter. In *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (1989), historian Peter Sahlins addresses the slipperiness of the conceptualization of national identity. Through his examination of the Pyrenees in France and Spain from the mid-seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth centuries, Sahlins posits that like borders, national identities prove dynamic and socially constructed rather than inherent. According to Sahlins socially-constructed national identities create “us versus them” binaries, which he has based in part on Benedict Anderson’s ideas of difference and “othering” as part of identity formation.⁴⁰⁴ Both dynamism and difference factor into the Americanization programs of the social settlements, as even their cultural pluralism relied on an oppositional construction. The

⁴⁰⁴ Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 9; See also Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991; First published 1983).

elements of “other” cultures valued by settlement leadership became absorbed and recast as “American” in an effort to reframe the new arrivals as American as well.

Also, as Sahlins notes, the growth of bureaucracy accompanied the rise of the territory-based nation-state in order to shape and enforce national identities, which echoes the reform-based bureaucracies that emerged out of the American progressive movement. Projects of Americanization, enacted through embodied practices including folk dance, presented one mode of institutionalized identity encouragement in the civilian sector; however, many reforms favored by the settlement workers attained local and national support over the course of the twentieth century. As a relatively new and still developing nation-state at the time, the United States followed a similar trajectory as that which Sahlins describes of the Pyrenees. Despite the malleability of American-ness, the social constructions that comprise identity also remain remarkably stable in the face of increasing bureaucratic infrastructure. While willing to introduce, instruct, and embrace most immigrant arrivals to American life, social settlement workers cleverly pitched their reforms to the new and growing bureaucracies in order to implement their ideas concerning national identity, at once crafting and institutionalizing them. Americanization projects facilitated the dissemination of progressive ideas concerning American-ness, and performances of folk dance offered a method of simultaneously recognizing some merit in immigrants’ national identities – however circumscribed by

racial, ethnic, and religious prejudices – by establishing acceptable American body behaviors for participants and projecting them for audiences.⁴⁰⁵

When compared with institutions of higher education, social settlements offered more and more varied opportunities for participants and audiences, though they shared some similar performances, such as the May or Spring Festivals. However, the settlements also presented ethnic-specific events both within the individual houses and across several settlements with greater frequency than colleges and universities. Unlike the institutions of higher education, which typically held independent gymnasium exhibitions, social settlements more often combined showcases of gym work with other events, such as the May Festivals and holiday celebrations. The settlements included folk dance in a number of different programs within the houses, such as holiday celebrations, settlement anniversaries, and independent folk dance programs, as well as encouraging participation in multi-settlement and cross-institutional events such as the All-Settlement Adult Party sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Settlements and the Civic Welfare Exhibit organized by the Chicago Woman's City Club. Regardless of the greater breadth of productions of folk dances, social settlements reflected and reinforced the folk dance practices as taught and performed throughout Chicago.

⁴⁰⁵ However, as Sahlins also argues, state formation and nation building ultimately takes place as a two-way process, one that empowers the local in the face of bureaucracy. Localized responses, in the form of ethnic clubs and performances, prove less visible in the settlement records, as discussed later in the chapter. Sahlins, *Boundaries*, 8. For additional work specifically on the performance of nationalism, see the compilation *Performing America: Cultural Nationalism in American Theater*, ed. by Jeffrey D. Mason and J. Ellen Gainor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); and Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Davis argues that public collective gatherings reveal power structures and demonstrate ideas concerning social relations. She examines both repetitious and special events, such as parades and public ceremonies as political acts that may inform class and national identities.

Overall, social settlements presented May Festivals more consistently and over a longer period of time than colleges and universities; however, they retained many of the same qualities, such as crowning a May queen; presenting athletic and gymnastic activities, typically done by children; and displaying folk dance primarily performed by girls projecting values of simplicity, joy, beauty, and the pastoral. Through the invocation of the agricultural past (and therefore the pre-industrial) via immigrants and their children in the urban present, settlement leadership enacted the values as collected and selected from mostly Northern and Western European countries while also promoting a limited cultural pluralism. As in higher education the May Festivals, while springing from English traditions, embraced a more comprehensive list of nationalities, though still largely circumscribed by Northern and Western European traditions, into hybrid American spring festivals. Sometimes the presentations included immigrants in their own native dances, most typically before World War I. But, increasingly the folk dances featured girls and young women dancing dances not representative of either their personal heritage or the populations of their neighborhoods, which mirrors the differences between ethnic clubs and therefore ethnic dancers as the classes gained in popularity in the 1910s, 20s, and 30s.

Chicago Commons held its first Annual May Festival in 1902. It featured a showcase of class work, though it did not explicitly include folk dance.⁴⁰⁶ In 1903 the second May Festival incorporated a Maypole Dance in addition to the gym exhibitions

⁴⁰⁶ Graham Taylor Papers, First Annual May Festival Program, Box 55, Folder 2411, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

from the previous year.⁴⁰⁷ By the 1906 celebration, folk dances filled more of the program, in particular for the “International Night,” which marked the close of Chicago Commons’ twelfth winter of operation. Organizers balanced, “The graceful delicate dancing of the Italian children, the gay costumes and chivalrous movements of the Norwegians, the plaids and courtesying [sic] of the Scotch grand dames, the Greek whirl of men’s skirts,” with promotion of American inclusiveness.⁴⁰⁸ The program offers an example of immigrants performing their native dances as well as providing a means of emphasizing American-ness: “[they] lifted all up above their little patriotisms and blended all hearts in the neighborly spirit of our American international citizenship.”⁴⁰⁹ The 1908 May Festival presented twelve folk dances (over half of the twenty-one total numbers on the program) of English, Scotch, Norwegian, Swedish, Irish, Italian, and Spanish origin as well as one “Negro” dance. The collection of dances from different nationalities signaled a transition towards dances found in folk dance manuals and taught as curriculum in higher education.⁴¹⁰ In 1909 the dancers in the May Festival had clearly shifted from immigrant dancers or dancers who may have learned dances through the ethnic clubs to students learning folk dances in the classes, usually girls and young women, taught by American-born, white, middle-class women social settlement workers.

⁴⁰⁷ Graham Taylor Papers, Second Annual May Festival Program, Box 55, Folder 2413, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁰⁸ Graham Taylor Papers, Autumn News Letter 1906, Box 55, Folder 2415, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁰⁹ Graham Taylor Papers, Autumn News Letter 1906, Box 55, Folder 2415, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴¹⁰ Graham Taylor Papers, Program of Kirmess, May 2, 1908, Box 55, Folder 2418, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

That year the Girls' Gymnasium Exhibit presented "drills and Folk Dances," while in 1910 they offered "Gymnastic dancing, fancy drills, and folk dances." For 1911, folk dances constituted over a third of the day's program.⁴¹¹

By the 1920 Spring Festival, however, the dances represented more closely the curricula from the classes instead of the neighborhood population. Of the thirteen dances shared, organizers described four as English (including the Maypole dance), four as Danish, and one dance each as Bohemian, Lithuanian, Swedish, Italian, and Polish.⁴¹² The residents of the area at the time would have overwhelmingly favored Polish, German, Italian and Russian backgrounds, not English and Danish.⁴¹³ As in many of the May celebrations at colleges and universities, Chicago Commons held at least the 1920 festival outdoors at the Washington School Playground. May or Spring Festivals (though the names sometimes changed, the timing and patterns of programming remained essentially unchanged) continued at Chicago Commons through at least 1938, the final

⁴¹¹ Graham Taylor Papers, Fifteenth Annual May Festival and Exhibit of Work, Box 55, Folder 2419, The Newberry Library, Chicago; Graham Taylor Papers, Sixteenth Annual May Festival, Box 55, Folder 2420, The Newberry Library, Chicago; Graham Taylor Papers, Annual May Festival 1911, Box 55, Folder 2421, The Newberry Library, Chicago. There exist some inconsistencies over the date of the first May Festival at Chicago Commons. If they held the fifteenth annual festival in 1910, as suggested by this piece of evidence, the first event would have occurred in 1895. However, the source cited at the opening of the section on May Festivals at Chicago Commons claims that the settlement did not organize its first festival until 1902. I cannot locate any support for the earlier date.

⁴¹² Graham Taylor Papers, Staff Meeting Minutes June 1920, Box 52, Folder 2350, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴¹³ Graham Taylor Papers, Report of the Work of Chicago Commons for the year September, 1912-August 1913, Box 53, Folder 2376, The Newberry Library, Chicago. The report states the Austrian Poles comprised 38% of the population of 70,099 in the seventeenth ward, the location of Chicago Commons. Germans constituted 16%; Italians, 12%; Norwegian, Hungarian, and American, 4% and a host of additional nationalities under 4%. The report blended the US decennial census of 1910 with research of one of the residents of Chicago Commons who mapped the area through "personal canvas." Graham Taylor Papers, Report of the Work of Chicago Commons for the year September, 1912-August 1913, Box 53, Folder 2376, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

year for which a program appeared in the settlement papers. For that event, participants portrayed the spring traditions from Switzerland, Holland, Italy, Poland, Scotland, Czechoslovakia, America, and England.⁴¹⁴ Though displaying some variation over time, the prevalence of the girls from folk dance classes over immigrant dancers by the 1910s propagated the vision of female American bodies as beautiful, simple, joyful, and agricultural.

The first evidence of a May Festival at Northwestern University Settlement appears in the May 17, 1919, edition of *The Neighbor*. An announcement merely notes that the festival would occur on May 24 and involve an unspecified dance, a May pole, and May Day decorations.⁴¹⁵ As at Chicago Commons, though somewhat later in the 1920s, Northwestern University Settlement had shifted towards featuring girls from the folk dance and gymnasium classes during the May celebrations. For instance, a Girls' Department report claimed that, "All the Folk Dancing Classes are working hard on the May Day Festival," for 1927.⁴¹⁶ Most chronicles of the Northwestern University Settlement May festivals give few details about the performances themselves. However, in 1928 readers learned the order of events for that year, which included a "Roman Dance" (likely in the spirit of modern/natural dance pioneer Isadora Duncan), "Milk Maids' Dance," "Shepherdess Dance," "Foresters' Dance," "Scots' Highland Fling,"

⁴¹⁴ Graham Taylor Papers, May Festival 1938, Box 57, Folder 2450, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴¹⁵ "May 24," *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 17, 1919. Also recall that *The Neighbor* did not publish between 1903 and 1918, therefore at a time when many settlements began their May or Spring Festivals in the early twentieth century, Northwestern University Settlement has a significant gap in the record that inhibits discovery of possible earlier such celebrations organized by the settlement.

⁴¹⁶ "May Day Festival," *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 7, 1927.

“Peasant Dance,” “Dutch Dance,” “Swedish Dance,” and “American May Pole Dance,” all performed by girls’ folk dance classes, gymnasium classes, or clubs. The writer acknowledged the primary role of the girls in this May Festival, titling the event the “Girls’ May Festival.”⁴¹⁷ Without elaboration from the records, we may only speculate on what the “American May Pole Dance” looked like. Did the girls don patriotic garb? Did they weave red, white, and blue streamers around the Maypole? What steps did the organizers consider “American” and therefore include in the finale to that year’s celebration? While we cannot answer these questions, the adaptation of an American May Pole Dance suggests that the settlement workers teaching folk dance in the social settlements had begun to adapt the ideals and steps from Old World folk dances that provided the foundation for an Americanized version of folk dance into dances they now claimed as simultaneously folk and American. Akin to the performances in higher education, Northwestern University Settlement held at least the 1927 and 1928 festivals outside, specifically at Pulaski Park, located half a mile due north from the settlement.⁴¹⁸ Northwestern University Settlement continued to organize May Festivals until at least 1931; however, folk dance classes persisted in popularity into the 1930s.

Park House also held May Festivals over the course of its short existence. The first celebration took place in 1935, the year following its opening, and featured

⁴¹⁷ “Girls’ May Festival,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 12, 1928.

⁴¹⁸ The park was founded in 1912 and named for Casimir Pulaski, a Polish American Revolutionary War hero. Most Illinois school districts still observe a day off in early March for Pulaski Day in honor of his birthday.

“dancing [perhaps folk?] in the ballroom followed by a one-act play.”⁴¹⁹ Subsequent festivals more clearly included folk dance. However, they differed from the May celebrations at Chicago Commons, Northwestern University Settlement, and Hull-House in two respects. First, men figured more prominently in the presentations of folk dance, and second, the folk dance program emphasized greater audience participation than the programs at the other social settlements. The presence of men as dancers and inclusion of the viewers complements the evidence from the surveys examined in Chapter 3, which revealed the folk dancers at Park House as generally older and that the classes had relative gender parity. For example, of the ten dances on the program for the 1939 May Fest, six of them instruct that they should be, “participated in by the dancers and audience,” with the remaining four as, “performed by the group for the audience.”⁴²⁰ Another program shows all the dances as arranged for couples, with nine women and eight men forming the core group performing and leading the demonstrations. In keeping with heteronormative participation, a final note tells the performers and audience that, “[M]en will ask the girls in audience to waltz – girls to ask men.”⁴²¹ For 1941, audience involvement remained integral to the program, though organizers intended only four

⁴¹⁹ Park House. Records, Spring Report of the Director of Park House, April, May, June 1935, Box 2, Folder 14, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁴²⁰ Park House. Records, May Fest 1939 Dance Program, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Library.

⁴²¹ Park House. Records, May Festival, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Archives. This directive also reinforced heteronormativity in folk dance, unlike many of the dances performed by girls at the other social settlements, or even in higher education.

dances as participatory with seven given by the group as a performance.⁴²² Despite the divergences from other social settlements in the presentation of their May Festivals, the dances chosen by the organizers at Park House reflected similar trends concerning their national origins, focusing on Swedish dances.

Hull-House presented the earliest May Festivals at a social settlement, possibly because it held the distinction as the first social settlement in Chicago, founded in 1889. Their first account of a settlement May Festival, from 1896, suggests that others may have preceded it in which, “The children will repeat the experiences of past years in racing, jumping, games and dance and twining of the May pole.”⁴²³ As in some of the celebrations at Chicago Commons, Northwestern University Settlement, and at colleges and universities, at least some of the May-day performances occurred outside, in the case of Hull-House coinciding with the opening of the playground on Polk Street, only a few blocks from the settlement. Unfortunately, little information remains about the specifics of the annual Hull-House May Party beyond a blurb, identical from year-to-year, that appeared in Hull-House yearbooks from at least 1906 to 1925. Sponsored by the Woman’s Club, the description of the event dubbed it, “one of the happiest occasions of the club,” and though, “Only members and their children are bidden . . . six or seven

⁴²² Park House. Records, Folk Dance Program, May 9, 1941, Box 12, Folder 5, Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago Archives.

⁴²³ Hull House papers, Hull-House Bulletin May 1896, Box 43, Folder 425, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago. Like Chicago Commons, some confusion exists over the date of the first May Festival at Hull-House. The 1906-1907 Hull-House Yearbook claims that in 1906 they observed the eighth annual May Day, meaning that Hull-House did not hold its first festival until 1898 instead of 1896 or earlier.

hundred children are always provided for.”⁴²⁴ The extant sources only allow confirmation of children as participants and the inclusion of the May Pole dance. Though Gads Hill Center organized many folk dance performances, nothing supports that they held specific annual May Festivals.

In addition to the May or Spring Festivals, some settlements organized programs to showcase only the folk dances learned by the folk dance classes. The presentations shared many of the dances performed during the May Festivals, thus reflecting what settlement workers, many of whom attended the colleges and universities that employed a curriculum that focused on Northern and Western European dances, taught their immigrant students. For example, a program given at Gads Hill Center in the spring of 1929 offered eleven Danish dances, four Bohemian dances, and one dance each from Poland, Norway, Sweden, and Spain.⁴²⁵ The programs at Gads Hill Center show girls as the primary, and usually only, participants in the classes. In an even more extensive show in 1930 the girls gave twenty-seven dances, providing ample opportunities for the fifty-one members of the three classes.⁴²⁶ By 1932, the two folk dance classes numbering nearly one hundred registrants gave three performances: one each in January, February, and April that resembled those of 1929 and 1930.⁴²⁷ Chicago Commons

⁴²⁴ Hull House papers, Hull-House Yearbook 1906-1907, Box 43, Folder 434, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

⁴²⁵ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), May 1929 Club Leader’s Report – Folk Dancing, Younger Group, Box 2, Folder 13.

⁴²⁶ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), June 1930 Club Leader’s Report – Folk Dancing, Younger Group, Box 2, Folder 13.

⁴²⁷ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Folk Dance Party Programs – January 30, 1932, February 27, 1932, and April 30, 1932, Box 2, Folder 14.

sponsored a similar folk dance and song evening in early March 1933. Out of seventeen dance numbers, they presented dances from the following nationalities: four Danish, three English, three Swedish, three Bohemian, two American, one Norwegian, and one German.⁴²⁸ Like the May Festivals, girls comprised the primary participants and displayed American idealism concerning the rural, agricultural, and therefore pre-industrial past.

Ethnic-specific cultural heritage festivals that included folk dance, while more common in social settlements than in colleges and universities, occurred relatively infrequently, at least according to the sources from the settlements themselves. Part of the difficulty in identifying potential ethnic-particular presentations lies in the tendencies of the official records as organized by the social settlements, usually by members of the upper levels of administration, that typically only included events sponsored and/or organized by the settlement.⁴²⁹ As noted in Chapter 3, even the ethnic groups that regularly met within settlement walls did not usually engage with the residents or workers much beyond reserving their space. While some evidence exists of outside

⁴²⁸ Graham Taylor Papers, Folk Dance and Song Program March 6, 1933, Box 57, Folder 2444, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴²⁹ A letter from head resident of Chicago Commons Lea D. Taylor (who followed her father Graham Taylor as leader of Chicago Commons) to Russell Ballard of Hull-House in 1961 urges him to give the “past files” of Hull-House to “the Library” (by which she means Newberry Library). She describes the process of submitting the papers of Chicago Commons and her father’s records: “They have a wonderful person who works on such material . . . I had a great sense of satisfaction that they were preserved, as we would never have been able to do.” Taylor did not succeed at this juncture, and eventually the bulk of the extant materials from Hull-House found a home at the Special Collections and University Archives of the University of Illinois at Chicago, the campus that had subsumed the Hull-House and led to its demolition in 1963. Hull House papers, Letter from Lea D. Taylor to Russell Ballard May 31, 1961, Box 52, Folder 576, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

groups – organized by ethnicity, religion, political point of view, or other interest – materials concerning the outside activities prove far more sparse and scattered than those originating from inside the houses. The various Polish Festivals at Northwestern University Settlement, though, provide a notable exception.

Reports of Polish celebrations sponsored by Northwestern University Settlement appear relatively late in the interwar period. It held the first Polish Harvest Festival, a replacement for the Calathumpian (which met with a silence in the records), in September of 1929. The program involved a range of entertainments from “Polish Dancing and Tumbling” to “Fortune Telling,” and concluded with “general dancing enjoyed by every one [sic].”⁴³⁰ In March 1933 the Father’s Club organized a mock Polish wedding as a fundraiser for the Northwestern University Settlement summer camp, the House in the Wood.⁴³¹ Later that year the settlement premiered the Harvest Festival, distinct from the earlier mentioned Polish Harvest Festival, to succeed the Neighborhood Guild Bazaar. The rebranded event reenacted an exchange from the Old World in which “the lord and lady of the Manor . . . welcomed the guests and from everywhere came Polish peasants carrying garlands and a large wreath which were presented to their lord and lady.”⁴³² A group of dancers presented the Mazur and the Krakowiak before attendees danced late into the evening. The 1938 festival included a

⁴³⁰ “Polish Harvest Festival,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), September 7, 1929.

⁴³¹ Founded in 1910 by Northwestern University Settlement, House in the Wood provided summer escapes for urban children to the woods of Delavan, Wisconsin.

⁴³² “Neighborhood Guild Bazaar,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), December 25, 1933. The Harvest Festival appears distinct from the Polish Harvest Festival of 1929, both in the time of year in which they organized it and in the content of the performance.

variety of songs, costumes, and dances from different provinces in Poland. Again in 1940, the event portrayed, “the custom of the peasant people of Poland,” in which once a year they would, “show their appreciation to the land-owners from whom they rent the land they farm.”⁴³³ This limited sample suggests that ethnic cultural festivals demonstrated greater gender parity in the performers and cross-generational participation and attendance. However, the performances also reinforced the glorification of peasant life, in particular the relationship to residents of the “Manor.”

An analogy between the portrayal of peasant gratitude to their feudal lords and ladies and settlement leadership does not here seem inappropriate. The annual presentation translated the hierarchy of peasantry from the Old World and recast it to the performers and watchers, both those who did and did not share Polish heritage, in their new, urban environment. Harriet Vittum, head resident of Northwestern University Settlement argued that the inclusive events, “made new bonds between old world parents and new world children very wholesome in effect and making for a happier home life.”⁴³⁴ Though the ethnic-specific festivals sponsored by Northwestern University Settlement offered presentation of the rich cultural heritage of the Polish people, its emphasis on peasantry aligns with the performances of folk dance predominantly by

⁴³³ Harriet Vittum papers, Polish Harvest Festival Program 1938, Box 2, Folder 23, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago; Harriet Vittum papers, Polish Harvest Festival Program 1940, Box 2, Folder 23, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

⁴³⁴ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administration Records, *Those Fifty Years: A Brief Story of Northwestern University Settlement Association For Its Organizers, Supporters, Workers and Friends*, December 31, 1940, Box 43, Folder 14, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL.

girls and young women that projected the preference and nostalgia for the joys of the rural, agricultural, and simple life in the Old World.

Beyond the May Festivals and occasional ethnic events, social settlements organized many other presentations that featured or included folk dance within each house. The performances achieved their greatest popularity during the 1920s and 1930s, though some occurred earlier as well. Holiday celebrations, anniversaries, gymnastics demonstrations, folk dance programs, and several additional functions such as camp and park openings, complemented the regular spring festivals and intermittent ethnic events. Similar to the May Festivals, most of the presentations focused on the classes of girls and young women. However, some events differed from the May Festivals and ethnic celebrations in that they incorporated folk dance into particularly American holidays. Settlement workers now recognized an Americanized version of folk dance, one that they grounded in the Northern and Western European dances they taught the students and then adapted into appropriate patriotic performances for American holidays and other events.

Settlement houses often included folk dancing in programs for major holidays such as Christmas. For the children's Christmas party at Gads Hill Center in 1929, the younger folk dancing group (with an average age of eight to eleven-years-of-age) presented two Danish dances, Weave the Wadmals and Ace of Diamonds. Of the nationalities listed on the class roster, ten girls (or their parents) claimed Polish heritage,

another two, English.⁴³⁵ A year earlier at Northwestern University Settlement, the folk dance classes gave, “a lovely minuet with Christmas wreaths,” by the intermediate group and the junior girls prepared a “popcorn” dance.⁴³⁶ Therefore folk dancing classes did not always present Old World folk dances. But, the dances probably built on the dance vocabulary learned through the classes to create new “folk” dances, much like Mary Wood Hinman openly advocated through her books and approach to dance-building.⁴³⁷

Folk dance also appeared in celebrations for prominent American figures including Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, especially at Northwestern University Settlement. The presentation by the Saturday Folk Dancing Class from Northwestern University Settlement for Lincoln Day in 1927 offers another example of the expansion of the Americanized idea of folk dance. For the event, a commemoration of Abraham Lincoln’s birthday, class leader Miss Wilson arranged “a patriotic scarf dance.”⁴³⁸ Perhaps Lincoln’s birthday, a decidedly American holiday, more obviously merited a “patriotic” dance rather than a Danish or Swedish folk dance. However, other dance or gymnasium classes existed that could have fulfilled the role, and yet the organizers still chose a folk dancing class for the performance. Again, it seems likely that the movements learned through folk dance classes established the basis for the

⁴³⁵ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), May 1929 Club Leader’s Report – Folk Dancing, Younger Group, Box 2, Folder 13.

⁴³⁶ “Girls’ Department,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), December 15, 1928.

⁴³⁷ For more on Hinman and her deviation from the insistence on accuracy and authenticity of other folk dance proponents, see Chapter 4.

⁴³⁸ “Saturday Folk Dancing,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), January 22, 1927.

groups to create new, American folk dances, though whether or not they called them or recognized them as such one cannot glean from the sources.

The Northwestern University Settlement Washington Day celebration of 1933, in honor of George Washington's birth, claimed six hundred participating boys and girls. Here folk dancers gave a "stately minuet," within the context of a "patriotic play" loosely based on Washington's life. Most interestingly, a group of boys, "danced a rhythmic folk dance of the South" as "Massa George's passel o'niggers."⁴³⁹ Though certainly rare for boys to perform folk dance at all – and even more incredible that they had their own group – traditions of blackface performance in the United States fit with their appearance, as men had dominated the arena of blackface minstrels since the 1820s.⁴⁴⁰ Also, the "rhythmic folk dance" possibly incorporated tap dancing, which due to the rising popularity of male tap dance stars on stage and in film at the time, often appealed to boys.⁴⁴¹ Therefore the dances chosen for holiday events, especially for distinctly American observances such as Lincoln Day and Washington Day, embraced a broader vision of folk dance. Anyone may guess at the content and aesthetics of the "patriotic scarf dance" and the "popcorn" dance; however, the selection of folk dance classes to present the pieces, rather than other dance or gymnasium classes, suggests that

⁴³⁹ "We Celebrate February 22nd," *Neighbor* (Chicago), February 25, 1933.

⁴⁴⁰ Though I cannot confirm whether the boys applied the burnt cork for this particular performance, blackface shows appeared in the settlements throughout the early twentieth century. See also Eric Lott's *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995) for background on blackface minstrelsy beginning in the early nineteenth century.

⁴⁴¹ For instance, Fred Astaire and Ginger Rogers first appeared onscreen together in 1933 in the RKO picture *Flying Down to Rio*. Black tap dancers figured prominently in film before Astaire, including John Bubbles and Bill Robinson, usually best known for his roles in Shirley Temple movies.

the Americanized version of folk dance grounded in Northern and Western European folk dances developed to accommodate American celebrations. Though boys as folk dancers figured into the Washington Day presentation at Northwestern University Settlement, girls' classes persisted as the most prevalent folk dance performers in the social settlements.

Anniversaries also provided opportunities for folk dance performances. Major milestones in the lives of the settlements often encouraged the lathering of nostalgia for days past. Ironically the presentations usually drew from the nationalities that had once resided in the neighborhood, in contrast to the practice of typically performing dances that did not represent the local population. For example, the Gads Hill Center "Thirty Year Birthday Party Program" held in 1928 featured a set of folk dances "indicating the various nationalities which have lived in the neighborhood during the thirty years," sandwiched between tableaux that, "will compare the good old days with the present," and a history of the settlement shown through slides.⁴⁴² The dances included "The Irish Jig," "Kinderpolka" (German), "Handkerchief Dance" (Bohemian), "Polka Kolketka" (Lithuanian), "Krakoviak" (Polish), and "Dan Tucker" (Early American).⁴⁴³ A similar fortieth anniversary celebration at Chicago Commons in 1934 presented a series of tableaux of the nationalities that had resided in the area, such as Irish and German.⁴⁴⁴ Though several details remain unclear, including who performed at the events, the

⁴⁴² Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Better Friends May 1928, Box 9, Folder 47.

⁴⁴³ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Better Friends May 1928, Box 9, Folder 47.

⁴⁴⁴ Graham Taylor papers, Fortieth Anniversary Transcript, Box 50, Folder 2310, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

anniversary performances followed in the tradition of the May Festivals in their invocation of nostalgia for time and peoples past.

Only the sources from Hull-House and Northwestern University Settlement suggest that they held exhibitions to specifically showcase gymnasium work, though gymnasium classes maintained a high level of popularity among children at the settlements. Even then, the support remains thin. The only verified instances at Hull-House occurred in 1905 and 1909, as a “Visitors’ Evening” and an “Annual Gymnastic Demonstration” respectively. Neither explicitly included folk dance, or a folk dance class, as the events happened before their rise in popularity, but they did present “Marching and Fancy Steps” and “Dances and Games.”⁴⁴⁵

At Northwestern University Settlement, annual gymnastics demonstrations began around 1925, in association with the house’s Guild dinners.⁴⁴⁶ Overall, the demonstrations presented folk dances from Old World countries through girls’ classes. Like the gymnastics exhibitions presented in colleges and universities, folk dance appeared as one of several activities as one of the primary contributions of girls. In 1940, Vytautas Beliajus’ Folk Dancing Class deviated from previous events when he presented, “a beautifully interested Pageant of Seasons.”⁴⁴⁷ As in the holiday celebrations, Beliajus’ performance shows a shift in the conceptualization of what folk

⁴⁴⁵ Hull House papers, Visitors’ Evenings 1905, Box 43, Folder 508, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago; Hull House papers, Annual Gymnastic Demonstration 1909, Box 77, Folder 707, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago.

⁴⁴⁶ It appears that the Guild held monthly dinners. From 1927-1929 and in 1933 the gym demonstrations occurred in March; in 1939, April; and in 1940, May.

⁴⁴⁷ “Guild Annual,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), June 1, 1940.

dance included in the urban United States, broadening it to incorporate less specifically “folk” dances from Europe and allow greater individual composition and interpretation.⁴⁴⁸

Settlement leadership found several additional ways to incorporate the popularity of folk dance among both participants and audiences in programs varying from children’s exhibits to summer camp performances to dances for soldiers. Performances extended to audiences beyond the neighborhood exposed the dancers to different parts and people of the city and gave viewers a glimpse into immigrant traditions. As with the majority of the folk dance performances sponsored and organized by the social settlements, girls appear in the events as the primary participants. Folk dance presentations happened most regularly during the 1920s and 1930s, accompanying the peak in popularity of folk dance classes. Some closely adhered to the formats of folk dance programs within the settlements and on occasion dancers performed something already given in the house; others adapted according to the different audiences and venues.

A Hull-House program by the Music School offers one of the earliest examples of folk dance beyond settlement walls. In January 1902 the Chicago Woman’s Club invited the Music School students to give a program in their clubrooms at the Fine Arts

⁴⁴⁸ “Guild Dinner and Annual Gymnasium Exhibition Program,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), March 19, 1927; “March Guild Dinner Program,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), March 24, 1928; “Guild Dinner and Annual Athletic Demonstration,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), March 16, 1929; “Eighth Annual Gym Demonstration,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), April 15, 1933; “Gym Demonstration Rehearsals Started,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), March 25, 1939; “April Guild Dinner: Gym Demonstration,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 6, 1939; “Guild Annual,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), June 1, 1940.

Building.⁴⁴⁹ Though dominated by thirteen songs, four dances by a small cadre of dancers followed the music. A girl and boy duo gave the Tarantella (Italian); two girls, a Russian Dance; one girl, the Highland Fling (Scotch); and another girl and boy pair the Norwegian Spring Dance, dances that often appeared on other programs throughout this period. The solo and duets as well as the presence of boys diverges from the more common practices of group girl performances that emerged after World War I, but this configuration was not rare for 1902. The children may have even shared the ethnic and cultural heritages of the dances they presented. However, we only know for certain that, “The program . . . was rendered with such spirit and success that they were engaged by the Monday Club to repeat the program at Handel Hall.”⁴⁵⁰ Another early event occurred for the opening of Small Park No. 1, organized and presented by Chicago Commons in August 1908. Five folk dances – Bleking (Swedish), the Norwegian Mountain March, Cachucha Dance (Spanish), an Italian Dance, and the Highland Fling (Scotch) – appeared among the nine numbers given, though the program does not indicate who danced.⁴⁵¹ Even the earlier folk dance performances outside the settlements presaged the emphasis on Northern and Western European dances in the 1920s and 1930s.

Summer programs also sometimes included folk dancing. The Junior Girls of Chicago Commons closed the 1925 vacation school with the Danish Shoemaker Dance.

⁴⁴⁹ The Fine Arts Building of Chicago, established as an artists’ colony in 1898, is located at 410 South Michigan directly across from Grant Park. Hull-House established its Music School in 1893.

⁴⁵⁰ Hull House papers, Semi-Annual Bulletin 1902, Box 43, Folder 425, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago. It is unclear whether the Monday Club originated at Hull-House or elsewhere.

⁴⁵¹ Graham Taylor Papers, Program Opening Exercises for Small Park, No. 1, August 1, 1908, Box 55, Folder 2418, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

The 1927 camp program of Northwestern University Settlement, held at their House in the Wood in Wisconsin, opened with a Danish Dance of Greeting danced by the “Little Girls.”⁴⁵²

Like the Hull-House Music School students, groups from other settlements performed outside their houses at the invitation of others. For example, Gads Hill Center dancers took a performance that they had done for a folk festival at the University of Chicago, with the dances “of the European Countries just as they have been done in Europe for the last centuries,” and presented them to the soldiers at Fort Sheridan.⁴⁵³ Following the folk dances and a picnic, the group would, “spend the evening with our own American ballroom dancing.”⁴⁵⁴ The Gads Hill Center group, then, combined the old European dances with “our own” American social dances in the same event. Dancers from Northwestern University Settlement also ventured into the northern suburbs. In 1934 the North Shore Country Day School in Winnetka, invited the junior girls from the settlement who, “gave a program of Polish songs and dances.”⁴⁵⁵ Participant and audience reactions, sadly, do not appear in the records. Whether or not audiences absorbed the cultural nuances of the performances, the popularity of folk dance

⁴⁵² Graham Taylor Papers, Program for Closing Day of the Vacation School, July 3-8, 1925, Box 56, Folder 2436, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁵³ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Better Neighbors Newsletter April 1920, Box 8, Folder 39. Built in 1889 about eighteen miles north of Evanston, Fort Sheridan provided army training for many soldiers in preparation for World Wars I and II and has served as an army reserve training center since 1993. The Northwestern University cycling club once took regular jaunts from campus to Fort Sheridan and back in which I sometimes joined.

⁴⁵⁴ Gads Hill Center records (Chicago History Museum), Better Neighbors Newsletter April 1920, Box 8, Folder 39.

⁴⁵⁵ “Visit to Winnetka,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), April 21, 1934.

encouraged settlement workers to seek out opportunities for their urban dancers to show them other areas of the city and suburbs and invite other people to see them.

In addition to the myriad performances sponsored by individual settlements, many houses participated in multi-settlement and cross-institutional presentations. Other groups also supported large-scale events that involved cooperation not only from the social settlements but other social welfare and culture heritage associations in Chicago; the Chicago Federation of Settlements and the Woman's City Club provide the most prominent examples. The performances included many different dances and dancers; however, the presentations that featured men and women together tended to more closely represent the heritage of the neighborhoods' residents, while the dances given by from the girls' folk dance classes did not.

Settlement leadership regularly organized inter-settlement play or folk dance festivals, in addition to independent folk dance showcases at each house. Harriet Vittum's head resident report for May 1910 describes Northwestern University Settlement's participation in a play festival held at Small Park No. 1. Two girls danced an "old Jewish Folk Dance," the Khorovod, and "two young Russian Jew[s] gave the Russian National Dance." Dancers from Chicago Commons presented a Ruthenian dance and song as well as the Italian Tarantella.⁴⁵⁶ Participating groups included Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago Commons, a nearby church, and other

⁴⁵⁶ Northwestern University Settlement Association General Administrative Records, Report of the Head Resident May 1910, Box 4, Folder 5, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, IL; Graham Taylor Papers, First Annual Neighborhood Play Festival May 7, 1910, Box 55, Folder 2420, The Newberry Library, Chicago. Ruthenians identified as Ukrainians who were formerly Polish or Austrian and Austro-Hungarian subjects.

“independent” groups from the neighborhood. Another occasion for sharing folk dance began as early as 1921 with the Inter-Settlement Folk Dancing Party. From the outset, settlement workers geared the events towards girls. A participant’s account in *The Neighbor* on the 1921 party, for example, regrets, “that all the girls did not come.”⁴⁵⁷ In 1930, eight girls from Northwestern University Settlement attended the assembly at Hull-House’s Bowen Hall where they joined, “approximately 150 girls from different Chicago settlements.”⁴⁵⁸ Though a popular and long-running event, few other details remain about the gatherings.

The Chicago Federation of Settlements, established in 1894 at Hull-House as a forum for settlement leadership, organized many events among the houses, including several that involved folk dance such as the All-Settlement Adult gatherings and the Annual Homemaking Exhibit. Of the two, the All-Settlement Adult get-togethers show the greater diversity in the nationalities of the dances. Though the name of the event implies that adults would comprise the primary participants, the Third Annual Party in 1921 had at least one performance by a group of “little girls.”⁴⁵⁹ The second meeting, held at Hull-House’s Bowen Hall in 1920, included an extensive folk dance program with settlements from across the city. Dancers from Chicago Commons represented Italy; Hull-House, Greek; Gads Hill Center, Slovenian; University of Chicago Settlement, Greek; and Northwestern University Settlement, Polish. The program

⁴⁵⁷ “The Inter-Settlement Folk Dancing Party,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 7, 1921.

⁴⁵⁸ “Folk Dancing Class of N.U.S. Attends Party at Hull House,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 17, 1930.

⁴⁵⁹ [Untitled], *Neighbor* (Chicago), May 1921.

opened with a sing-along of “America” and closed with “Star Spangled Banner,” lest the dancers transported the audience too far away with their performances.⁴⁶⁰ Though the details do not divulge who from each settlement performed the dances, the selections more closely match the dominant populations of the neighborhoods, which suggests that men and women more likely comprised the majority of the dancers rather than girls’ folk dancing classes.

The Annual Homemaking Exhibits sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Settlements, which began in 1926, also included folk dance, though to a far lesser degree than the All-Adult Settlement events. In 1931, the program shows that only an unnamed group from Northwestern University Settlement offered a Polish Dance, though groups beyond the houses did present other folk dances.⁴⁶¹ For the 1932 exhibit Neva Boyd complemented the dancing of “national dances done in costume by groups of young men and young women from the different settlements, beautifully interpreting the dance life of the nations of their neighborhoods,” with discussion on, “the value of preserving the beautiful folk lore and folk craft of the European nations represented in America.”⁴⁶² The Eleventh Annual Homemaking Exhibit in 1936 again only shows involvement by Northwestern University Settlement. Two groups of intermediate girls gave a non-specified selection of folk dances; the senior girls presented an “American” dance; and

⁴⁶⁰ Graham Taylor Papers, Second Annual Meeting All Settlement Adult Clubs, May 23, 1920, Box 56, Folder 2431, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁶¹ Graham Taylor Papers, Annual Homemaking Exhibit, March 22-24, 1931, Box 57 Folder 2442, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁶² “Senior Clubs Easter Party,” *Neighbor* (Chicago), March 26, 1932.

the junior girls danced a Dutch Dance and a Gypsy Dance.⁴⁶³ Performances in which the participants in the groups showed a relative gender balance, or at least noted the presence of men, tended to more accurately represent the heritages of the residents surrounding the houses than the performances that featured the girls' folk dance classes.

The Chicago Woman's City Club also sponsored events that brought together dancers from several settlements as well as other groups. In 1912, they organized a three-day Civic Welfare Exhibit held at Chicago Commons. The evening program on May 16 covered several folk dances from a variety of groups around Chicago, including Chicago Commons, Miss Hinman's School of Gymnastic Dancing, and the Hungarian Civic Group. The girls from Chicago Commons danced the Vafua Vadmal (Swedish) and the Italian Tarantella. Miss Hinman's pupils, including a young Doris Humphrey, presented a Swedish Wooden Shoe Dance, a Spanish Dance, and a Russian Czardas. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the Hungarian Civic Club gave a Hungarian Dance.⁴⁶⁴ Therefore in this example, only girls represented groups from social settlements. The 1929 "Exhibit of the Handwork of the World's Women" in which, "Each nation presented their native dances and songs," as well as, "Talks . . . on the activities of women in their homelands."⁴⁶⁵ The account does not expound on the participating nations or the specific

⁴⁶³ Graham Taylor Papers, Program Eleventh Annual Homemaking Exhibit March 29-31, 1936, Box 57, Folder 2448, The Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴⁶⁴ Graham Taylor Papers, Program Civic Welfare Exhibit May 14-16, 1912, Box 56, Folder 2423, The Newberry Library, Chicago. Doris Humphrey, now widely recognized as one of the second generation of leading American modern dancers with contemporaries such as Martha Graham, began her dance training with Mary Wood Hinman in Chicago.

⁴⁶⁵ "Woman's City Club Hold Exhibit of Handwork of World's Women," *Neighbor* (Chicago), December 14, 1929.

groups that danced and sang in the 1929 exhibit, though the emphasis on women remains clear.

Through performances such as the inter-settlement festivals, the All-Settlement Adult gatherings and Annual Homemaking Exhibit sponsored by the Chicago Federation of Settlements, and the Civic Welfare Exhibit and Exhibit of Handwork of the World's Women organized by the Woman's City Club, social settlements made choices that represented their work and the people in their neighborhoods. Girls' folk dance classes that focused on Northern and Western European dances appeared at some of the events, corresponding with their prominence as an activity at the houses. However, unlike most presentations at the houses, performances coordinated by groups outside of the settlements show a greater propensity for including men and women dancers in those dances that more closely represented their ethnic and cultural identities. Never inclined to steer too far from the projects of Americanization, though, performances of American nationalism, through the singing of "America," for instance, often bookended the more ethnically inclusive performances.

Though colleges and universities presented folk dance in an array of activities for women, most notably the May or Spring Festivals, gymnastics exhibitions, and campus clubs, social settlements reached even further and connected folk dance with a host of additional events, including May Festivals, a limited number of ethnic-specific events, numerous performances within each settlement – folk dance class presentations, holiday celebrations, and anniversaries – in addition to multi-settlement and cross-institutional performances. While settlement leadership professed that the sharing and learning of

others' cultural heritages engendered cultural pluralism and facilitated stronger relationships between generations of immigrations and their children, much of the folk dancing presented in these formats and venues illustrated the acceptance of an Americanized set of folk dance practices that privileged Northern and Western European dances, emphasized the value of a glorified rural past, and projected the perceived beauty, simplicity, and joy of a pre-industrial world through the bodies of girls and young women. Furthermore, though social settlements employed folk dance primarily as nostalgia and exercise, workers also adapted it into something American, especially for performances that did not specifically call for the conjuring of the past, as did May Festivals, or folk dance festivals. By the 1920s and 1930s, Americanized folk dance, based on Old World dances, had begun to accommodate "new" and uniquely American observances, such as the celebration of American heroes Abraham Lincoln and George Washington. Also, the "new" folk dances appeared in other formats reliant on traditions, but not necessarily on reenactment of the past, including Christmas events and gymnasium exhibitions.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The legacies of folk dance as they evolved in the Progressive Era persist into the present. When my colleagues and I performed the hula for our family, friends, and students at the DANMAR cultural encounter celebrating Hawaii in the spring of 2010, we followed in the folk dance tradition of invoking an ideal rooted in nostalgia for a place distant in time and space. We knew little about its context and offered an execution that projected an impression of what we believed a hula looked like. Though we did not learn the steps from a folk dance manual, our methods of teaching and learning did not vary much from the approaches used by teachers and students in the early twentieth century. Our instructor had learned it through the ballet company with which she had worked for many years and taught it to us as she recalled it. Some of us consulted YouTube (arguably a modern version of the dance manual) to make as much sense of the steps and timing as possible. Also, in the custom of folk dance in Chicago in the early 1900s, all twelve of us hula dancers were women. In addition to reinforcing the feminization of dance that had begun in the early twentieth century and continues today, we expressed a comparable ideal of womanhood comprised of beauty, fitness, simplicity, and joy.

The colleges, universities and social settlements examined through the dissertation have undergone significant changes since 1940. Both Northwestern University and the University of Chicago now hold distinction as top-tier research

universities in the United States, generally ranking somewhere in the top ten to fifteen in the nation. DePaul University absorbed the American College of Physical Education in 1947 to manage the physical education needs for its growing student body. Chicago Normal College, renamed Chicago State University in 1971, continues to serve the city principally as a teaching college. Columbia College still resides in the heart of downtown Chicago on Michigan Avenue and has achieved national recognition for its arts programs, including dance. National-Louis University encompasses the National College of Education, which remains an important teacher-training school with branches beyond its downtown Chicago campus in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Tampa, Florida.

Social settlements underwent even more extensive alterations than most of the institutions of higher education. By the 1940s, the houses had shifted away from Americanization projects, and they reframed attention on their neighborhoods as “community centers.” Some offer physical recreational activities, but most focus on service in the form of education, such as after-school sessions for youth and literacy classes for adults, as well as senior citizen programs. Hull-House, the most famous settlement, ceased operation in 2012 due to financial difficulties, following displacement from its original home in 1963 by the expansion of the campus of University of Illinois at Chicago. Park House, as already mentioned, closed its doors after only ten years in 1944. Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago Commons, and Gads Hill Center all continue to serve their neighborhoods, based out of the locations established in the early twentieth century.

While no longer a popular activity among college and university students, or present in the curricula of higher education or the remaining social settlements, folk dance paved the way for the inclusion of dance more generally as part of physical education and valued as a recreational activity, especially for girls and women. Though many universities in the United States now have dance departments, others keep dance as a program within departments of theater, performance, performance studies, drama, and physical education. At Northwestern University, dance falls under theatre; the University of Chicago offers some dance composition classes under Theatre and Performance Studies; and Columbia College houses a nationally respected dance department. National-Louis University, DePaul University, and Chicago State University do not include formal dance training among their classes, though both DePaul and Chicago State have dance teams that perform at sporting events, and all six have student groups devoted to dance.

The feminization of dance in colleges, universities, and as recreation grew out of the female domination of folk dance in the early twentieth century. As it accompanied the rise of competitive athletics for boys and men, folk dance offered a non-competitive activity that promoted the middle-class ideal of American womanhood that did not challenge existing heteronormative gender prescriptions about female physical activity, and simultaneously provided a mode of exercise and socialization. Though women achieved some measure of authority as instructors, collectors and selectors of folk dance material, and performers, they found their power largely limited to positions teaching and promoting physical education through higher education and social settlements.

Furthermore, middle-class convictions concerning the value of agricultural expressions of simplicity, joy, and beauty circumscribed the influences of immigrant cultures from Eastern and Southern Europe, Asia, and Africa, in addition to contributions from African-Americans and the American-born working class. Chicago provided a model for the investigation of folk dance in an urban area in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Though likely similar circumstances existed in other large cities such as New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis, the availability of sources, the prominence of its progressive leadership, and its growth into the “Second City” render Chicago a site of particular interest concerning folk dance practices, women in higher education, and the social settlement movement.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, folk dance emerged as an integral element of physical education, especially for girls and young women in higher education and social settlements. Instructors incorporated folk dance as a means to inculcate and project ideals of proper American body behaviors through teaching and learning, performing and watching. By the 1910s, folk dance in higher education provided both a healthful exercise for female students and a tool for the students training as teachers and social workers to use in their curriculum upon graduation. By the late 1930s, folk dance had a diminished presence in research-based universities but remained in the curricula of teaching colleges. In the social settlements, folk dance furnished an alternative to the perceived perils of social dancing, an exercise for girls and young women, and a piece of the extensive Americanization projects promoted by settlement leadership. Here they advocated the ideal American body as privileging discipline of the

body and its limbs, space between dancers, and verticality of the body while also based on nostalgia for Old World folk dances and their invocation of the rural, agricultural, pre-industrial, simple, beautiful, and joyful. Analysis of the content of folk dance manuals shows the limits of cultural pluralism as well as the persistence of the preference for Northern and Western European dances taught in both higher education and the social settlements.

Folk dance performances within colleges and universities offered opportunities for the recognition of women as students as well as enacting acceptance of certain facets of the Old World that presented a vision of American womanhood as one grounded in pre-industrial nostalgia. Similarly, in the social settlements, the more varied formats and venues for folk dance performances relied on Old World nostalgia. However, the performances of immigrant children demonstrate that though they learned the preferred dances of Northern and Western Europe, instructors employed the movement vocabularies learned for American celebrations such as Lincoln Day and Washington Day. American folk dance, then, did not necessarily always mean dances from the United States, but now included dances choreographed or arranged based on Old World dances used in the context of American observations.

Women proved innovators in education during the Progressive Era, in particular for physical education and in colleges and universities. In addition to establishing institutions of higher education, especially those focused on teaching teachers and social workers, women provided much of the labor of instruction. Also, women helped generate and sustain the progressive social settlement movement, often as responsible

for founding settlement houses themselves, and then serving as the primary workforce. Settlement leadership and workers used folk dance as one way to educate and regulate immigrant body behaviors through Americanization projects. Settlement workers attempted to balance their ideal American body with their limited cultural pluralism to illustrate an acceptance of certain facets of foreign-ness while using them as a basis for the conceptualization of proper American body behaviors. Women acted as the primary collectors and selectors of folk dance manuals, including some who worked in Chicago such as Neva Boyd, Caroline Crawford, and Mary Wood Hinman. Their work documented and ensconced their version of folk dance practices that circulated throughout Chicago as tools for teachers of all levels. Finally, girls and women performed in most of the folk dance presentations given in both colleges and universities and the social settlements.

As a progressive center, especially for education and the social settlement movement, its growth into the status of America's "Second City," and the increasing mobility of its residents, using Chicago as the boundaries for research offers a model for the investigation how folk dance moved in and around the city. The circulation of similar curricula, instructors, and practice teaching in Chicago facilitated the embrace of a set of particular folk dance practices. Furthermore, the networks of women between higher education and social settlements increased the exchange among students, teachers, and social workers through lectures, field trips, and work by students in the settlements. The performances held throughout Chicago enacted proper American body behaviors, in particular through female bodies, and broadcast the idealized actions to and audiences.

Despite its basis in Old World nostalgia, folk dance as taught and learned, performed and watched in early twentieth century Chicago also demonstrated a commitment to Americanization and the identification and promotion of an American identity. Through the adaptation of visions of the rural Old World as simple, joyful, and beautiful, folk dance proponents and instructors circulated a set of embodied practices that promoted a particular vision of American bodies that valued discipline of the body, space between bodies, and vertical posture. The elements as propagated by American-born, white, middle-class women solidified during the Progressive Era in reaction against the perceived dangers of the dance halls and swelling of the immigrant population in urban areas. Regardless of the range of potential choices concerning folk dance, institutions of higher education and the social settlements showed relative stability in their circulation of folk dance practices into the interwar period. Furthermore, the traditions of dance as a healthy activity primarily for girls and women learned in classes taught by trained female instructors as established during the Progressive Era continue today.

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APPENDIX A

Map of Chicago Social Settlements and Chicago and Evanston Institutions of Higher Education Used to Show Proximity and Mobility:

<https://mapsengine.google.com/map/u/0/edit?hl=en&authuser=0&mid=zdL6ZCcUn3Tg.kZvzQnCmhQow>

APPENDIX B

Enrollment Figures, Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, Chicago Normal College and the National College of Education, 1890 – 1940

Enrollment Year	Northwestern University Evanston, IL	University of Chicago	Chicago Normal College	National College of Education Chicago/Evanston, IL
1890-91	383	--	--	--
1891-92	397	698	--	--
1892-93	512	920	--	--
1893-94	506	1347	--	--
1894-95	506	1815	--	--
1895-96	644	1815	--	--
1896-97	622	1880	--	--
1897-98	699	2307	--	--
1898-99	689	2959	--	--
1899-1900	763	3183	--	--
1900-01	805	3520	--	--
1901-02	856	4450	--	--
1902-03	1037	4463	--	--
1903-04	1199	4580	230	--
1904-05	1223	4598	322	--
1905-06	1463	5079	435	--
1906-07	1458	5070	533	--
1907-08	1700	5100	601	--
1908-09	1611	5659	672	--
1909-10	1575	6007	700	--
1910-11	1868	6355	706	--
1911-12	1694	6506	515	--
1912-13	1893	6802	591	--
1913-14	2060	7301	592	--
1914-15	2201	7781	772	--
1915-16	2300	8510	1014	--
1916-17	2591	10448	996	--
1917-18	2146	9032	841	--
1918-19	2729	8635	--	--
1919-20	3228	10880	--	187
1920-21	3110	11385	--	285
1921-22	3359	12439	--	341
1922-23	3513	12748	--	403

1923-24	3681	13357	--	482
1924-25	3789	13892	--	445
1925-26	3988	14472	--	543
1926-27	4474	14500	--	712
1927-28	4730	14474	--	1927; 695
1928-29	4828	14433	--	1928; 705
1929-30	5094	14245	--	1929; 676
1930-31	5464	--	--	1930; 701
1931-32	5043	--	--	1931; 739
1932-33	5083	--	--	1932; 535
1933-34	4855	--	--	1933; 502
1934-35	4515	--	--	929
1935-36	5177	--	--	760
1936-37	6044	--	--	760
1937-38	6408	--	--	1937; 772
1938-39	6472	--	--	1938; 857
1939-40	--	--	--	1939; 769

Northwestern University figures for 1890 through 1894-95 show College and Graduate Students only; 1895 – 6, addition of Music School; 1905-06, addition of Oratory School; 1909-10, addition of Engineering School; 1919-20, addition of Commerce School; 1921-22, addition of Journalism School; 1926-27, addition of School of Education.

The University of Chicago figures 1892-03, through 1903-04, include College and Graduate students only. From 1904-05 through 1929-30, it remains unclear exactly which groups of students constitute the enrollment. It could possibly include the preparatory academy. Also, the Register became unavailable after 1929-30, requiring me to rely on the other Official Publications distributed by the university, none of which included the enrollment figures.

Administration for the Chicago Normal College argued that more stringent admissions standards implemented in 1911-1912 led to reduced enrollment until 1914-15.

The National College of Education figures for 1919-20 and 1920-21 include all students; 1921-22 through 1925-26, 1931, and 1934-35 through 1939 include summer students; 1926-27, 1928, and 1929 include summer and mothers' class students; 1927 includes summer, mothers' and February students; 1930 includes summer, mothers' and fathers' class students; 1932 include summer, February students, and parents' classes; and 1933 includes summer, fall 1933, and mothers' class students.

APPENDIX C

Graduation Figures for Columbia College, 1892-1923

Year	Columbia College
1892	9
1893	17
1894	9
1895	17
1896	8
1897	14
1898	24
1899	21
1900	25
1901	22
1902	19
1903	26
1904	39
1905	36
1906	28
1907	31
1908	25
1909	34
1910	25
1911	36
1912	35
1913	26
1914	32
1915	34
1916	42
1917	38
1918	15
1919	22
1920	21
1921	39
1922	25
1923	26

APPENDIX D

Population Totals Chicago and Evanston, IL, 1890-1940. Compiled from US decennial census records, 1890-1940.

Year	Chicago	Evanston
1880	503,185	--
1890	1,099,850	9000
1900	1,698,575	19,259
1910	2,185,283	24,978
1920	2,701,705	37,234
1930	3,376,438	63,338
1940	3,396,808	65,389

Comparison of Native-Born and Foreign-Born Populations Chicago and Evanston, IL, 1890-1940. Compiled from US decennial census records, 1890-1940. All percentages are relative to the total population for that year.

Evanston						
Year	Native-Born White [of either Native or Foreign Parentage, 1910]		Foreign-Born White		Native or Foreign-Born Non-White	
1890	--	--	--	--	--	--
1900	--	--	--	--	--	--
1910	10,165	72.37%	5700	22.82%	1201	4.8%
1920	27,905	74.94%	6771	18.18%	2558	6.87%
1930	48,707	76.9%	9627	15.2%	5004	7.9%
1940	--	--	7212	11.03%	--	--

Native-Born, Chicago.

Year	Chicago					
	Native-Born Total		Native-Born White		Native-Born Non-White	
1890	649,184	59.02%	--	--	--	--
1900	1,111,463	65.4%	--	--	--	--
1910	1,401,855	64.15%	1,357,840	62.14%	44,015	2.01%
1920	1,893,147	70.1%	1,783,687	66.02%	109,460	4.05%
1930	2,534,381	75.06%	2,275,674	67.4%	258,707	7.66%
1940	2,721,661	80.1%	2,221,859	71.89%	279,802	8.24%

Foreign-Born, Chicago.

Year	Chicago					
	Foreign-Born Total		Foreign-Born White		Foreign-Born Non-White	
1890	450,666	40.98%	--	--	--	--
1900	587,112	34.6%	--	--	--	--
1910	783,428	35.85%	781,217	35.74%	2211	0.1%
1920	808,558	29.8%	805,057	29.81%	3076	0.11%
1930	842,057	24.9%	842,057	24.9%	--	--
1940	675,147	19.88%	672,705	19.8%	2442	.07%