“FEELING” IN MODERN DANCE PRINT MEDIA:
LOÏE FULLER, ISADORA DUNCAN, MAUD ALLAN

by

Emma Doran, Master of Arts

A dissertation

presented to Ryerson University and York University

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Program of
Communication and Culture

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2014

©(Emma Doran) 2014

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A DISSERTATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this dissertation. This is a true copy of the dissertation, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this dissertation to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this dissertation by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I understand that my dissertation may be made electronically available to the public.

“Feeling” in Modern Dance Print Media: Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan

Emma Doran

Doctor of Philosophy, Communication and Culture Program

Ryerson University, June 2014

Abstract

Between 1890 and 1920, modern dancers such as Isadora Duncan, Loïe Fuller, and Maud Allan presented a new performative aesthetic in dance. Breaking from the narrative storytelling that dominated nineteenth-century vaudeville and ballet, these dancers advanced non-narrative movement, thereby encouraging a new aesthetic engagement from the audience, namely, one that was rooted in notions of corporeal sensation rather than narrative telos or (melo)dramatic pathos. These new responses, this dissertation argues, are reflected in the new tactics for writing the dancing body, which at once render problematic the putative objectivity of journalistic criticism and reveal the limits of traditional dance criticism’s focus on intricate technique and plot line. This dissertation pursues its argument by studying over 300 print reviews of dances performed by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan between 1890 and 1920 culled from North-American archives and representing a spectrum of print media—from mainstream national media, such as *The New York Times*, to regional newspapers, to more specialized theatre magazines—to reveal compelling insight into hermeneutic entanglements of language and movement.

Informed by the work of recent performance studies (e.g. Phelan; Schneider; Taylor), this dissertation approaches this body of dance reviews from an inverse perspective from that represented by traditional dance history scholarship. That is, instead of reading reviews as documentation in order to understand these dances, the study explores how reviewers *perform* criticism, thus framing our understanding of modern dance in specific ways.

This dissertation engages with the correlation between media and performance as either documentary or performative, arguing that writing performance offers promises for both types of engagement with the live event. Collectively, these reviews reveal that dance criticism involved a metacritical reflection on the significance of the critical writing act itself, and advanced a style of synesthetic metaphor to describe novel kinesthetic experiences of spectatorship. Ultimately, the new tactics to modern dance criticism not only revealed a crisis in articulation but prompted a performative style of writing dance criticism that went in tandem with the development of the dance review genre itself, whose placement in popular print media was mounting to become a regular feature by the 1930s.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation was inspired by my own experience as a dancer and a dance reviewer; it was also fuelled by my passion for scholarship. I am immensely grateful to the scholars who have mentored me in this journey. First and foremost, I offer my heartfelt gratitude to my dissertation supervisor, Dr. Irene Gammel, for going above and beyond in her expert guidance, her unwavering positivity, and her generosity in providing me a “room of my own” in which to write within a community of kindred spirits. She welcomed my ideas in ways that I never thought possible and gave me space to dream.

I am grateful to Dr. Danielle Robinson for her wealth of knowledge, her committed presence throughout my doctoral degree, and her outstanding supportive spirit. Dr. Kym Maclaren offered keen philosophical insight, clarity, and depth in engaging with my ideas, for which I am thankful. I extend my warmest appreciation to the other members of my defense committee: Dr. Paul Moore, who has taught me much about communication and culture methodologies, when I was his research assistant, and thereby helped shape my thinking and work; and Dr. Marlis Schweitzer, who has helped deepen my knowledge of performance theory and celebrity culture. I am extremely grateful to my external examiner, Dr. Carol Simpson Stern (Northwestern University), whose ideas about the relationship between performance and literature have been inspirational, and whose comments will continue to resonate.

This page would not be complete without a mention of my appreciation to Professor Emerita Dr. Selma Odom, who generously loaned me her collection of Loïe Fuller reviews and articles, which she collected from the United States and Europe. Her generosity throughout my years of graduate studies continues to inform my writing and teaching in more ways than I can express.

I am indebted to the Jeffrey family for granting me the Liss Jeffrey fellowship and for offering encouragement and support; it is a true privilege to be included in this distinguished lineage of scholars. I am grateful to the Communication and Culture Program for generous support throughout my doctoral studies. In the Faculty of Arts, the *Modern Literature and Culture Research Centre* (MLC) generously provided funds to purchase archival images used in my dissertation, as well as supporting my conference travels. The staff and students at the MLC have been a collegial community throughout the writing of this dissertation, as has been PUBZ: The MLC Writing and Publishing Zone. In addition, I am grateful to the archives I consulted, notably *Dance Collection Danse* (DCD) archives in Toronto, which presented a vital resource for this study; my thanks go to archivists Amy Bowring and Miriam Adams for facilitating the research of the Maud Allan archival materials.

Finally, heartfelt thanks go to my study friends and colleagues Aleksandra Bida and Niomi Cherney, and to my pep-talking *esprit fort* Dr. Laurie Bertram. My most deeply felt thank you goes to my partner Robbie Harman, not only for his unfailing computer expertise throughout the writing of this dissertation, and his remarkable patience, but for his unstinting and inspirational support in all my endeavors.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Melva Widdicombe and Harold Doran, who have fuelled my desire for education and learning.

Contents

Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Contents	ix
List of Figures	xii
Introduction - Print Media, Modernity, and the Dancing Body	1
I.1 Modern Dance Reviews: Corpus and Theoretical Context	3
I.2 The Subjects: Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Maud Allan	8
I.3 Description of Chapters	14
Part One - Toward a Theory of the Dance Review	19
1.1 The Review as Genre	20
1.2 Publics, Modernity, and Criticism	25
1.3 The Critic's Body.....	37
1.4 Other Key Terms.....	49
Part Two - Surveying “Feeling”: The Body as Frame	55
2.1 Between Nostalgia and Anticipation	60
2.2 Temporality and Emotion	75
2.3 Gender and Physical Practice.....	89
2.4 “Feeling Without Effort”	103

Part Three - At a Loss for Words: Authenticity, Imitation, Metacriticism	121
3.1 The Performative Pause	125
3.2 Imitation, Authorship, and Pedagogy	132
3.3 Gesture and Language.....	158
3.4 “Un-dreamt of Places”	173
Part Four - “Poetry of Motion”: Writing Synaesthetic Metaphor.....	181
4.1 Synesthesia as Metaphor.....	182
4.2 Modernism and Synesthesia	188
4.3 “Rocked in the Waves”: Synesthesia and Consciousness.....	213
Conclusion - Critical Paradigms: Memory and Possibility.....	235
Appendix.....	239
Note on Transcription:	239
Transcription Samples:	239
1. Isadora Duncan. “Oh! Shame on America!” <i>The Washington Post</i> 14 Mar. 1913: 4.....	239
2. Sterling Heilig. “Nature Dancing a Revolt Against Art.” <i>The Kansas City Star</i> 31 Oct. 1909.....	245
3. Clive Marshall. “To Rear a ‘New, Clean, Healthy Race’.” <i>Oakland Tribune</i> 13 Jan. 1918.....	251
4. Henry Carr (“The Lancer”). “A Cynic on Maud Allan.” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> 13 Apr. 1910.....	256

5. “Art Warms Barefoot Dancer.” <i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> . 23 Jan. 1910: 1.	258
6. “Drama and Music: La Loie Fuller and Her Dance Creations.” <i>The Boston Daily Globe</i> 21 Apr. 1896: 6.	262
7. “Evolution of La Loie’s Dance.” <i>New York Herald</i> 27 Aug. 1893: 36.	265
8. “Isadora Duncan’s Beautiful Art.” <i>The Trenton Evening Times</i> 2 Nov. 1909.	270
9. “Maud Allan Returns Supreme Exponent of Visual Harmony.” <i>Los Angeles Times</i> 10 Apr. 1910: II16.	272
10. “Philosophy in the Dance.” <i>The New York Times</i> 17 Apr. 1889: 14.	274
Works Cited and Consulted	278
1. Archival Documents	278
2. Theoretical Texts	296

Curatorial Note on Figures:

The following images introduce the reader to photographs taken of Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Maud Allan, as well as to print-media images of drawings, paintings, caricatures and other likenesses. These images are meant to be read continuously to illustrate the disparities between posed photographic images and illustrations of the dancer's movement.

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 *Isadora Duncan*. 1919. Photograph. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 2.2 Arnold Genthe. *Isadora Duncan Dancers (Lisa, Anna and Irma Duncan)*. ca. 1915. Photograph. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 3.1 Theodore C. Marceau. *Loie Fuller Imitator*. ca. 1890-1909. Photograph. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 3.2 Jules Chéret. *Folies-Bergères - La Loïe Fuller*. 1897-1898. Color poster signed in middle right. Reproduced in color in *Die Kunst für Alle*. Ed. Friedrich Pecht. Munich, 13 n.p. (located between pages 96 and 97). Modern Literature and Culture Research Centre, Ryerson University, Toronto.

Figure 3.3 Arnold Genthe. *Isadora Duncan and the "Isadorables" (Irma, Theresa, Anna, Lisa, Isadora, Erica and Margot Duncan)*. 1917. Photograph. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 3.4 "Women Whom Salome Has Made Famous." *Chicago Daily Tribune* 16 Aug. 1908: F2.

Figure 3.5 “Maud Allan.” Maud Allan postcard. Stamped 10 Mar. 1909. Modern Literature and Culture Research Centre, Ryerson University, Toronto.

Figure 3.6 “Chopin Funeral March.” Maud Allan postcard. Stamped 11 Sept. 1908. Modern Literature and Culture Research Centre, Ryerson University, Toronto.

Figure 3.7 “Miss Maud Allan as ‘Salome’.” ca. 1906. Newspaper article. Maud Allan postcard. Author’s personal collection.

Figure 3.8 Paul Poiret dress. ca. 1912. Photograph.

Figure 3.9 Newspaper advertisement. *The Washington Post* 4 Nov. 1893: 5.

Figure 3.10 Eugène Druet. *Loie Fuller Dansant*. ca. 1900. Photograph. Musée Rodin, Paris.

Figure 3.11 “Skirt Dancing: Mlle. Loie Fuller and Her Transformations.” Illustrated magazine article. *Picture Magazine*. The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 3.12 “Magic ‘La Loie’ Tells How She Executes Her Wonderful Dances.” Illustrated newspaper article. *The San Francisco Examiner* 15 Nov. 1896.

Figure 3.13 “Isadora Duncan, The Newest Classic Dancer.” Illustrated newspaper article. *The Seattle Daily Times* 15 Aug. 1908.

Figure 3.14 “Music in Motion is Dancer’s Art.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 24 Jan. 1910: 3.

Figure 3.15 Newspaper advertisement. *New York Dramatic Mirror* 18 Apr. 1896.

Figure 3.16 “Isadora Duncan Raps Maud Allan.” Newspaper article. *The New York Times* 9 Aug. 1908.

Figure 4.1 Louis Gunnis. *How the Stage is Lighted*. 1896. Sketch. V & A Images. Theatre Museum, London.

Figure 4.2 Henri de Toulouse Lautrec, “Loïe Fuller aux Folies Bergères.” 1893. Lithograph on vellum. Bibliothèque national de France, Paris.

Figure 4.3 *La Loïe Fuller Vivant Fleur*. 1895. Watercolour. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 4.4 F. Gautier. “To Miss Loie Fuller 24 Mars 1895.” 1895. Watercolour. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 4.5 Svengali hypnotizes Tribly. 1894. Illustration from Du Maurier’s original printing in *Harper’s Monthly*.

Figure 4.6 *Fuller in Billowing White Costume*. 1895. Watercolour. New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Digital Collection.

Figure 4.7 Frederick Glasier. 1902. Photograph of Loïe Fuller.

Figure 2.1

Figure 2.2

Figure 3.1

Figure 3.2

Figure 3.3

Women Whom Salome Has Made Famous

Maud Allan
In Three Poses
as
'Salome'

Four Tiny Imitators Maud Allan
In *'The Dairy Maids'*

Lili Marling

Miss Emmy Destinn

Lottie Garrow

THE Salome dance, with its wealth of rhythm, its glistening perfume, and the weird willows which surround it, ever since its first appearance, have won the love of our audience. Many more

[illegible]

Greek Poem is Maud Allen.

It is. Maud Allen has become famous through her wonderful comprehension. It has been said by some that the old Greek and Egyptian sculptures could have been poured in. Others have held that this was reprehensible, judging from the angles of the busts. Maud Allen virtually has proved the former to be true when they are talking about. In her dance she is continually falling into poses such as we see in the ancient statuary. Arms and wrists, knees and ankles

Glenn Gould, the oldest child of a Jewish family, was the only one of the five who was not Jewish. Gould, who was born in 1928, was the only one of the five who was not Jewish.

To satisfy the carlinos who never saw men the Janso and have wandered so is just what the costume resembled—no did not consist of to make an hour people dance. The Janso costume is made up of one pair of fish-colored silk trousers resulting from the waist half way to the knee, one skirt of black gauze, and embedded at the bottom and reaching to the ankles, a girdle of pearls and brilliants, brooches and ornaments of pearls and emeralds with ropes of pearls and emeralds, and a necklace and earrings of brilliant and jade. A chador and red wig complete the costume. Neither lights nor sandals are worn, the arms, hands, and torso being entirely bare.

Berlin and Paris claim as their own particular Helene Kreny Dailis. She is a wonderful actress and singer and for years has been recognized as such, but, strange to tell she undertook the part of Helene over

[illegible]

Figure 3.4

Figure 3.5

Figure 3.6

Figure 3.7

Figure 3.8

WOODWARD & LOthrop

10th, 11th, and F Sts. N. W.

The "Loie Fuller"

A NEW HAIR CURLER,

Will crimp the hair quicker and more satisfactorily than any other contrivance. We can give you no clear idea of what it is like, so just ask to see it. Its simplicity recommends it.

— 25c. —

(Notion Dept., 1st floor 11th st. building.)

Umbrella Department.

A special lot of Women's 26-inch Umbrellas, Navy Blue Gloria, case and tassel, plain or decorated blue Dresden handles,

— \$1.50. —

Figure 3.9

Figure 3.10

The Spanish Dance.

The Basket.

The Butterfly Dance.

At Rest.

SKIRT-DANCING.—Mlle. LOÏE FULLER AND HER TRANSFORMATIONS.

From *L'illustration*.

Figure 3.11

Figure 3.12

THERE'S a new dancer on the boards—a Duncan in the field. She has been at it for quite some time and has a school of dancing near Paris, but it has remained for explorer and discoverer Charles Frohman to realize the theatrical value of what was being wasted upon the woods of Neuilly, and to exploit the art, which, he says, is the greatest since Greece. "Her art," his

press sheet announces, is a perfect example of what the ancient Greek dancing must have been at its best. She has learned the Attic dance, studying it from statue to bas-relief and from bas-relief to urn. There is tragedy and comedy in her dancing; and an evening's performance by her and her company is a whole play in itself. She is certain to duplicate in America the sensation she has caused wherever she has appeared in Europe.

Isadora is to appear this fall in New York. But she is being given a preliminary canter at the Duke of York's Theatre, London, where Alan Dale, dramatic critic of The New York Journal, saw her performance recently, and expressed his opinion of it as follows:

"There's nothing like a nice fat, well-printed ambition, and this is Isadora Duncan's, as set forth in a program slip at the Duke of York's Theatre: 'To rediscover the beautiful rhythmic motions of the human body, to call back to life again the ideal movement which shall be in harmony with the highest type of physical beauty, and to awaken once more an Art which has slept for two thousand years.'

"As they say in London—that's going it a bit, ain't it? The sweet and modest idea that this 'Art' has been snoozing for two thousand years, and that it is waiting for Isadora to knock at its door and tell it that 'breakfast is ready' appeals to me. I admire 'nerve' when it is intended."

Amusements Tonight

MOORE THEATRE—Dark.
GRAND OPERA HOUSE—San Francisco Opera Company in "Olivette."

LOIS THEATRE—"A Temperance Town."

SEATTLE THEATRE—"Honest Hearts."

COLISEUM—Vaudeville.
PANTAGES—Vaudeville.

STAR—Vaudeville.

WHITE CITY, MADISON PARK—Outdoor Attractions.

LUNA PARK—Outdoor Attractions.

ity (also her flesh). This 'air gal' dance is delightful. It is young, and rhythmic and poetic. She dances with her hands, her feet, her head, her body. There is no part of her that does not

respond to the gayety of the thing. It is all so pretty that Isadora herself seems almost beautiful. The lovely Gluck music adds to the illusion, and if there were nothing but this one dance to view, the verdict would be unanimous. Ten minutes of Isadora would be a joy. Two hours of her are a bit deadening."

This dance reminds me very much of something I saw many years ago, when I was a laughing lad, and that I have

big show towns like Chicago, New York, Boston and Philadelphia, where companies are rehearsing for the opening of the season, are suffering from the lack of shapely women who can dance and sing. One night stands have not yet felt the effects of the shortage. But it is not improbable that these places will be called upon to furnish "merry villagers" and "Amazons" for more than one musical comedy before the theatrical season of 1908-9 is well under way. Stage folks say that never before was there such a scarcity of chorus girls. New York managers have sent emissaries to Chicago during the last two weeks to engage all the girls they could get. Extraordinary inducements have been offered to experienced stage women, but it has been almost impossible for the agents to get girls who know the business.

WITH THE PRESS AGENTS

[The notices under this heading are prepared by the theatres interested, and The Times is in no way responsible for them.]

"Fantana" Next Week.

Tonight's performance will be the last of "Olivette." Commencing tomorrow night, The San Francisco Opera Company will bid adieu to its many friends and admirers in the Messrs. Shubert Brothers' Japanese-American musical comedy, "Fantana." Teddy Webb, as "Hawkins," the valet, is in his element in "Fantana." Mabel Day will sing the title role.

"The Private Secretary."

"The Private Secretary," that famous comedy by William Gillette, is to be the bill at the Loie Theatre next week, starting with the usual Sunday matinee.

Figure 3.13

High Priestess of Classic Dance in Roles Depicting Poetry of Motion.

MUSIC IN MOTION IS DANCER'S ART

Maud Allan, at Auditorium,
Interprets Tonal Poems
with Grace That Charms.

GIVES GRIEG'S PEER GYNT

Equals and in Some Ways Sur-
passes Isadora Duncan; to
Appear Again.

Maud Allan, the dancer of whom much has been spoken and written, was disclosed to the Chicago public yesterday afternoon at the Auditorium, where, assisted by the Philharmonic orchestra under Mr. Krumpholtz's leadership, she danced a program of her best known dances. The audience was one of fair proportions and although clearly one that had been attracted largely through curiosity, such was the character of Miss Allan's achievements that curiosity soon grew to interest, and out of interest came appreciation.

Applause which told of understanding and of hearty liking for her and her work was her reward long before the afternoon was ended, and after the scheduled numbers had been given the request for more was such that an extra—the "Blue Danube"—of Strauss—was danced, and several recalls acknowledged before the audience left the theater.

Miss Allan's art is more like that of Isadora Duncan than has been any dancer's seen here since that exponent of the Greek art became known to us. Miss Allan's is the equal of that of Miss Duncan, and in certain respects impresses as of even broader scope. It is not so purely and so unyieldingly Greek. It has greater variety, and therefore is more elastic and more satisfying as a medium for the translating of music into motion. Miss Duncan converted everything into the Greek; Miss Allan more nearly suits her art to the character of the music itself.

Everything sensual is banished.

She is a woman tall and slender, with suppleness of body and limb that approaches the marvelous and which is so skillfully utilized that every motion, every posture, and every line takes on grace and beauty. Anything more wonderful than her hands in grace and suppleness has yet to be seen here from any dancer. Nothing that she did yesterday suggested the sensual or the animalistic, but all was invariably pure and beautiful in the impression made. Intelligence is back of everything Miss Allan does, and makes meaningful and significant her every movement.

This was particularly brought home to the onlooker in her dancing of the music of the "Peer Gynt" Suite of Grieg, which recently was done here by the dancer De Winter. The latter merely expander about the stage in a state of comparative nudity, in poses

Figure 3.14

and tricks will be used during the entire Martinelli engagement over the Keith circuit.

Barr and Evans opened at the Lyceum, Boston, April 4, with The White Crook, making such a hit that they were at once engaged for the balance of the season.

Annie Carter, the well-known contralto, who has considerable talent as an actress, has received an offer from a prominent New England manager to star her in a new burlesque in the vaudeville houses next season. Miss Carter will probably decline the offer, as she thinks it advisable to wait until the season of 1895.

The Sidmans are leaving this week, the first since Aug. 5 last. They play the Savoy, Lowell, Mass., next week, and Keith's Biscuit, Philadelphia, week of May 4.

Sandow may appear at the Auditorium, Philadelphia, week of April 27. This will be his last engagement in America this season.

A high class concert was given at the Sality, Brooklyn, on Sunday evening last, in which the following people took part: Helene Moss, Hilda Thomas, Frank Barry, Ward and Curran, the Newsboys' Quintette, Morton and Revell, George H. Wood, Frank Moran, Charles S. Lawler, Brown and Harrison and others.

A new vaudeville house to be known as the Orpheum was opened April 5 at Seattle, Washington.

Frank Riley and J. C. Hughes, late of Symonds, Hughes and Kastus, will double up next season and present a new specialty called Good Old Georgia, in which they will illustrate the comical phases of negro life. The new team will be known as Riley and Hughes.

Fregoli, who will sing whole operas by himself at Olympia, will be seen first in Dorotea, a one-act opera, in which he will sing the soprano, contralto, tenor, baritone and basso parts. Mr. Hammerstein confidently expects that Fregoli will make a greater sensation than Guilbert.

William F. Riley has been appointed advertising agent of the Casino.

John Morrissey, well known in vaudeville circles in Chicago and elsewhere, is now connected with the management of the Orpheum in San Francisco.

Troja has been engaged for a short season with the Valdis Sisters' company.

Dick Little will be the business manager of the Valdis Sisters' company. He closed with Carrie Lamont, who was prevented from playing owing to a severe illness.

Charles G. Kilpatrick, the one-legged bicyclist, has been practicing glass ball shooting, and will add it to his act. Expert judges declare that he is a better glass ball shot than Dr. Carver or Buffalo Bill.

Loie Fuller will make her farewell appearance in America under Koster and Bial's management at the Metropolitan Opera House on April 30.

Mauds Raymond, who has made a hit in her dialect song at Proctor's Pleasure Palace, has a four week's engagement there.

Billy Emerson, the popular minstrel, who had a narrow escape from pneumonia, left last week for Atlantic City to recuperate. When he recovers he will begin a year's engagement with F. F. Proctor.

Alice Clifford, of the Clifford Sisters, has recovered from her attack of nervous prostration, and the team recently played a successful engagement at Hopkins Theatre, Chicago. They will join the Valdis Sisters' Combination on April 19.

Fifty delegates of the Delta Chi fraternity attended the performance of Marguerite at Hammerstein's Olympia on Friday evening last.

The Akimoto Japanese troupe left for Europe on the Japanese Mail.

VAUDEVILLE

VAUDEVILLE

A NOVELTY FOR NEXT SEASON

Direction FRANK FULLER.

IDA FULLER

- - SISTER OF - -

LA LOIE

And a Strictly First-class Vaudeville Company Presenting An Entertainment of the Highest Order, including

IDA FULLER'S

Wondrously Beautiful Dances
AN EXACT DUPLICATE OF

LA LOIE

The Same Gorgeous Light Effects.

The Same Magnificent Stage Settings.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I emphatically state that my sister IDA is the only one authorized to present my new serpentine and other dances invented and to be originally produced by me in Europe, or to make use of the costumes designs patented by me. This refers to my new dance creations, which have never before been produced in America.

Sincerely yours,

LOIE FULLER.

Managers can see MISS FULLER'S performance at Koster and Bial's, where she is playing an extended engagement by special arrangement with

LA LOIE.

Address all communications to

S. T. KING, Manager.

McConnell's Theatrical Exchange,

Abbey's Theatre Building.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

I emphatically state that my sister IDA is the only one authorized to present my new serpentine and other dances invented and to be originally produced by me in Europe, or to make use of the costumes designs patented by me. This refers to my new dance creations, which have never before been produced in America.

Sincerely yours,

LOIE FULLER.

Figure 3.15

ISADORA DUNCAN RAPS MAUD ALLAN

Says She Gave Younger Dancer
Tickets and Now She Never
Heard of Her!

APPEAR HERE AUG. 20

Miss Duncan Admits Her Dances Are
Not "Really" Greek, but Hopes
New York Will Like Them.

Special Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES

PARIS, Aug. 8.—Isadora Duncan, the dancer, sails to-day for America on the Lorraine from Havre. She will begin her season under Charles Frohman Aug. 20 at the Criterion Theatre. Miss Duncan arrived in Paris Thursday night, and spent Friday here at the Elysée Palace Hotel.

"A mad idea it is," she told me, "going to America to dance in the middle of August. New York must be a furnace! but Mr. Frohman wants to get me there before the imitations of my dances are doing everywhere. Personally, I can't see what difference it makes. I haven't been to America for ten years, and I'm awfully afraid of it. I hope they will like my dancing."

Miss Duncan tells me that she has not seen Maud Allan. "Four years ago Miss Allan came to me in Berlin and said she was a poor American girl studying dancing, and it would help her so much to see me. So I gave her tickets for every evening when I was dancing. Some weeks afterward she gave imitations of some of my dances and announced herself as my pupil. Now in London she tells an interviewer that she has never heard of me before."

"While my dancing owes inspiration to the Greeks, it is not Greek really, but very modern—my own idea. I shall use Gluck's "Iphigenie" music in New York. I have tried adaptations of old Greek music and found it very unsatisfactory. I once had a choir of Byzantine boys sing old Byzantine music for me, but I found that I couldn't dance to it. I put my trust in modern musicians."

"Please don't say, by the way, that I dress in Greek style."
Miss Duncan really wears a Parisian Directoire lounging gown.

Two Stage Favorites to Whom Rivals Pay Compliments.

THE MUCH-DISCUSSED MISS MAUD ALLAN

Figure 3.16

Figure 4.1

Figure 4.2

Figure 4.3

Figure 4.4

Figure 4.5

Figure 4.6

Figure 4.7

Introduction

Print Media, Modernity, and the Dancing Body

In the 1890s a new theatrical dance aesthetic that was neither ballet nor vaudeville—but exhibiting some of the spirit of both—began to appear on the stages of major cosmopolitan cities in North America. Presented by solo female performers, such as Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan, Ruth St. Denis and others, this radically new choreography diverged from both the intricate narrative symbolism of ballet and the lighthearted storytelling of vaudeville spectacle: the new dance captured attention by highlighting the non-narrative capabilities of dance performance. Exhibiting similar concerns as visual arts and theatre of the modernist era, the choreography of these women dancers echoed disenchantment with formal narrative structure and cohesion. Just as popular photography unseated realist painting, leading to impressionist, cubist, and eventually surrealist images, so modern dancers began to experiment with movement that broke from the narrative telos of traditional storytelling that opera and ballet relied upon.¹ Many of their works even rejected emotional storytelling through familiar facial expression and gestural expression, which, accordingly, disrupted theatrical dance's reliance on melodramatic pathos.

According to reviews and accounts of these women dancers' performances, this shift to non-narrative movement driven by internal agency, rather than dictated by an external

¹ See also Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev's influential Ballets Russes company, which debuted avant-garde ballet with a groundbreaking fusion of dance, music, choreography and design in Paris in 1909, although the group's first North-American performance in New York City was not until 1916; the Ballets Russes were active until 1929.

choreographer, involved a radical turn in perceptions of dancers. No longer seen as embodying the feelings and actions of a character in a story, the dancer was seen as expressing her own personal feelings outwardly. This new movement aesthetic, as conceptualized through the lens of contemporary critics in print media, has sparked the topic of this dissertation, which argues that non-narrative dance both challenged critical description and led to the implementation of writing tactics that drew attention to the hermeneutic entanglements of movement and language they negotiated. In doing so, critics performed and enacted criticism. These new tactics for writing the dancing body at once render problematic the putative objectivity of journalistic criticism and reveal the limits of traditional dance criticism's focus on intricate technique and plot line.

Published in newspaper and magazine periodicals, dance reviews are at once a reliable source, in that they appear with regularity and have been preserved as historical documents of import, and an unstable one, in that they are contradictory and subjective documents. Much of what we know about the first modern dancers and their choreography is gleaned, assembled, and deduced from these documents. This dissertation explores dance reviews by questioning how critics historicized these performances in ways that are either complicit with, or contradict, the traditional notion of capturing dance through narrative means and codified technique. In doing so, this study engages with what it means to read dance through the critical frame of this specific print genre. I explore how the first modern dance critics responded to this new movement aesthetic and how, consequently, these reviews historicized modern women dancers as personalities, bodies, and artists. By approaching modern dance from the quotidian perspective of the newspaper, I also engage with how nationally and regionally circulated newspapers were integrated into the promotion and spectacle of theatrical dance performance, thereby prompting the public's exposure to and interest in dance performance.

Specifically, I outline two genre developments in the modern dance review. First, some critics overcome with the task of “translating” non-narrative experience into language, resorted to what I term “metacriticism,” in which they, after remarking on the impossibility or difficulty of such a task, proceed with speculating on the purpose of the critical act of writing dance itself. Such metacritical writing, I propose, indicates a becoming stage in modern dance criticism, in which the “growing pains” of responding to a new aesthetic development throw the very ontology of criticism into question. The second type of writing I identify marks the development of modern dance criticism as we know it today, namely: characterized by descriptive passages, often using synesthetic metaphors as a stylistic tactic that emphasized modern dance spectatorship as corporeal. By writing spectatorship as corporeal, critics also echo a burgeoning interest in synesthesia in the modernist era, in which a visceral response to the visual and rhythmic stimuli of movement suggests the intertwining of physicality into visual experience.

I.1 Modern Dance Reviews: Corpus and Theoretical Context

Modernism signifies both a chronological concept, designating the era from the 1880 to the 1930s, and an aesthetic one, designating experimentations in dance, theatre, writing, music, and visual culture.² The modern dance aesthetic that this study is concerned with focuses on the

² The study of Modernism across the arts including dance, theatre, visual art, literature, and fashion has produced an enormous body of scholarship noting Modernism’s shifting styles and relationship with the avant-garde (e.g., Eysteinsson); its gendered communication tactics (Fraser, Johnson, and Green); its association with urbanity, modern science, and technological development; and with a sustained spirit of experimentation, prompted by uncertainty and

dance that emerged in the late nineteenth-century as a response to the more narrative forms of nineteenth century ballet.³ Consequently, the emphasis on the years 1890 to 1920 in this dissertation is twofold. First, it is within these three decades that the first pioneers of modern dance developed their movement styles on theatrical stages. Second, this time period also marks the development of dance reviews as a critical genre in print media. It was not until the 1930s that the “dance critic” had become a full time position at major newspapers such as *The New York Times*, and, for this reason, the majority of reviews were written anonymously, often by music or theatre reviewers. In reading the dancing body through the newspaper review, this dissertation brings together these two cultural texts—print media and the dancing body—to interpret the cultural moment of modernism. I discuss print media as a central medium for ideological representation that reflects conflicting paradigms of aesthetics.

The corpus of archival texts to be examined consists of more than 300 print media articles from the era, reviewing live performances by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan. Most broadly,

upheaval (Berman), even crisis (Gammel and Waszczuk). Modernist dance has been examined for its gendered presentation (Daly; Foster; Kolb; Preston), and its racial dimensions (Burt; Foster; Foulkes; Franko; Kraut; Manning).

³ American ballet reviews of the nineteenth century often focused on narrative storytelling and the dancers’ techniques, as seen in a typical 1870 review in *The New York Times*: “a simple thread of story involving the usual ill-treated lovers, the cruel father, the unwelcome suitor and the beneficent fairy, who eventually makes all the things right and true love happy, are woven a number of beautiful and graceful dances, giving to this admirable troupe full opportunity for displaying their skill and training” (“Amusements”). In this quotation, the critic points to the standardization of narrative storytelling that ballet represents.

these reviews appeared in print media from 1880 to 1930, with a more specific focus on the reviews between 1890 and 1920. The newspapers from which reviews have been collected include now national print media such as *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, but also regional, now-defunct media sources such as the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* (1896-1930). Also included are more specialized print media such as *Musical America* and *The Musical Leader*. Finally, there are several European reviews and articles included in the archival bibliography for context. These reviews were culled from various archival sources, including The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The University of Toronto Robarts Library Archives, Dance Collection Danse Maud Allan Collection, The Archives of Ontario and online newspaper databases.

These reviews were transcribed and analyzed, with a small selection of transcriptions appearing in the Appendix at the end to give readers a sense of both the patterns and the diversity of styles and content. As a source of study these reviews illuminate the discourse in which the three dancers' innovations were deciphered in popular print media. While scholars and biographers have referred to some of these reviews in their studies, the large and diverse body of reviews assembled and examined herein is wide-ranging and novel, allowing us to draw conclusions about the evolution of the modern dance review by using this corpus as a primary source of investigation.

Read collectively, the dance reviews researched and collected for this dissertation, I argue, concretize an emerging genre of American newspaper writing complete with its own implied spectatorship ideology. That is, this genre begins to diverge from traditional journalism in which viewing critics rhetorically position themselves as existing apart from the described event. In other words, in order to write about a dance from the putatively "objective" and

“disinterested” perspective commonly assumed in newspaper journalism during the era,⁴ dance critics were expected to construct their perspective as detached from the performance. This vantage point is antithetical to the empathetic interaction that early modern women dancers solicited from their audiences, as we shall see, and critical responses to their non-narrative expressions began to diverge from this model in conspicuous ways. Critics who endeavored to write in the seemingly “objective” manner that was the ostensible ethos of early twentieth-century journalism (Conner 26) often struggled with how to translate this aesthetic experience into a narrative for their reader.⁵

Most scholarship on dance criticism does not engage with how dance reviews mediate the historiography of movement. Instead scholars have read these reviews as manuals for aspiring dance journalists (Gottlieb); or have focused on the “New York school” of dance criticism (Theodores), a style of dance reviewing made popular by the most prolific dance writers for daily American papers between 1965 and 1985 that is still the dominant mode of newspaper dance writing. These analyses of the dance review provide a starting point for my exploration of the corpus under review, which examines the emergence of the American dance review in the modernist era. Ultimately, the style of writing employed in these earlier reviews—

⁴ Communication scholar Michael Schudson identifies the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries as the era when “objective” writing became the norm in American periodicals. He associates this phenomenon with the “self conscious pursuit of internal group solidarity” in American society (149).

⁵ Here I invoke Walter Benjamin’s understanding of translation as espoused in “The Task of the Translator” (1923), whereby the process of translation is not about achieving absolute correspondence, but about drawing attention to differences in stylistic intention and syntax.

the first modern dance descriptions—requires a consideration of the context they were written in.

Lynne Conner's *Spreading the Gospel of Modern Dance* (1997) historicizes early American newspaper dance reviews. In her analysis of the cultural and economic issues affecting both performance and print media, Conner focuses on the moment in the late 1920s when three major daily newspapers—namely, *New York World*, *New York Herald Tribune*, and *The New York Times*—hired full-time dance writers, allowing Conner to explore the reciprocal relationship between choreographer and critic. Conner asserts that newspaper dance writing in the United States evolved after 1927 from a slapdash “sub-species” of music criticism into a specialized field of art exegesis and description. While Conner provides a helpful foundation, my research investigates modern dance writing in an earlier era, from 1880 to 1930, to discover how this writing was changing along with the corporeal aesthetic of modern dance *before* it became established as a writing technique. The challenge to communicate the relationship between experience and language is divulged through these documents in a “reading between the lines.”

In these readings, I advance a framework of theoretical concepts drawn from the studies of performance, dance, communication, and phenomenology. Informed by the work of recent performance studies (e.g. Phelan; Schneider; Taylor), I approach this body of dance reviews from an inverse perspective from that represented by traditional dance history scholarship. That is, instead of reading reviews as documentation in order to understand these dances, I explore how reviewers *perform* criticism, thus framing our understanding of movement in specific ways. In probing these documents to examine whose stories might be left out of the document, I reevaluate the interrelationship between corporeal performance and knowledge production. I engage with the correlation between media and performance as either documentary or

performative, arguing that writing performance offers promises for both types of engagement with the live event. Ultimately, I examine modern dance reviews in order to discover how the critics were writing not just the corporeality of the dancer, but enacting criticism as performance.

I.2 The Subjects: Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Maud Allan

Modern dance, as scholar Elizabeth Dempster asserts, “is an expression of interiority: interior feeling guiding the movement of the body into external forms” (28). Ruth St. Denis (1879-1968), who founded the American Denishawn School of Dance in 1915, is often called the pioneer of modern dance.⁶ Likewise, American Martha Graham (1894-1991), who was active in the 1930s and 40s, has been lauded for pioneering modern dance aesthetics. While these and other important modern dancers are referenced as important touchstones throughout, this study’s more central focus is on three dancers who preceded Graham and even, in part, St. Denis, namely: Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Maud Allan.

⁶ While referenced in this dissertation, St. Denis is not a central focus for a number of reasons. St. Denis outlived Duncan, and much more is known about St. Denis’s repertoire than Duncan’s Fuller’s or Allan’s, making the necessity of accessing St. Denis’s work via print media reviews much less pertinent. For example, St. Denis’s work includes film footage, which is not available for the dancers under investigation in this dissertation. Moreover, St. Denis’s versions of “orientalist” motifs requires a critical postcolonial consideration that is briefly referenced in the discussion of Allan but largely beyond the scope of this study, requiring separate investigation, which is underway (see, for example, Desmond; Shelton; also Banes).

American dancer Loïe Fuller (1862-1928) was best known for her elaborate silk stage costumes and technology, which earned her the epithet “La Loïe.” Her innovative use of electric technologies and scientific inventions has led recent scholars, such as film theorist Tom Gunning, to label her choreographies “experiments in early film” (“Loie Fuller” 78). She patented a system of bamboo rods as prostheses to extend the reach of her arms, enabling her to manipulate the fabric into spectacular forms. She was able to operate her silken costumes in a manner that extended the boundaries of her body into her surroundings, creating a rippling effect, or afterimage. Fuller developed her signature “serpentine” style in 1891, during her run in the touring play *Quack M.D.*, written by Fred Marsden and produced by Charles Hoyt. Her character, a widow who dances under hypnosis, performed a frenzied, whirling dance in which she used her voluminous silk costume to extend the lines of the arms, accentuating the shapes of her body. Fuller’s radical contribution to dance aesthetics lies in her continuously morphing shapes that defy narrative signification. Although critics report seeing fleeting images within her movement, such as flowers, chalices, or animals, what is remarkable is that she never settles in any recognizable imagery, creating “sequences of ephemeral sculptures” (Garelick 4). In 1893 Fuller arrived in fin-de-siècle Paris, making a name for herself as a regular performer at the Folies Bergère, before returning to America to great acclaim. Her bold use of stage technologies—including mirrors, lighting, and phosphorescent dyes—was highlighted at the 1900 World’s Fair Exposition in Paris, which saw the creation of a theatre with an elaborate art nouveau façade, topped by a statue of Fuller herself.⁷

⁷ This theatre, in which Fuller gave regular performances, is the ultimate representation of Fuller’s position as both Romantic and Futurist icon. Several scholars (Merwin; Zoritzner) outline her parallel trajectory to the Futurist movement emerging after 1909 in Italy. Many of

Whereas Fuller embraced technology in her stage presentation, for American dancer Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) the body was most aptly viewed in simplicity. Duncan epitomizes the “barefoot” “natural” dancing that was considered unaffected by societal mores of movement, coinciding with the beginning of change in women’s undergarments from rigid corsetry as well as a relaxing of sexual mores. She also vehemently rejected what she thought of as the rigid corporeal rules of ballet technique and the concept of technique in general, insisting that her movements were expressed spontaneously and inspired from natural rhythms of the sea. In her movement vocabulary, which was supposedly based on emotion without deliberate intention, pedestrian comportment such as hopping, skipping, and running were emphasized. Natural movement, for Duncan was initiated from the solar plexus, or what she calls the “temporal home of the soul” (*My Life* 244).⁸

Fuller’s artistic statements exhibit the same frustration with the stagnancy of “academic” art that the Futurists rallied against, as when F.T. Marinetti, for example, equated museums with graveyards (1909).

⁸ San Francisco-raised Duncan appeared slightly later than Fuller with first solo dance performances in 1898 in the homes of wealthy patrons in New York City, and, like Fuller, achieved fame after travelling to London and Paris in 1899. Of the first modern dancers, Duncan’s pedagogy is the most intact, and is still practiced today. It is, perhaps, due to the live transmission of her lineage via pedagogy and choreography that we know more about Duncan’s aesthetic than about Fuller’s and Allan’s. She founded her first school in 1904 in Grunewald, Germany; then established a school in Paris, which was closed during WWI, prompting her to transfer the school to New York City; and finally, in 1921, founded a short-lived school in Moscow.

Meanwhile, Toronto-born dancer Maud Allan (1873-1956) began her performance career as a pianist and turned to dance relatively late in her career; she was thirty years old at the time of her debut. Her training as a musician was central to how she approached dancing, and dance critics often commented on Allan's remarkable musicality. "Allan does not dance to music, she becomes music," one anonymous critic asserted in 1908 ("Artist Portrays Poetry"). Although Allan was famous for her depiction of Salomé, one of her more narrative works, which led to a lengthy court trial in 1918 and overshadowed her entire career and work,⁹ it is her presentation of non-narrative form, fusing aural and visual feeling that makes her a significant subject for kinesthetic analysis.¹⁰ Moreover, reviews of Allan's dance choreography contributed to the frenzy surrounding her stage persona and public images, offering critical insights into how this modern woman dancer has been constructed as both agent and object of consumer culture.

All three women dancers have been the subject of extensive biographical scrutiny. Maud Allan's adventurous life has been scrutinized in books by Felix Cherniavsky, while her

⁹ More notoriety followed when Allan lost a libel suit she brought against Noel Pemberton Billing, the British publisher of the journal *Vigilante*, for publishing "The Cult of the Clitoris," a slanderous piece implying Allan was a lesbian associate of German wartime conspirators.

¹⁰ Born Beulah Maude Durrant, Maud Allan spent her early years in San Francisco, and moved to Germany in 1895 to study piano. Allan changed her name to Maud Allan, after her brother, Theo Durrant, was charged with the murder of two women and was executed by the state in 1898. Allan debuted as a dance performer in 1903 with solo program in Vienna. Like Fuller and Duncan, Allan left North America to launch her career in Europe before returning to America with renewed acclaim.

contributions to modern dance have only begun to be explored (Bentley; Bishop) mainly within post-colonial theory highlighting also the era's preoccupation with "orientalism" (Koritz). Likewise, Duncan's life, including the tragic death of her two children by drowning, and her own dramatic death by car accident in 1927, has been memorialized by biographers (Blair; Kurth; MacDougal; Seroff; Terry); her tours in Russia (Duncan and MacDougal; Ilyich; Ross) and South America (Dumesnil) have been scrutinized; while Duncan's influence as a modern dancer in America has been the focus of dance scholar Ann Daly's book *Done into Dance* (1995).¹¹ Likewise, studies of Loïe Fuller have positioned the dancer as paving the way for later dancers, including Duncan and Josephine Baker (Current). Cooper-Albright's detailed analysis of Fuller's ephemera and Derridean analysis of her "Serpentine signature" provides a compelling visual culture portrait of dance during the fin-de-siècle (2007). Notable too is performance studies scholar Felicia McCarren's discussion of Stéphane Mallarmé's interest in and engagement with Fuller in his own writing. The French poet, as McCarren notes, "is interested not in using dance to do what writing alone cannot do... or in writing like dance (a commonplace in romantic poetics), but rather to do in writing what the dancer does with her body" ("Stéphane Mallarmé" 217).¹²

Although Fuller, Duncan, and Allan have been historicized in relation to their aesthetic contributions to modern dance (e.g., Banes; Bishop; Cooper-Albright), this dissertation is the

¹¹ Duncan's teaching of dance has been discussed in writing by her pupils (Dikovskaya; Duncan). Other primary material includes Duncan's correspondence with her lover Gordon Craig, published in 1974 in an edition by Francis Steegmuller.

¹² Helpful too is work by Rhonda K. Garelick, who examines Fuller's performances in relation to modernism, electricity, and the romantic ballet in her book *Electric Salome* (2007).

first study to offer a systematic theory and exploration of how their specific movement aesthetics are communicated stylistically via print media. For example, the research discussed herein reveals important and fascinating variances between reviews discussing Fuller and Duncan's work, differences that will also unfold new insights into how women's bodies were mythologized as emblematic of either nature or technology. Although dance criticism reveals patterns of responses to non-narrative forms of dancing, these responses manifest themselves differently for each dancer. For example, whereas Fuller is both lauded and criticized for her use of modern technology, Duncan represents a face of modernity that seems to invite celebrations of women's bodies in their "natural" form. These juxtapositions and tensions, in turn, pose questions regarding how print media translates moving bodies into discourse, thereby participating in knowledge and discourse production as a collective project.

I engage primarily with description of dances via print media. In this engagement of print media, I also consider the autobiographies of these three dancers as stages for complex self-representation—Allan's *My Life and Dancing* (1908), Duncan's *My Life* (1927), and Fuller's *Quinze ans de ma vie* (1908).¹³ Each autobiography provides a helpful context for examining the relationship of these women to each other, allowing us to gauge how they were conceptualizing their aesthetics and audiences vis-à-vis each other. In fact, the autobiographical, and sometimes confessional, writing these dancers engaged in often addressed their critics directly, and, when read in tandem with reviews, portrays a bidirectional critical "conversation" that has remained virtually unexplored. As part of this conversation, I explore how the descriptive labels assigned modern dance via the print-media review, such as "natural dance" or

¹³ Although *Quinze ans de ma vie* was published in 1908, it was not until 1913 that Fuller published an English translation of her biography—*Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life*.

“poetry of motion,” are simultaneously reinforced and resisted by the dancers themselves as they engage with the critical categorizations.¹⁴

I.3 Description of Chapters

Part One, “Toward a Theory of the Dance Review,” advances a theoretical frame to examine the dance review as an emerging genre in print publications. This evolving genre in turn reveals a constant state of debate and revision in relation to disciplinary, editorial, social, and ethical boundaries. I begin by surveying the review in relation to American journalistic trends, engaging with reportage conventions as obstacles to describing non-narrative movement. The function of reviews range from dissemination of information, evaluation, description, and interpretation (as Susan Sontag describes it), through promotion (as Pierre Bourdieu reveals), to a translation of experience (as Northrop Frye espouses). The function of reviews also relates to the various placements of review writing within newspaper sections. Engaging Michael Warner’s theory of “publics” as modern cultural constructions, Part One investigates how publics and modernity are linked to critical modes of engagement via the newspaper during the modernist era, by writing modern dance.

Part Two, “Surveying ‘Feeling’: The Critical Body as Frame,” examines how sociocultural practices of kinesthesia specific to this era—as an entwined physicality and

¹⁴ This analysis takes inspiration from communication and performance studies scholar Carol Simpson Stern’s writings on the critic Arthur Symons (1968, 2007), which explores the ways in which literary genres such as “decadent,” “symbolist,” or “futurist” are adhered to by writers and critics; these genres are often adopted or challenged by writers in different ways throughout their career trajectories.

emotionality—are reflected within the writing of the dancing body in the modern era’s popular print media. Beginning by interrogating the seemingly antithetical themes of “natural” and technological that appear ubiquitously in the corpus of reviews under scrutiny herein, Part Two is concerned with how nostalgic imagery and technological allegory function as temporally ambiguous anchors in relation to modern dance. Practices such as bodybuilding, as well as Delsarte, Laban, and other modern dance pedagogies are explored in relation to how they (en)gender the dancing body in relation to technological allegory. Finally, Part Two studies the linkage of sensation and temporality, examining how past and future temporalities in this era are rooted in notions of modernity and how they summon emotion in particular ways. During the modernist era, as we shall see, nostalgia, like criticism, was an act of recall that implicated kinesthetic empathy—a having “been there.” These dimensions will be explored with the help of dance and performance theory.

Part Three, “At a Loss for Words: Authenticity, Imitation, Metacriticism,” is concerned with how issues of authenticity guide notions of authorship, both for the dancers, who attempted to copyright their movement, and by critics, who exhibited concerns with accurately documenting performance. By using Fuller’s famous 1892 copyright court trial as a case study, I explore how concerns such as these relate to notions of lingual expression. Within a framework of phenomenological performance studies, the chapter examines gestural communication, concluding that modern dance eschewed more traditional concert dance in its rejection of familiar emotional cues based on gesture. Thus, because modern dance presented emotion in new ways, it was a difficult aesthetic to describe, more difficult than earlier narrative forms of dance. Indeed, in some reviews, critics express frustration with not being able to adequately articulate a performance. These “critical breakdowns,” which gives rise to metacriticism, adhere to the modernist tradition of self-critique, which, much like modernist

literature, brings attention to the materiality of language itself, often leading to a discussion as to what the function of criticism is. If the critic cannot accurately express or describe the performance, what is the purpose of criticism? Ultimately, Part Three posits that metacritical (dis)engagement is inherently bodily. Part Three ends by examining how the desire for authenticity can be read as both conducive to and reactive against the mimesis inherent in commodity fetishism. Authenticity, the study insists, is also evident in how modern dance, as an act of “autobiographical” communication, was problematically thought of as an authentic ontology, or “real” experience.

Part Four, “‘Feeling Colour’: Writing Synesthetic Metaphor,” engages with one of the ways critics overcame the pause of metacriticism, exploring how allusions to synesthesia, such as “feeling colours” or “seeing music,” manifest themselves metaphorically in many modern dance reviews. The reviews, as we shall see, evoked synesthesia metaphorically, calling into question how the intertwining of the senses became an important concept in spectatorship in response to modern dance. By referring to specific works these modern dancers presented, Part Four examines how, in their reaction to them, critics adopted synesthetic metaphor as a method of communicating unfamiliar immersive aesthetics, thus categorizing and concretizing sensory experience in specific ways. Finally, Part Four suggests that boundaries in this era were not only being extended physically, but explored in relation to inner consciousness within performative, medical and psychoanalytic practices. Exploring practices such as performative hypnotism, Part Four ends by comparing critical descriptions of modern dance to accounts of the dancers, concluding that states of alterity were essential to non-narrativity at this time.

The Works Cited and Consulted lists all the archival reviews cited and studied in this dissertation, along with the theoretical texts, while the Appendix offers transcription samples of excerpted as well as completed reviews. The latter have been transcribed following scholarly

transcription rules; for example, errors are normally reproduced as they appear in the texts available; editorial interventions are shown in square brackets. And last, but certainly not least, this dissertation is accompanied by twenty-five images of the three performers and other contextual images, some of which circulated widely during the era in form of popular postcards, posters, and other forms. For the performers, these images were an essential part in translating the ephemeral performance on the stage into a more permanent medium, one that also circulated increasingly alongside the written reviews in the form of illustrations (starting around 1908, when photographs and drawings of photographs began appearing regularly in newspapers).

Ultimately, this dissertation brings attention to the nascent dance review, and its protean form and function, during the emergence of modern dance. More than a record of events, the incipient dance review was a mediator, actively shaping knowledge, promotion, and discourse of modern dance. Today, it is these surviving archival print-media materials that afford insight into the myriad of ways in which modern dance prompted a new performative style of writing dance criticism, one that went in tandem with the development of the dance review genre itself, as we shall see in the next chapter.

Part One

Toward a Theory of the Dance Review

Dance reviews are complex attempts at translating a performance experience into words. Like any written attempt of capturing a live event in words, they “fix” or preserve a version of memory by bringing together the seemingly antithetical structures of the live and the enduring and in doing so solidify memory from a particular vantage point. Dance criticism, however, particularly from the modernist era, poses specific challenges for a historical interpreter of these documents. Not only do these reviews comprise some of the only surviving documentation of these dances, but they are also peculiarly diverse objects, in that they present contextually and stylistically multifaceted accounts of a single performance. In 1939, dance critic John Martin summed up the difficulty of this translation effort with an apt analogy, as he invited the reader to “suppose that a Beethoven symphony had to be approximated from written accounts of its first performance” (*Dance in Theory* 70).

Given this difficulty of translating dance into words, Part One aims to lay the theoretical groundwork for this dissertation by identifying the genres, terms, and theories that frame this discussion within the context of communication studies and performance studies. More specifically, the purpose of Part One is threefold. First, I examine the review as genre within the newspaper, using theories of communication, before engaging with the notion of the public as a socially constructed concept. Second, I turn to examine the critic’s corporeality, using theories of performance and embodied cognition to render problematic the ways in which the critic is often constituted as anonymous and invisible. Third, I turn to the dance review in transition to examine how the critic’s subjectivity manifests itself within the review through descriptive, evaluative, and promotional rhetoric, concretizing an emergent genre in which the crisis of the

modern is often staged through the critic's body. I begin by sketching the review as a genre. What exactly is a review and what is its function?

1.1 The Review as Genre

In the most general sense, a review provides an evaluation of a live performance, whereby the critic is involved as an observer of a live performance in order to provide a synthesis of it, but also to make a pronouncement with respect to its artistic merit. Although the review is a protean genre, offering varying amounts of descriptive background information, typically reviewers are interested in technical competency (noting, for example, errors or shortcomings), but they are also interested in more subjective responses relating to the artistic value, or rhythmic harmony, and entertainment value of a particular piece. It is important to note at the outset that despite its inherent didacticism, the art review between 1880-1930 operated in the interstices of intellectual dialogue. Not considered part of literary practice (as dance and art criticism in nineteenth-century France was), reviews in the North-American press at the turn of the century did not have an established literary canon or structural form, but were characterized by transitional and open-ended structures. Since dance and performance scholars have long relied on the content of reviews when historicizing a dancer's choreography, it may come as a surprise that little research has focused on the medium itself. The review remains virtually unexplored as a genre. As I argue, the dance review presents an important object of study, whose stylistic resonances and embedded ideologies require investigation at the intersection of dance studies, performance studies, and communication studies. Its focus on 'feelings' and sensation requires an understanding of theories of embodied cognition.

Genres have typically been defined as characteristic modes of "engaging rhetorically with recurring situations" (Freedman and Medway 2). These recurrences do more than simply

enunciate ideas in a similar stylistic manner; they prompt actions within a particular social context. For example, Carol Berkenkotter and Thomas N. Huckin emphasize the social context of genres, as they assert: “genres are inherently dynamic rhetorical structures that can be manipulated according to the conditions of use... genre knowledge is therefore best conceptualized as a form of situated cognition embedded in disciplinary activities” (3). These “conditions of use” are significant when considering the devices and objectives of the reviews. As a published response to an already existing text, as Linda Hutcheon notes, “[the review observes] a work’s effect on ourselves and then estimat[es] its value for others who share our values” (“Reviewing”). For the newspaper review, two additions to this basic definition are needed. First, the “shared values” Hutcheon refers to are less applicable to the demographics of newspaper readership, which has a broader readership than the scholarly periodical Hutcheon is referring to. Even though it is useful to consider the selective manner in which newspapers are read (i.e. not every newspaper reader would read a dance review), it is also valuable to consider the potential for broad audience exposure afforded by the review. Second, the dance review, unlike the literature review, is a translation of a non-verbal text, a live dance performance, into a lingual text, which involves a different type of engagement.¹⁵

Dance reviews, as it were, attempt to “solidify” the ephemeral by portraying performance “as it was.” In this way, writing dance criticism implicates memory; the critic, having recently attended the performance in question, is tasked with conjuring a short-term memory of the live experience. But this translation of the performance—even though the

¹⁵ Art criticism originated as a literary genre in mid-eighteenth century France. For more, see Orwicz, *Art Criticism and its Institutions* (1994); Wrigley, *The Origins of French Art Criticism* (1995); and Adlam and Simpson, *Critical Exchange* (2009).

memory of it is both recent and experienced directly by the writer—is an always already imperfect correspondence, yet one in which the critic typically communicates the final word, proclaiming a “truth” or judgment. In this process of engaging a past event, reviews work to bridge two audiences—first, the live audience they represent; and second, the readership they address. In particular, the scope of audience that the newspaper reached by its very circulation widened the reading audience of dance.

A researcher might be surprised to observe that, despite its reach, the marginalized status of dance criticism in the American newspaper during the late 1800s is signaled in its positioning, subsumed within pages documenting traditional plays or musical arts, as if dance reviewing was an afterthought; or in frothy social events sections of the newspaper, relegated to entertainment, and thereby denied the status of serious art. Review-like descriptions are often contained within these non-traditional placements, and this attests to the review’s nascent status as a genre during this era. It is important to consider that the genre of dance criticism is not yet clearly defined within popular print culture of the mass circulation newspaper. For example, in dailies, dance reviews could even be found side by side with frivolous gossip columns, though admittedly the reviews appearing here were few in number. It is also crucial to note that review descriptions often appear within other news-style articles, and I have used these descriptive passages as well as reviews proper throughout this dissertation. These ancillary documents were often not written by “reviewers” proper, but other types of journalists, since the dance reviewer was not yet a journalistic assignment. These documents reinforce the stylistic variances of reviews and review-like descriptions of dance in print media. Judging from the context in which reviews are found, we can conclude that more artistic value and prominence was assigned to the dance review in magazines and more specialized periodicals, which appeared with less frequency than newspapers. The tendency to limit the dance review in this manner does vary

slightly according to the specific periodical's approach to reviewing and appears to open up slightly later into the century, particularly after Loïe Fuller's return from Europe in 1896. Still, a longer feature on Fuller, Duncan, or Allan was likely to be in article or interview format, instead of strict review analysis.

Important, too, is the fact that very few critics attached (or were permitted to attach) their name to the review, and that dance reviews during this era were typically written by music, theatre or gossip column writers who were not necessarily known within the dance circles (Conner 17). Such absence of overt authorship, and genuine expertise, in turn, may help explain the theoretical lacuna surrounding the review as an object of serious study in dance criticism, a lacuna noted earlier. The absence of the signature also rendered the critic as both anonymous and "invisible," whereby a singular memory and opinion of a performance was typically presented as though it were factual and universal. The critic's mask of objectivity, however, is rendered problematic by the fact that not only did critics hold bias, they routinely made powerful aesthetic value judgments, but these pronouncements were often presented as factual, rather than as a personal response.

Given this focus on disinterested journalism in the American print media, the emergent distinction between writing reviews of narrative ballet and modern dance is all the more notable. A discernible shift followed after Loïe Fuller's return to New York in 1896, as critics responded to her performances on stages throughout the United States. Of course, critics had access to European reviews of her work via telegram (reviews of performances in Paris and London were often reprinted within the American presses), and a style peppered with poetic descriptions was then adopted by some of the American dance reviewers. Certainly critics began to take notice and, as a result, many of the richest reviews of the work of these three performers hail from these homecoming appearances. This critical writing of modern dance

reveals an enchantment for this new aesthetic, expressed in visually imaginative and viscerally stimulating descriptions that evoke the Romanticism of earlier nineteenth-century French and German ballet criticism.¹⁶ Yet even more discernible was a decidedly American flavor of pragmatism and patriotism.

Before we look at one concrete example in the section below, it is worth remembering the larger geopolitical contexts that spawned the production of such reviews. It must be remembered that in the two major centers of concert dance, Europe and North America, the conversation of performative aesthetics in popular print media have different flavors that correspond to the evolution of newspaper journalism in these two continents and respective countries. In his study of American newspaper history, for example, Allan Nevins writes that until the nineteenth-century, American papers modeled themselves after the style of the European periodical press by emphasizing editorial-style news pieces. But in the 1900s, American newspaper journalism developed a fact-over-opinion emphasis (Nevins 15), which increasingly masked bias. A case in point is how the *Chicago Tribune* was personified in managing editor and co-owner Joseph Medill (1823-1899), a liberal conservative whose influence on the paper through the latter 1880s is evidenced in the conservative editorial articles (Medill was also mayor of Chicago from 1871-1873). The particular interests of editors and owners evidently shaped the paper's ideological content, while masking such leanings under a blanket of proffering objective fact. It was within this context, then, that the modern dance review emerged, as Fuller, Duncan and Allan arrived in major American cities such as Chicago,

¹⁶ The influence of Romanticism in French and German criticism is epitomized in the ballet criticism of Théophile Gautier (1811-1872) (Snell 1982).

New York, and San Francisco, but also in smaller cities of the country, spawning reviews on much publicized homecoming trips.

1.2 Publics, Modernity, and Criticism

As the first performers of modern dance, Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, and Maud Allan were often depicted in reviews as emblematic of modernism. The following excerpt drawn from an 1893 review in the *New York Herald* exemplifies a trend. It reviews Fuller's first return performance in New York, where the thirty-one year old dancer had performed at the *Garden Theatre*. Clearly, the dancer's recent debut success as an American dancer in Paris was much on the reviewer's mind, as the review hailed "La Reine Loie," in terms of both American patriotism and modernism. The excerpt is worth quoting at length:

She comes back to us La Reine Loie, a star danseuse who has driven all Paris wild with delight, and she exults upon her native heath as the discoverer of one of the most lucrative modern properties—a new dance. La Loie has signed the death warrant of the high kick and the throbbing wobbles of the Spanish school. She has made them all alike seem stupid, commonplace and old fashioned, and by her dainty swervings amid clouds of opalescent drapery she has aroused American enthusiasm and evoked the cheers of a New York audience in August. "Something entirely new!" the public cries delightedly, watching the pliant form wheeling amid rose mists and violet shadows and fluttering in a gauzy aureole beneath soft lights, yet ever the central figure of the floating shimmer-warm, human and beautiful with life and motion. ("Evolution" 36)

With its euphoric focus on "modern" and "new," this review is indicative of how the body of the solo female dancer was fashioned in popular media as emblematic of a new era and country:

America. The dancer “exults upon her native heath as the discoverer of one of the most lucrative modern properties—a new dance.” As well, the review performs a univocal conjuring up of the audience in terms of “American enthusiasm.” Through the medium of the review(er), the modern dance(r) hails a public unified as a nation in its response to the new “discover[y],” as the review asserts: “the public cries delightedly.” This universalizing gesture is overt in its patriotic rhetoric (“She comes back to us”), whereby “the new dance” is emblematic of America’s “life and motion” itself, modern dance having “signed the death warrant of the high kick and the throbbing wobbles of the Spanish school.” This hailing of a universalized public is also a problematic gesture, glossing over the contested nature of modernism in the arts. There is limited information available about the actual demographics of newspaper readership and, with the exception of brief “letters to the editor” sections, not much information exists from which to gauge reader responses to articles. The very concept of a public or publics, homogeneous or varied as it may be, is itself constructed, as a rich body of communication theory documents. It is this concept of the public, frequently hailed in unified forms in the reviews, that now requires closer attention within the larger body of communication theory. Who or what is the public?

Between Two “Publics”

Inherent in the concept of public-ness is the notion that a group of strangers can be imagined simultaneously as a collective. Jürgen Habermas connects the concept of “public-ness” to the ontology of modernism. Publics, he maintains, retain significance in modernity due to the growth of accessible media and literacy. In his book *Publics and Counterpublics* (2002), Michael Warner extends the concept of Habermas’s public sphere by reflecting on the nature of a unified public as a constructed fiction dependent on anonymity. Without this indefinite and impersonal address, Warner asserts, “the public address would have none of its special

importance to modernity” (86). Where Habermas details the demise of the “public sphere utopia” during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at which time publishing media became consolidated to fewer magnates, Warner argues that the idea of the “public” was and is always a construction, a result of a “distinctively modern mode of power” (*Publics* 108). By reflecting the interests of the bourgeois and civic republican, demographically diverse publics actually reflect cultural norms that maintain privilege, while masquerading as normative. This normativity is illustrated by the history of the periodical press, for “[a]nything that addresses a public is meant to undergo circulation,” Warner argues. He continues: “This helps us to understand why print, and the organization of markets for print, were historically so central in the development of the public sphere” (*Publics* 91). In this model, it is the modes in which the fictions are accepted and shaped by a particular public that are the most revealing feature of a public body. As a corpus of writing that details the experiences of a certain public body, dance criticism is fertile ground for such an exploration.

Warner’s definition of the public can pertain to both the theatre audience and newspaper reading audience. In a public address, he suggests, there lies a performative projection; to address or constitute a group of strangers, there must be an imaginative projection of who the participants are, what Warner calls a public’s “poetic world making” (114). This is achieved, as he explains,

[at the level of] pragmatics, through the effects of speech genres, idioms, stylistic markers, address, temporality, mise-en-scène, citational field, interlocutory protocols, lexicon, and so on. Its circulatory fate is the realization of that world. Public discourse says not only “Let a public exist,” but “Let it have this character, speak this way, see the world in this way.” (*Publics* 114)

The notion of a public imagining itself into being, or existing by virtue of its address, is doubly significant in the case of a performance review because, as this dissertation documents, the review mediates the space between a theatre public and a reading public.

Integral to Warner's definition of publics is the rhythmic temporality of the newspaper. In both its regularity (daily-ness) and urgency (brevity of its articles), the newspaper provided a dissimilar media interaction to reading a book, for example. As Warner explains:

The key development in the emergence of modern publics was the appearance of newsletters and other temporally structured forms oriented to their own circulation:.... They developed reflexivity about their circulation through reviews, reprintings, citations, controversies. These forms single out circulation both through their sense of temporality and through the way they allow discourse to move in different directions. I don't speak just to you; I speak to the public in a way that enters a cross-citational field of many other people speaking to the public. The temporality of circulation is not continuous or indefinite; it is punctual.... Papers and magazines are dated, and when they first appear they are news. (*Publics* 94-95)

In other words, in its daily-ness and current-ness the rhythmic punctuality of newspaper media provided an experience rooted in the speed of modern technology. This experience was simultaneously grounded in the currency of local events, and far-seeing in its reach of worldwide happenings. For theatrical performances, there was no more effective promotional tool.

Certainly, from the seventeenth-century and into the twentieth, the periodical press was the primary communication media of the public sphere.¹⁷ Newspapers, the most economically and geographically accessible of these periodicals, were integral in distributing regional, national, and international news to the widening readership, which, by the mid nineteenth-century, was swelling (Dickens-Garcia; Carey; Nevins). The explosion of the reading public has been attributed to the increase in literacy rates, the introduction of rotary presses, and later in the century, typesetting machine technology that significantly lowered the cost of production (Fraser, Green, and Johnston 57). The “public” they spoke to arose parallel to the development of the democratic American political system. The art critic, emerging at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries (Groys 62), was an integral component of this constructed public. And yet this aesthetic dialogue was often considered ancillary to “real” news journalism.

North-American newspaper journalism is, in theory, a medium bound to the rhetoric of democracy, participating in and creating narrative myths of social cohesion, cultural identity, and nation-building, of which dance criticism is not exempt. Although the wider dissemination of regional and national newspaper periodicals—which developed great momentum in the mid-

¹⁷ According to newspaper historian Elizabeth Anne Melrose, the first daily newspaper is often recognized as *Relation aller Fürnemmen und gedenckwürdigen Historien* (Account of all distinguished and memorable news), emerging in circa 1609 in Strasbourg (then Germany, now France) (248).

1800s¹⁸—did, to some extent, narrow the cultural literacy gap, it is undeniable that behind the auspices of freedom of expression, newspaper journalism was written for, and was more readily available to, educated property owners (Fraser, Green, and Johnston 51). Such readership accessibility leaves out many minority groups of the public, as critics of Habermas’ understanding of the public sphere have argued (see, for example, Benhabib; Fraser, Green, and Johnson; Warner; Young). These arguments can be extended to the dance review, for modern dancers (who were mostly women¹⁹) were written about *by* men,²⁰ but also in some senses *for* men (with the exception of gossip columns or women’s news pages). The implications of gendered communication influences our understanding of figures such as Fuller, Duncan, and Allan because much of what we know about their choreographies, innovations, and personalities is gleaned from how these artists were received and represented in the popular press. Despite

¹⁸ Cultural Historian Hazel Dickens-Garcia writes a thorough analysis of the periodical press in the 1800s, detailing how it merged from an information model in mid-century, into a business model in the 1890s (“Journalistic Standards” 224).

¹⁹ There were male dancers doing solo work and abstract choreography, such as Vaslav Nijinsky, but they hailed from traditional ballet or vaudeville.

²⁰ Although there are reviews penned by women, among the forty-one signed reviews in this corpus there are only four written by women (not counting the articles signed by the women dancers themselves). Of these four, at least three appeared in the gossip column or women’s interest pages. Every effort has been made to track specific contexts, but due to varying archival methods of documentation, is it not always possible to ascertain which section of the newspaper articles were gleaned from.

the limitations of the newspaper, reviews did, to a certain extent, mediate the terrain between the traditionally erudite voices of critics and their role as public disseminators of knowledge.

Within this terrain, the critic represents “publicness” in two ways—both in viewing dance in the theatre and subsequent dramatizing of this experience in the review. In other words, reviewers describe the performance based on their encounter with performance as an audience member. Yet in a circular process, the critic also creates a representation of the public by re-creating the event for a second public—the reader. Accordingly, the critic plays a dual role as a member of the public, while concurrently exerting influence on it, implicating the relationship between newspaper reviews and audience reception as interconnected. This interrelatedness illustrates the authority of dance criticism to influence art-viewing practices that have enduring memory. While the public is admittedly an unknowable body of strangers, as Warner reminds us (*Publics* 74), in exploring dance criticism, it is important to consider the various audiences the critic is writing to. Thus, a discussion of this “imagined audience,” as Warner terms it, is inseparable from an analysis of early modern dance criticism, which often grapples with the issue of how to capture the emotional and kinesthetic response experienced by the theatre audience(s) and translate that response in written form to an audience of readers. Although we cannot know if audiences experienced that same event in similar ways, we can explore the accounts of critical spectatorship as specific types of responses to dance performances. When read together, these multiple critical voices reveal patterns of similarity and difference.

Just as the relationship between modernity and publics is conjoined, so too is the relationship between critical thought and publics. “The concept of criticism,” states Peter Hohendahl, “cannot be separated from the institution of the public sphere. Through its relationship with the reading public, critical reflection loses its private character” (53). The

format of newspapers provided a platform for large audiences to stay abreast of current events. In addition, performance promotion via reviews opened up theatre performances for a larger readership than would have attended the live performance. As art historian Malcolm Gee suggests: “Large circulation newspapers played an important role in the dissemination of criticism in the first half of the [twentieth] century at least” (4). One anonymous reviewer, writing for the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1910, muses on the interdependence of performance promotion and audience expectation. He states: “The audience was one of fair proportions... although clearly one that had been attracted largely through curiosity, such was the character of Miss Allan’s achievements that curiosity soon grew to interest, and out of interest came appreciation” (“Music in Motion”). In describing performance events, critics effectively *previewed*, as much as they *reviewed*, the state of art and theatre for large reader audiences. Readers, detached in space and time from the live event, “know” the event through the critic. As a result, non-experience becomes mediated experience via the review, constituting the reader otherwise absent from the live event as a member of the public (Newman 53).

Newspapers were also a key medium in arbitrating the intersections of avant-garde and pop culture aesthetics by presenting dance criticism, a traditionally elitist genre, in a format that was accessible to a heterogeneous mainstream readership. Even though the tone of the dance review was more monologue than dialogue, as a genre of writing born of the periodical press, the review facilitated the development of critical practice from private musing to public presentation. This cyclical relationship is particular to aesthetic criticism, as its role is to both arbitrate and represent the public. As art historian Michael Newman explains, this relationship is marked by inherent contradictions: “in its very performance [art criticism] provides a bridge between the intimate, subjective response of the individual critic and the ‘general’ public that

such criticism interpolates and supposedly represents” (54). Newman captures the complexity of this negotiation, as he writes:

First of all, critics represent the public by taking the point of view of a public visitor to the exhibition, somebody who is neither an artist, nor an official of the exhibiting institution or the state. These people do not write as artists.... The critics, however, write as members of the public visiting exhibitions and they dramatized their visit, describing works that struck them, and encounters with other visitors. The critic also “represents” the public in another sense: by creating, in and through the writing, a representation of something called the public. That process is therefore circular. The critic represents the public “he” helps to constitute. The critic “stands for” a member of the public but on the basis of a representation of the public that he creates through his writing. The descriptive dimension of criticism serves to legitimate its hidden performative dimension: that in addressing a unified public it seeks to bring it into being. (52-3)

Theorizing the critic as bridging two audiences makes it possible to reveal the review’s performative elements. For, in separating the reviewer’s task as representing one performance and creating another performative address, we are able to reveal the reviewer’s personas, an idea that will be more fully explored in Part Three of this dissertation. Given the deeply gendered nature of the review, we now turn to consider concepts of gender in the theorizing of modern publics.

(En)Gendering the Audience

Nineteenth-century assumptions about audiences were made not only presuming sameness (as mentioned in the review’s typical shortcut invocation of the audience as “we”),

but were also assumptive in how they took up difference. Women's columns, containing articles about fashion, gossip, and household tips, were appearing with regularity in Victorian newspapers, under the assumption that female readers would not be interested in "hard news." In an analysis of the format of the Victorian newspaper, media historian Kelly Mays outlines the demand for small news bytes based on assumptions about the female reader. As Mays contends, the presentation of newspaper articles in manageable headlines coincided with a widening female readership, and was considered by some as, in the words of Fraser, Green, and Johnston, "a scatter-brained preference for shallow and inconsequential snippets [relating to] an inability to concentrate on anything of weight and substance" (53). More misogynist commentators ascribed this lack of interest and attention as a female pathology. Accordingly, although newspapers aimed to appeal to a broad readership, including matters of "general interest," they still had an editorial address orienting themselves toward particular groups within that wider intended readership, namely educated, white, male property owners, who were their main customer (Fraser, Green, and Johnston). The supposed triviality of women's news, similar to dance reviews, in fact often disguised larger issues. According to feminist theorist Hilary Fraser and her colleagues, "important debates about gender and class were often displaced into discussions relating to the apparently trivial and ephemeral world of fashion" (1).

Remarkably, the society section of these columns often included accounts of dance performances, often with a focus on who was in attendance and including anecdotes from spectators. Fuller, Duncan, and Allan occasionally gave private performances in domestic settings for wealthy patrons, coverage of which would have appeared in these sections. The following quotation appeared in the society pages of *The New York Times* in 1908, and describes not a performance of Allan, but of women imitating her in dress and even imitating her movement:

Dinner was served to an accompaniment of Salome music, tinkled by an orchestra hidden discreetly behind the fortification of palms and flowers, and when the coffee and cigarette stage had been reached, some of the most graceful members of the party demonstrated that they had not only succeeded in matching Miss Allan's costume, but had learned some of her most captivating steps in movements. It was the intention of the British delegates to the international terpsichorean conference to tell this story in horror-stricken accents, as convincing proof that the classical [Greek] dances make for public immorality. ("Salome Dinner Dance")

In this women-only event the participants are free to go corsetless, apparently inciting the horror of the men at the conference. More significantly, the eagerness of women to embody Allan's movement and costuming is further testament to the first modern dancers as controversial effigies of modernity, eliciting gendered responses. In the society and gossip pages, accounts of dance performance often took on an undercurrent of scandal, raising questions of morality, rather than aesthetic evaluation, while also highlighting the location-specific ideology of the newspaper sections and audience address.

Because women's participation in periodicals as readers (and occasionally writers) sharply increased during the mid-to-late nineteenth-century (Fraser et al. 39), their representation as subjects and symbols in print media was simultaneously developing. The concurrent increase in advertising geared to women often meant that women's narratives were inseparable from what Fraser, Green, and Johnston have termed gender as a "discourse of consumption" (19), pointing to not only the gendering of advertising in the newspaper, but also the assumptions of the placement of women's advertisements within the newspaper sections. Along with the women embodying Allan's depiction of Salomé, women could now see similar

garments advertised in women's news. Knowing where to purchase a Fuller-like diaphanous dress, a Duncan Grecian garb, or an outré Salomé veil was as easy as scanning the newspaper.

Just as these sartorial embodiments of modern dancers would only have been available to women of some financial means, so too were women's news sections targeted to a specific demographic of woman. As other sections of the newspaper addressed every reader as a cohesive unit, so too did "women's news" encompass this alien address; women's news offered a forum for different types of women to acknowledge sameness, leaving little room for difference. In this way women's news filled a lacuna by creating an arena in which women could relate to common women's issues that transcended class boundaries; however, in doing so, women's news also "reinforce[d] stereotypes of women as concerned with trivial subjects such as appearance and gossip" (Fraser et al. 177). That newspapers were including domestic or "feminine" issues within the scope of news further highlights the medium's place between the so-called public sphere and the private domestic sphere. Thus, the press, for women, acted as a site of mediation between the "publicness" of information (through its dissemination) and the domestic life of its gendered readers (via its literal entry into the domestic homes).

By acting as a bridge between two audiences, critics were also relaying performance to readers that were certainly more demographically diverse and larger than the typical theatre audience. The proliferation of reviews during the nineteenth-century demonstrates the expansion of many domains of artistic activity (Parker and Smart 2). As more theatres popped up and audiences became more socially diverse, more newspapers covered performance.²¹

²¹ Prior to this influx of writing, early theatre reviews, which existed in an ad hoc form as early as 1796 in European periodicals, were written by serious scholars and were primarily concerned with issues of morality, rather than aesthetics and performance. For example, in 1796 a group of

Ultimately, even though making assumptions about past readers or audience member presents an epistemological dilemma, as Warner suggests, the fact that there exists an implied readership, an address meant for an imaginary public body makes a consideration of audience unavoidable. At the same time, often it is through these covert assumptions, made on the part of the critics, that it becomes possible to ascertain how the critics are subtly writing their own corporeality into the text, undermining the newspaper's putative claims to objectivity by staging a corporeal response to the modern. As I now turn to conceptualize the critic's role within communication and performance theory, I begin by asking, who exactly is a critic?

1.3 The Critic's Body

An 1856 *New York Times* article describes a critic in terms whose very hyperbolic and (self-)ironic tone alerts the reader:

The literary critic of a daily paper... should be a gentleman of great natural endowments, and of a liberal education, of impeachable morals and infallible taste; he should have the health of a Hercules to enable him to bear up under the labor of reading everything;... in addition to all his other qualifications, natural and acquired, he should possess the faculty of always pronouncing a right judgment, and of being better informed on any subject he reviews than the author whose works furnished him with the occasion for an article. ("Newspaper Criticism")

scholars calling themselves the "company of critics" made it their mission to expose the moral lassitude of the New York stage by publishing accounts of indecent behavior and language (Conner 9).

The description of the critic as aligned with traditional notions of masculinity as a “man of letters” is of importance. Not a scholar in the traditional sense, he nonetheless pursued his own intellectual development. The “man of letters” represented the values of the newspaper medium itself in that he had one foot in the bourgeois public sphere and the other in middle-class sensibility. Terry Eagleton rather harshly describes the writing of such critics in *The Function of Criticism* (1984), as somewhere between “inchoate amateurism” and “marginal professionalism” (69). The nineteenth-century critic replicated this middle-ground role. A jack-of-all-trades, his job was to “instruct, consolidate and console – to provide a disturbed, ideologically disoriented readership with the kind of popularizing summaries of contemporary thought... which might stem the socially disruptive tides of intellectual bemusement” (Eagleton 48). The notion was for the review to unify its diverse readership by providing opinion that could be digested by both the bourgeois and the “common” citizen. A critic was expected to possess the vast breadth of knowledge and the refined sense of taste associated with the bourgeois, but also to have a command over popular culture. As a figure of modernity, the man-of-letters transformed the critic’s job into an attempted recreation of the event for the reader, but, as will be analyzed in this dissertation, recreation of the live through media is always a partial endeavor. As Fraser, Green, and Johnston conclude, “Victorian journalists typically employed an explicitly polemical discourse, which the practice of anonymity only encouraged” (3).

By the 1890s anonymity and objectivity were beginning to erode in European newspaper writing, as evident in the “new journalism” promoted by William Thomas Stead, editor of the

Pall Mall Gazette.²² Making an argument against the unsigned review, Stead posited that its impersonality reflects the commanding rhetoric of the high-Victorian newspaper, and, by doing so, joined an enduring debate about the prevailing use of a “pleural, anonymous subject” (Salmon 28). Stead derided the use of ‘We’ as an address, preferring singular ‘I’ as validation of the individual journalist. His argument in favor of signed articles encourages personal responsibility on the part of the journalist and is grounded in the belief that all power should be allied with responsibility (Salmon 28). Similarly, journalist Tighe Hopkins, writing in 1889, purported the function of the newspaper to be “faithfully to reflect, the individual, personal life of its day”: “‘the Press’, he claimed, has been more and more taking the tone of ‘a man speaking to a man’” (qtd. in Salmon 28). By 1939, author Virginia Woolf lamented this kind of review writing as fetishist reverence of public personality. As she asserts: “the review has become an expression of individual opinion, given without any attempt to refer to ‘eternal standards’ by a man who is in a hurry; who is pressed for space; who is expected to cater in that little space for many different interests” (14).

The larger implications of this distanced perspective for dance criticism, one that takes into account the “eternal standards” espoused by Woolf, lies in the disconnect from the body embedded in material contingencies, as a subjective site of experience. Yet implicit in the principle of “right judgment” operating within the review, the utopian homogeneity of opinion of public unity, is the idea that spectators can transcend the social, cultural, and physical realities of their bodies. This rhetorical posture of self-abstraction is central to the concept of the

²² The more commonly known “new journalism” refers to the 1960s and 1970s, characterized by the subjective and unconventional approach of writers such as Truman Capote, Joan Didion, and Hunter S. Thomson.

public sphere since it preserves the false idea of homogeneous experience against the infiltration of the particular and the body. So what is at stake when we turn the lens on the critic's body?

In her book *Reading Dancing* (1986), Susan Foster positions the body as a frame for the writer. Foster argues that different choreographic aesthetics construct the way dance should be looked at and this notion is certainly reflected in critic's writing of modern dance spectatorship as it emerged in the 1890s. But in representing the live audience, as I suggest, the critic is also addressing (and performing for) a reader public, framing the dancing body through language. Even though reviews publicly document spectatorship, it must be noted that they offer these descriptions from the position of a *critical* spectator, a position that carries with it certain privilege; reviews are thus *documents* through which critics *perform* criticism. One of the central tensions I identify in the reviews is the critic's struggle to maintain objectivity, while communicating the kinesthetic and emotional feeling encouraged by modern dance.

When considering dance through the frame of the critic's body, these contradictory objectives play out within the review in the critic's dialectic positioning between documentary summary and subjective description that is problematic in its assumptions. Certainly an aesthetic theory that separates these processes of performance experience, positioning them as dialectic opponents, ignores the corporeal origins of language, as well as the interpretive aspects of kinesthetic empathy. Many critics adapted their writing style from hermeneutic or technical description to abstract or "poetic" expression, thereby enacting criticism as a different brand of performance. This dialectic positioning of the embodied and hermeneutic, the physical and the intellectual, as antithetic in the enjoyment of dance is an idea that still persists in aesthetic criticism. Yet what is significant is the *urge* to distinguish interpretation from feeling in perception. What is at stake in this discussion of the critic's role is the critic's corporality and

understanding of “feeling” or sensation as it related to the experience of modern dance, a focus I shall turn to now to expand my theoretical frame.

The Invisible Critic

In his essay “Training Remembering” (2012) Martin Nachbar asks: “what does it mean to reconstruct a dance?” (8). Elaborating on French philosopher Henri Bergson’s concepts, which connect memory to sensory perception that extends beyond the visual image, Nachbar contends that in order to remember the past, humans engage in interpretive processes. Such processes involve creating new understandings of lived experiences based on the present corporeal moment. In this way, Nachbar suggests, the human body becomes a frame through which remembering takes form. The bodily frame, in turn, is then also influenced and changed in the course of remembering. Nachbar’s insights into reconstruction and memory are of concern for a critical consideration of the role of the critic, who, in the act of writing dance, is likewise asking, “what does it mean to remember watching dance?”

If the body frames the process of remembering, then the ideology of the 1880s dance critic was about denying this framing, in essence, denying the framing of the body in the process of writing dancing. This position, I assert, works with both journalistic objectivity and anonymity to portray the critic’s corporeality as invisible. Writing in 1952, American literary critic Randall Jarrell reinforces this notion, remarking that a “real” critic “has no one but himself to depend on.” The critic, he continues, “can never forget that all he has to go by, finally, is his own response, the self that makes and is made up of such responses — and yet he must regard that self as no more than the instrument through which the work of art is seen, so that the work of art will seem everything to him and his own self nothing” (90). Although Jarrell’s statement is a formalist response to the visual art of the 1950s, his point of view reflects

the tensions of the man-of-letters critic at the turn of the century, whose journalistic ethos was seemingly at odds with the spectatorship of modern dance. The connotations of this invisibility and anonymity is that they operate to maintain the objective stance cultivated in American newspaper journalism and review writing of this era. By downplaying the corporeal origins of their subjective response, the typical “objective” critic masquerades as a mere vessel through which objective experience is dictated, in keeping with white, male neutrality.

Since the earliest modern dancers were all women, and critics predominantly male, the issues of commodity and corporeality take on a gendered dimension. The critic, usually writing behind a veil of anonymity, maintains invisibility both from his larger reading public, and to a lesser degree even within the audience he is part of. What is at stake is how women’s bodies are made highly visible, monitored by norms dictated by the invisible critic (who proffers opinion under a pretext of neutrality), and to a second reading audience whom these same dancers may never encounter live. While the dancer on stage is literally illuminated, the critic remains shrouded by darkness; as the dancer and her body become the subject of public domain, the critic maintains his privacy.

Adding to the de-corporeal status of the critic, as discussed above, is their anonymity. Both protected and curtailed by standard journalistic practice of the period, reviewers could potentially maintain a largely anonymous presence in theatre circles, instead of developing a public persona.²³ By the late 1860s, music criticism was becoming a regular feature in the larger dailies (Conner 15), and the task of covering dance was often delegated to the same critics. The

²³ It is often possible to discern stylistic patterns within anonymous reviews by linguistic choices and tone. However, the absence of a signature meant that critics had less recognition within their theatrical communities.

infrequency of reviews in the first half of the nineteenth century was due to both the lack of local concert dance performances and the indifference to dance as an art form.²⁴ American dailies began to assign regular columns to reviewing non-dramatic performance, music and literature by the 1890s, and by October 1896, the most famous American newspaper review section, *The New York Times Book Review*, was first published.

The supposed objectivity that anonymity afforded the critic worked on the same ideological presumptions as the notion of a cohesive public, and these two constructions supported each other in their mutual denial of the critic as subject. In her autobiography, *My Life and Dancing* (1908), Maud Allan expounds on the “cowardly” lack of accountability of the anonymous letter writer. In an illuminating chapter, entitled “Criticisms and Letters,” she states:

The one letter out of every two hundred has always been an anonymous one, and, perforce, a nasty one. However, these have never had the effect upon me the writers intended them to have, as, to me, only those who feel they can defend their stand if drawn into controversy, and to be true to their convictions, are worthy of consideration. An anonymous letter writer is, to my mind, the lowest type of coward, and therefore wholly beneath my notice. (100)

Allan’s statement regarding the power afforded to the anonymous writer in avoiding ownership of their skepticism outlines how anonymous criticism provided a shroud from which the critic could speak for the audience by presenting their view as a typical audience member, rather than a critical personality. (Incidentally, Maud Allan’s concerns also help illuminate more recent

²⁴ Dance as popular entertainment, such as the vaudeville stage, was often considered too lascivious a topic for the type of engaged analysis a review commands.

debates about anonymous “trolling,” a form of derogatory twenty-first century “criticism” in online forums.)

This depersonalized stance reifies the concept that there is a universal way to experience both performance and reading. This was, as identified above, accomplished through using the unified pronouns (we, us), and the objective style, thereby speaking for the audience. This address was utilized in signed reviews as well. Writing in the *Altoona Mirror* about a 1920 performance of Isadora Duncan’s at the *Mishler Theatre* (Altoona, Philadelphia) the critic Randolph Hartley suggests that she “carried the audience through every phase of human feeling.” He continues, “The enthusiasm of the audience attested the fact that true art is certain of understanding and appreciation even in an age of materialism (“Isadora Duncan Dancers”). Despite such continued universalizing gestures, the first modern dance reviews also mark a transitional juncture in dance writing, for although most critics were still writing anonymously, they were beginning to grapple with and often relinquish some of their objective stance. The status of the critic at this time is in flux, somewhere between public visibility and invisible obscurity.

Kinesthetic Empathy

In 1939, dance critic John Martin first described the affinity a spectator feels for a dancer as “inner mimicry” (*Dance in Theory* 27). For Martin, in seeing the human body move, viewers *feel* movement. He writes, “through kinesthetic sympathy we actually reproduce [movement] vicariously in our present muscular experience and awaken such associational connotations as might have been ours if the original movement had been of our own making” (*American Dancing* 117). Martin’s theory of dance spectatorship, “metakinesis,” on which he elaborates in three books (*Modern Dance*, 1933; *Introduction to the Dance*, 1939; *Dance in*

Theory, 1939), also articulates how this kinesthetic response subsequently evokes an emotional memory in the viewer. Thus, metakinesis involves a combined understanding of kinesthetic and emotional “feeling” and reveals how modern dance encouraged new spectatorship and critical responses.

In accordance with kinesthetic empathy, the body, as a frame of experience, takes on mimetic resonances, particularly when the spectator watches other bodies move through space. Before humans know language, they learn empathy by watching other bodies move and mimicking their movements ourselves. The distinction between sympathy and empathy is important here.²⁵ Sympathy, a “feeling with,” implies an emotional concern for another person. With empathy, or “feeling into,” there is initially a projection of oneself into another, before an emotional connection is established. Sympathy is responsive to, but separated from, the other; empathy entails a physical connection prior to emotional understanding. To empathize involves having experienced a similar thing personally. Intriguingly, Allan, Duncan, and most notably Fuller were known for their Art Nouveau aesthetic, as was German theorist and architect August Endell (1871-1925), the former in their choreography and the latter in his architectural design. Endell and his predecessor, German philosopher Robert Vischer (1847-1933), shared a

²⁵ The terms sympathy and empathy are often used synonymously, despite their different connotations regarding the subject’s relation to the Other. In the “Child’s Relations With Others,” Merleau-Ponty uses the term “sympathy” (similar to his contemporary John Martin’s usage) in ways that conjure up the meaning of empathy, implying a physical or emotional connection to the experience of another being or form. Or, as Edith Wyschogrod writes: “Empathy and sympathy are feeling-acts which bring the self into direct encounter with other persons” (25).

similar definition of the concept of *Einfühlung*, or aesthetic sympathy, which would later be translated in English as *empathy*. Vischer's 1880s foundational theory of empathy postulates that the subject's entire physicality comes to inhabit the other, whether object, person, or place. As Vischer articulates, empathy, although suggesting emotional response toward objects, also entails the profound idea of unconscious or conscious transference entailing the spectator's merging with the object of perception. Understanding this aesthetic relationship, I propose, is key to engaging with spectatorship of this era in that it provided an alternative model to how modernism has been associated with visual primacy.²⁶

When dance critic and theorist John Martin picked up on this idea in the 1930s he recognized the literalness of watching another body dance in which the observer's sense of his or her own physicality is equally felt along with and in response to the other. "Seen from this perspective," as Susan Foster states, "the term 'empathy' was invented not to express a new capacity for fellow feeling, but to register a changing sense of physicality that, in turn, influenced how one felt another's feelings" (*Choreographing* 11). This idea is particularly fascinating in relation to the "inner mimicry" John Martin describes when watching Graham's dance in that in order to empathize with the body on stage, the body reverts to mimesis even if it does not outwardly move. Martin's musings, particularly in his later years, are increasingly concerned with how sensory experience is intertwined with movement for the spectator:

... we are made aware of any object only in terms of the appropriate movement
we are prepared to make with relation to it.... We need not actually lift [an

²⁶ See Martin Jay's *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (1993) and David Michael Levin's *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision* (1993) for more information on phenomenology and vision.

object] to know that it is heavy.... The report made by the eye is sufficient to open one of the many beaten tracks in our neuromuscular experience.... When we pronounce the log heavy, then, we are actually describing not so much the log itself which we have not even touched, as the motor reactions which occur in our own bodies at the sight of it. (*Dance in Theory* 12-5)

Martin continues to outline how this perceptual process entails not only identifying objects for what they are, but also awakens the spectator's feelings toward them (17). It is revealing that a dance critic would engage in such philosophical conjecture on the act of seeing. For Martin, who developed his theories in relation to viewing modern dance, this new way of looking is directly inspired from this new aesthetic, one that demands of its viewer a novel interaction with form.

In this dissertation I assert that the notion of vicarious dancing on the part of the critical spectator is written into dance criticism much earlier than Martin's articulation of his theories (which he developed parallel to his reviews of American modern dancer Martha Graham's choreography in the 1930s).²⁷ Many of the dance reviews of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan's performances also engage with this concept, albeit in a much more covert manner. In fact, these documents are revealing because they represent a transitional juncture for theatrical dance, documenting how the critical voice transitioned with the introduction of modern dance. Newspaper media from this era clearly demonstrate this tension, as the critics struggled to describe in language an experience that is aesthetically cutting-edge. Because early modern dance artists were changing dance aesthetics so radically between 1890 and 1920, reviews from

²⁷ Martin was appointed dance critic for *The New York Times* in 1927, a year after Martha Graham made her New York debut.

this transitional era are especially revealing of the interplay between dance and language in this moment of aesthetic transition.

At the same time, the dissertation critically probes and challenges occasionally simplistic understandings of “feeling” and “sensation” advanced in the dance reviews under investigation. Drawing on theories of embodied cognition, developed in the wake of philosophers Henri Bergson and Maurice Merleau-Ponty, I assert that bodily or corporeally mediated experience—that is, the critic’s experience at the level of feeling or sensation—is always already a form of interpretation—albeit a different form of interpretation than that which is intellectual, given that it takes place before any conscious interpretive work (see Maclaren). Underpinning this study, then, is an understanding of an embodied nature of meaning making, which is to say that there is a meaning that operates at the level of sensation and feeling. Thus, the critic can make emotional sense of these dancers’ movements, but only by letting go of that higher, more active, intellectual form of meaning-making.²⁸

The simultaneous development of non-narrative movement and the concept of empathy seems indicative of a way of engaging with spectatorship that prioritizes sensory engagement over active interpretation. In this negotiation the critic somewhat awkwardly occupies two positions, that of the empathetic participant (engaging in the experience at the moment of its

²⁸ Theories of embodied cognition examine how the body influences thought. There are commonalities in how humans experience and perceive the world, perceptions that in turn have shaped human language use. For example, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1999, 2003) attribute the universal use of body-related metaphors for psychological states, such as feeling “up” or “down,” to the fact that language users walk upright. Bodily metaphors, they argue, provide insight into cognition in general.

performance), and the detached observer (who must later translate the experience into language corresponding to journalistic method). Theodor Adorno discusses this contradiction by denouncing the cultural critic as simultaneously above that which he writes about and at the same time embedded within it (34), an assertion that echoes the modernist impulse to detach from aesthetic stimulation, but at the same time to present work that challenges these boundaries. By doing so, the critic also invokes concepts of distance and unity in relation to subject and object, a loaded and contested viewing dynamic, but one necessary to fit into the economy of the periodical press. The paradox of this position is how critics spoke authoritatively on that from which they were supposedly dissociated.

1.4 Other Key Terms

Two key terms that are central to this study remain to be clarified: translation and narrative. The word translation is used by critics of the modernist era to denote the process of describing dance in words. It was also used by the dancers themselves, who described their role as interpreters. Within these invocations, critics and dancers used the word translation to denote active engagement with creative adaptation from one medium to the next, and not necessarily a one-to-one correspondence. For example, Maud Allan calls her dances translations of music, pointing to her role as an interpreter of musical sounds. Still, in the context of criticism, the word translation risks masking the performative element of dance criticism by suggesting a realistic description of modern dance; such a description is, of course, unrealistic, because in translating one medium's "language" to another, information is forfeited and forms are creatively transformed. In "The Task of the Translator" (1923), Benjamin emphasizes that translation does not mean absolutely correspondence. In fact, translation slippages can be read

as opportunities for expressive potentialities, whereby such translation incongruencies are even more likely as the artist or critic translates from one medium or form of expression to another.

As for the second key term, throughout this study, I shall invoke the concept of narrative in relation to traditional forms of dance that use linear or gestural storytelling to provide an anchor for their audience. I use non-narrative dance to describe the modern dance under investigation herein to point to its turn away from storytelling and toward untraditional invocation of emotion. One of the reasons that made modern dance's non-narrativity so difficult to describe is that lingual narrative tends to make the memory of the intangible stable. Dance criticism, I propose, offers opportunities for cross overs into the performative realm, which in turn invites a consideration of dance criticism within the rich body of performance studies theory. In congruence with dance and performance studies discourses (e.g., Foster; Phelan; Taylor), this dissertation, for example, challenges the idea that images and moving images are always legible similar to written texts, rather than allowing a fundamental ambiguousness because of their more dynamic relation to embodied human experience.

By the time Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were performing modern dance, no longer were there narrative signposts, nor recognizable steps and gestures for dance reviewers to relay to their readers. The lack of narrative signposts for the critic to grab hold of further exacerbated the slipperiness of their hold on objectivity. By presenting movement in which dancers did not play a character, instead focusing on shape, line, texture and movement, these dancers often elicited descriptions by which reviewers would interpret their bodily shapes similar to a Rorschach. Consider the following description of Fuller by French writer and critic Roger Marx:

Out of the night, the apparition escapes; she takes form, becomes alive.... This exquisite phantom runs, flees, returns, and wanders through the multicoloured ripples of the electric rivers. She sweeps across the stage with the lightness of a

butterfly, skips, then alights like a bird.... Now Loie Fuller swoops around,
turning, her skirt swelling and enclosing her like a flower's calyx. (107-108)

Although Fuller is not portraying a bird or flower explicitly, Marx used this imagery as a "way into" discussing movement he has no other vocabulary for. To Marx, Fuller's movement is not narrative enough to be a sentence, but indicates subjectively interpreted symbolic shapes.

Stéphane Mallarmé, who wrote extensively on the choreography of Fuller, thought that her movement left an emotional impression by which, instead of seeing the dancer as a character or person, her materiality was lost in the execution of an *idée* (idea). Exploring the relationship between Mallarmé's *idée* and Fuller's choreography, scholar Felicia McCarren argues,

She produces a series of constantly changing images... not because she pretends to be them... but because her stage image makes it possible for the viewer to imagine them. In Mallarmé's writing Fuller becomes an "inconsciente révélatrice" of his mystical literary system of the visual but invisible "idée" and of the subjectivity that system presupposes: "unconscious" because onstage she becomes a Sign, unaware of her literary potential and unable to manipulate language herself "knowing no eloquence other" than her steps. (*Pathologies* 155)

The importance of this association between poetry and modern dance is in the way they both make present, through suggestion, what is absent. The issue at stake in this comparison of poetry to dance is the relationship between visual art and language. As expressed by Malcolm Gee, "The poets' response, in its purest version, consisted of elaborating a rhetorical form which persuaded the reader not through its power of description or analysis, but through equivalence" (Gee 12). This equivalent approach to criticism, as Carol Simpson Stern has outlined, was a tenet developing in reaction to the structural flexibility of Symbolist poetry beginning with English literary and art critic Walter Pater (1839-1894) and continued by

Symbolist poet and critic Arthur Symons (1865-1945). This critical approach involves the critics' understanding that their task is to "recognize, describe and evoke the quality or mood contained in a work of art" (*Arthur Symon's Literary* 33).

In ballet, the spectator's empathy was calculated in direct relation to narrativity and character as they were represented through story, gesture, and facial expression, but with modern dance the experience of empathy shifted to a non-lingual relationship to form. By assigning narrative to recognizable movement, visual experience was emphasized by focusing on the relationship between image and text, ignoring the opportunity for (and inevitability of) kinesthetic response. If the purpose of the artist is, as Martin proposes, "to make known to you something that is not already known to you, to rob the material symbol of some of its appearance of substance and disclose the essence, the reality of which it is a transient representation" (*Modern Dance* 79), then the critic is indeed faced with a difficult task, one that requires translating kinesthetic experience within a discordant structure of language.

Certainly there are those early twentieth-century critics who considered dance equivalent to language, such as this reviewer writing on Duncan for the *Lowell Sun* (Massachusetts), who claims: "It is true that with her dancing has again become an intelligible language. All her movements are instinct with intelligence, and she seems never to lose her sense of vital expression and interpretation" (Frederick 8). In reviews such as these, which often employ simile or metaphor, descriptions of these dancers interpret them as symbols, such as "a living rose, with palpitating heart and flying leaves" ("Loie Fuller's Latest Dance"). Conversely, often responses that emphasized feeling, subjective response, or even just frustration with the negotiation of language were also published. This excerpt, from a review of Duncan's dance in 1908, although not specifically acknowledging personal feeling, seems to indicate a corporeal reaction by its description: "She seemed listening, at moments uncertainly: at other moments

with bursts of joyous passion, again with little tremors of laughter; now and then with visibly embodied sighs, and a rare moment swaying as though bent by a breath of love” (“Isadora Duncan Dances”). Still, the reviews most illustrative of this break with disinterested journalism acknowledge personal reaction to movement, as evident in this 1908 review from the *Decatur Daily*: “Your Heart beats and your eyes are moist and you know that such perfect moments are years past and then the figure melts back.... It is most extraordinary—the impression this woman leaves with you.... You do not recall a single ‘step’ of the dancing.... Miss Duncan dances as she feels” (“When Isadora”).

The paradox of the review, as it emerged during the modern era, is that it aims to be (and presents itself as) impartial; however, because a review typically involves an evaluative component, it never accomplishes this end. A review can be damning, or laudatory, or offer a combination thereof. When the “text” under review is a moving body, the review brings to the fore cultural and gendered issues related to era-specific body politics. For example, because 1880-1930 was a transitional era for women’s freedom of expression and aesthetic culture, dance reviews encoded explicitly gendered values about female bodies. Reviews of Maud Allan’s *Vision of Salomé*, for example, illustrate gendered tension, with reviewers (mostly male) gauging Allan’s costume and hip gyrations as either too revealing or too chaste. In contrast, it is through manifestations of empathetic response in dance criticism, as I document in the parts that follow, that the context of spectatorial viewing itself changed. For in attempting to maintain objective distance, while accurately describing an immersive aesthetic experience, critics were faced with a paradigm shift in spectatorship, which evolved to emphasize haptic embodiment. I now turn to investigate the specific ways in which writing dance evolved during the modernist era in ways that implicated corporeality. Part Two begins to dissect how corporeality and spectatorship intersect.

Part Two

Surveying “Feeling”: The Body as Frame

Conceptualizing how the body of the dancer or the critic “frames” experience entails consideration of how corporeal meaning was culturally contingent on notions of what it meant to be “modern.” In turn, determining how the cultural body is written into the reviews is challenging, for these hermeneutically defiant texts are presented, as outlined in Part One, in the context of anonymity and invisibility, with the objective tone of modernist journalism masking traces of kinesthetic empathy within the critic’s spectatorship experience.

The purpose of Part Two is to interrogate the ways in which the experiences of corporeality were evolving as frames through which the reviews examined herein were written and received. As I document how critics subtly began to write their physicality into reviews, my methodology does not limit itself to mining the content of the selected corpus of reviews for historical cues, but investigates how the style of writing reflects bodily engagement. Dance criticism is especially revealing in its framing, I argue: subtle shifts in journalistic articulation allow us to trace how dance criticism recounted the body (of both the performer and the viewer/critic) at a particular historical moment, rendering visible changes and similarities regarding how bodies were written about and written from. In the following discussion, I consider such bodily framing within dance and performance studies, using theories from both discourses to contextualize the corporeality of dance reviews. In imagining the bodies in the text, I also consider how the experience of modernity was shaping an emergent modern body in which emotional feeling and physical feeling were becoming increasingly intertwined. This textual engagement involves reading the *content* of the selected corpus of reviews for historical cues, as well as questioning how the *style* of writing reflects bodily engagement.

Intertwining “Feeling” in Text: Two Models

On February 3, 1910, the *Oakland Tribune* raved about Isadora Duncan’s performance. “[W]e see the divine meaning of a woman,” the reviewer enthused, and continued: “woman created according to the divine laws of nature when we see this lovely being expressing inspired and spiritual thoughts” (“Duncan Dance All”). The hyperbolic language of spirituality is noteworthy all the more as it was not the exception but the rule. Perhaps in response to the physical culture and bodybuilding movement, which emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth-century (discussed more fully in this Part), modern dance was said to improve state of mind and to summon emotions in relation to movement. Dance critics emphatically highlighted the otherworldliness of modern dance, and reviews frequently resorted to portraying the relation between physical and emotional feeling as “spiritual,” a concept accompanied and amplified by equally problematic descriptors of modern dance as “pure” or “natural” expression. In this way, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were often written as though they transcended culturally contingent narrative meaning, when in fact, the very concepts of purity and spirituality were tethered to culturally determined and gendered dogma. Such writing, which moreover advances modern dance as a formal and depoliticized art object is charged with ideology; any declaration of modern dance as “natural” is an interpretative rhetorical positioning laced with gendered ideology. This stance, depicting the privileged experience and rhetorical positioning of the critical spectator, is then communicated as though it were universally ontological.

At the same time, the very reluctance to own feeling as subjectively experienced often manifested itself as an intangible theatrical affective quality or presence. For example, the reviewer Reynaldo Hahn wrote of Isadora Duncan in 1913 that she incited “a penetrating sense of well-being, to be alive and to feel the world so acutely” (“La Musique”). Hahn thereby

acknowledged corporeality, but inscribed it as though his experience was a sensing of something already present by means of the performative presence of Duncan, rather than a culturally mediated interpretation on the level of “feeling.”

The transmission of a physicalized emotion during performance was one that the dancers themselves were acutely aware of. For example, in the following quote from a 1913 *Washington Post* article, Duncan describes her movement:

[It is] a form of a theater in which my magnetic force can go forth from me covering the people in uninterrupted rays as the sun’s light covers the earth, that form in which a simple tone of voice, going on the natural currents of its sound wave will stir the hearts of a vast multitude sitting before me in places one not more fortunate than the others, in which the emotion I give will flow from one to another, infect[ing] compelling waves of emotion going from me to them and returning to me. (“Oh! Shame on America!”)

This quote is illuminating both in its phenomenological suggestion and its frank subjectivity. By describing the bodily impact in terms of a “magnetic force” and “compelling waves of emotion,” Duncan emphasizes the intertwining of emotion and kinesthesia (“infecting compelling waves of emotion”) thereby making a rare and overt declaration of kinesthetic empathy.

This presence of the body in texts has been addressed by both dance studies and performance studies from complementary angles. Within dance studies, the focus has been on how the situatedness of a writer or reader of a text informs the writing or reading of said document. Susan Foster’s pivotal studies, *Choreographing History* and “Dancing Bodies,” written in 1995 and 1997 respectively, respond to the burgeoning discourse of embodiment theory at that time. In “Dancing Bodies,” Foster laments that the body is examined as an idea

only, either as “synecdochic substitution of the body for a theoretical topos or its metonymic replacement by a set of measurements” (235). In other words, the forfeiture of the flesh, Foster insists, is a model incongruous with discourse in which the body is the central focus. Although written earlier, *Choreographing History* reads like an antidote to this problem, and within it Foster addresses the role of the writer’s body in negotiating words, acknowledging that her body is at once inscribed with habits, stances, and gestures and at the same time implicated in her own writing practice. By ignoring this corporeality we “imagine that thought, once conceived, transferred itself effortlessly onto the page via a body whose natural role as instrument facilitated the pen” (3). Journalistic reviews, especially during the modernist era, epitomize the very thing that Foster balks at—that the body is invisible in the writing process.

In contrast, recent performance studies approaches by Philip Auslander, Peggy Phelan, and Amelia Jones have been focused precisely on recuperating the corporeal in the document and on determining where the performance is located. This latter approach can be extended to the corpus of dance reviews investigated herein, whereby the performative elements are found in the reviews’ efforts to address the *reading* public as well as represent the *viewing* public.²⁹ Relevant too are the theoretical insights of Sarah Ahmed, notably her argument that texts perform emotions through gestural significance or figures of speech. She describes how by naming an emotion a text gestures to the body of the reader: “the work of emotion involves the ‘sticking’ of signs to bodies” (13). Ahmed’s point—that assigning emotions to events is a performative act—is fascinating in relation to how, in much of print media, a more subtle

²⁹ This idea is derived from J.L. Austin’s William James Lectures at Harvard in 1955, in which he identifies speech acts as either constatives or performatives. Constatives describe events; performatives enact them.

negotiation of emotion is presented.

Issues of “liveness” have been central to the performance studies discourse since Peggy Phelan’s “The Ontology of Performance” (1993), which argues for the immediacy of performance between two live bodies and positions recorded performance and other mediated forms of performativity as oxymoronic to liveness. This assertion has since been probed by performance studies theorists, who question whether temporal displacement of performance via other media lessens performance’s impact or ontological presence. The role of the performance review, as both a verbal descriptor of live performance and a site of critical performance brings to light the issue of “liveness” that offer a dual layer of performativity concerned with locating both the “in-ness” and “at-ness” of experience. Written reviews of performances often obscure issues of where performativity resides, for, as documents, they are both performances and verbal descriptors of performance. These performance studies questions are significant because they position documents differently than dance history has conventionally done, for the latter has tended to read them as residue of the live performative event in order to find clues about what happened and how other responded to it. Instead of searching the text for such decipherable clues of the original performance, I focus on the performance the critic offers via the document in order to illuminate the critic’s ideological tenor and position of privilege in communicating it.

Keeping these models of the corporeal text in mind, the discussion in Part Two focus on investigating the specific ways in which the affective and kinesthetic bodies of the performers and critics are written into these texts. More generally, the discussion makes historio-cultural connections with how bodily conceptions and practices were influencing the experience of corporeality and motion in modernism. Within this exploration of the critic’s corporeality and performance, I discuss how notions of temporality, specifically nostalgia and anticipation, are referred to in relation to kinesthesia and emotion, as well as how these concepts of temporality

have a gendered social meaning in relation to pastoral and technological allegory.

2.1 Between Nostalgia and Anticipation

As performance theorist Joseph Roach reminds us, “Performers are routinely pressed into service as effigies, their bodies alternately adored and despised but always offered up on the altar of surrogacy” (40). Summoned as “natural dancers,” or “dancers of the future,” Fuller, Duncan, and Allan served as symbols of specific and often contradictory cultural meaning. In this way, cultural assumptions about what women’s bodies meant were affixed to these dancers and negotiated and debated throughout the corpus of the reviews. Roach’s use of the word effigy also signals a bringing forth of memory essential in theorizing performance reviews, as the review depends upon this very act of substitution for its creation. More specifically, in order to write about a performance the reviewer must conjure their memory of it, thereby making it present for a future reader.

The historian undertakes a different kind of conjuring: with the distance of time between the newspaper publication and twenty-first century scholarship, reviews are effigies in another sense. They not only summon the memory of the performing bodies they discuss, but also of a time past. Fuller, Duncan, and Allan have all been cast as figures of modernity in similar ways, but with nuanced meaning. For example, when read collectively, the reviews of their performances summon the idea of nature as inherent within feminine corporeality. As we shall see below, reviews of Fuller’s work illuminate how electrical technology appeared magical on the theatrical stage when interspersed with shapes derived from natural forms; reviews of Duncan’s work expose a longing for an imagined and uncomplicated past that evokes the natural as removing the detritus of movement picked up from urban living; whereas reviews of Maud Allan’s work bring forth the fluctuating status of feminine sexuality within notions of

natural and unnatural that correspond to other social and misogynist binaries that cast women as either virgin or whore. Throughout, the corpus of reviews illuminates Roach's concept of *poiesis* as connected to a continuum of newness and nostalgia.

The Natural Dance

In his influential book *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (1982), American philosopher Marshall Berman positions modernism and the experience of modernity, more generally, as characterized by contradictory temporality in which “[we] find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of ourselves and the world—and, at the same time, that threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are” (15). Berman's articulation of the modern condition, in which past and future co-exist, is evident in the first modern dance reviews, in which landscape and wildlife imagery appears prominently. It is also seen in the idea of the natural dance associated with the names of all three dancers.

Prior to 1910, elements of the Romantic ballet style, with literal references to nature, lingered in modern dance performance, reinforcing the concept of “natural movement” as a guiding force in these dances. On one level, this focus can be read as antiquated, and out of synch with the claims to “new-ness” attributed to modern dance, and the burgeoning advances in technological modernity. On another level, scholars (e.g. Garelick, Daly) have pointed to the idea that “natural” movement was positioned as a modern antidote to mechanization.³⁰

³⁰ Fuller historian Rhonda Garelick points to a contemporary propensity to theorize Fuller as an antidote, as she writes: “Fuller managed to inspire critics of every stripe to view her as a correction of various—sometimes even contradictory—ills” (12). In the same vein, Garelick

Conceptualizing the female body as “natural” comes with a set of inferences, including notions of an uncomplicated past, unfettered with the detritus of urban life and modern technology. The focus on the natural is an overlapping rhetoric of both critical reviews and dancers’ statements. In her 1908 autobiography, Maud Allan describes a trip to the country she took to recover from an illness. As she writes: “I loved to go barefoot and hatless, chasing the butterflies and making friends with the wild flowers. To be in such perfect contact with Nature was a joy hitherto almost unknown to me, and I was ravished with its delights” (30). Later in the autobiography, Allan continues: “It was the poetry of motion in the running brooks and the rhythm of the tossing branches that gave me a desire to express something” (45). The phrase “poetry of motion” was one that Allan appropriated from the critical discourse and recycled in her autobiographical self-representation. The phrase was so popular, and so often repeated within the reviewing of modern dance, as to become a trademark or marketable “brand” for the dancer (this commodification to be discussed more fully in Part Three).

Such Romantic recapturing of child-like joy and innocence in relation to nature is also found in this 1908 review describing Isadora Duncan’s performance in the *Philadelphia Telegraph*:

Miss Duncan’s art comes as pure breath from some pine-clad mountain height refreshing as its ozone, beautiful and true as its overarching blue sky. Entirely simple, natural and unaffected, she presents a picture of beauty, joy and abandon as one believes it must have been when the world was young. (“Triumphs Again”)

The critic’s invocation of innocence is tied to notions of Duncan’s portrayal of nature as “pure”

goes on to explain how this writing of Fuller has persisted in her contemporary re-animations by theorists (e.g. Banes; Lista).

and is an assertion of the health benefits of outdoor activity becoming popular during this time. The natural belongs to a bygone past (“when the world was young”) illustrating Berman’s theory of the modern anxieties in relation to industrialization.

While representing different aesthetics, which are explored below in their distinctiveness, in more general and overarching ways, Fuller, Duncan and Allan came to represent the “natural dance,” a popular term for modern dance spawned by a general movement ideology that assumed natural spontaneity. This theme undergirds descriptions of all of their dances. Modern dancers and critics converged in setting up modern dance as an antidote to the technological anxieties of modernism, even as they encompassed the excitement of technologies (Fuller’s world fair exhibit and use of electricity are notable examples, discussed fully later in this dissertation). All three dancers and their critics converged in alleviating the fears surrounding the technological by positioning “natural” dance in opposition to technological modernity. Recapturing nature as an antidote to mechanization does not mean that the dancer’s body rejected technology as a sociocultural experience, for technological innovation permeated many aspects of perception.³¹

³¹ Here it is important to consider technologies not only as prosthetic extensions of human bodies or senses, but as devices that always implicate the body as a reference point of perception, in which they point out its limitations and enhance its capabilities. For example, in his cultural history of the electric lightbulb, David E. Nye articulates how, although it does not connect directly to the body, the lightbulb nevertheless extended daylight beyond the whim of nature (30). By brightly illuminating spaces after dark, the lightbulb subsequently refers back to the human eye by reducing its limitations. It is also revealing to consider technology in its wider context, that is, not just how specific technologies impact one sense, or a related network of

As the bodies of the Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were positioned as a pastoral antidote to the technological condition, Duncan mused on this association in a 1903 speech in Berlin, in which she conjures up “the dancer of the future”:

The dancer of the future will be one whose body and soul have grown so harmoniously together that the natural language of the soul will have become the movement of the body. The dancer will not belong to a nation, but to all humanity. She will not dance in the form of nymph, nor fairy, nor coquette, but in the form of Woman in its greatest and purest expression.... She will dance the changing life of nature, showing how each part is transformed into the other.... She shall dance the freedom of women.... She will help women-kind to a new knowledge of the possible strength and beauty of their bodies and the relation of their bodies to the earth nature and to the children of the future. (“Dance of the Future”)

In this passage Duncan, perhaps inadvertently, portrays a temporal in-between-ness. First, by aligning the female body with nature, she invokes the ancient concept of the earth mother found in mythology (an allusion all the more applicable because of Duncan’s co-option of Greek statuary poses). Second, she connects this yearning for an unfettered past to an excited anticipation for a future in which body and soul are united by an invocation of nature.

perception, but also how new technologies ignited the cultural imagination. Again, electric light works as an example of how technologies have different perceptual meanings according to the sociocultural moment. Nye’s cultural history of electricity also examines the sense of wonder that this technology induced in its trajectory from public marvel, to private luxury, and finally as a public utility, proving that notions of technology are culturally contingent.

But to understand how she does so, it is important to consider that Duncan uses the word “soul,” which generally denotes the spiritual or metaphysical, somewhat euphemistically to refer to the physical sensations and corresponding emotions that result from modern dance. In doing so, Duncan grounds the metaphysical firmly in bodily practice, connecting the transcendent soul to the flesh. Thus, Duncan’s notion of the flesh as a vehicle for transcendence makes modern dance converge with the modernist notion of the art object as a substitute for religious experience (Onopa 364). The mention of “soul” or “spirit” by reviewers also functions to maintain a semblance of formality deemed appropriate for a newspaper audience that was more acceptable than explaining emotional response. In this sense, the discussion of the transcendent was a way of articulating the ineffable emotional “feeling” outside narrative constructs, without implicating the body in this written expression of it. A 1910 review in the *Oakland Tribune* claims that Duncan’s greatest accomplishment was lifting the “degraded art of dancing, and set it on a pedestal beside music, painting, sculpture, poetry” (“Duncan Dance All that is Artistic”), aligning dancing with the sacred reverence afforded to the classical arts. The review continues: “And what is her special mission? To reveal to the world the true, natural beauty which is the dower of every woman.” Similarly, in reiterating feminine transcendence, the critic Marcus Tindal remarks of Fuller in an 1895 issue of *Pearson’s Magazine* that her dancing is one in “which body and soul are thrown.... If she belongs to any school it is nature’s own academy, in which also the ancient Greeks and Egyptians learnt their art” (“Queen of All Dancers”).

The connection that these reviews make, between nature, transcendence, and womanhood, is a complicated set of relations that are historically located. First, the definition of nature can be understood as twofold: it is both an essential quality of a thing or process and evocative of the organic world. These two definitions, not unconnected in their etymology,

became aligned at this time. In their book *Dancing Naturally* (2011), dance scholars Alexandra Carter and Rachel Fensham trace these connections in Western thought, identifying human relationships to conceptions of the natural as malleable—as shaped by culture. They assert that in the 1700s nature was understood as a “set of patterns and laws that ordered the cosmos” (2), of which there was little control. In the 1800s, the natural world was thought to represent “an alternate set of values – goodness, innocence, an alternative to industry” (2), and that “[d]uring the early twentieth century, many products of culture, whether in science, politics or art, were fashioned in active response to, or variation of, what we perceived to be the laws and forces of an ambivalent nature. A ‘nature’ whose significance keeps changing” (2). They continue:

During the first quarter of the twentieth century there was a return, in the West, to notions of the ‘natural’ in diverse fields of cultural activity. For many, outdoor pursuits; freer ways of learning; liberating costume; the authenticity of emotion and sexual desire; and the natural world itself were all privileged in action and belief. For others, the Hellenic Greek period (5 BCE) was viewed as the epitome of a natural harmony and balance between the State, the people and their gods.

One of the central tenets of the beliefs, inspired by this Greek world, was the return to the representation of the ‘natural body’ in many forms of artistic expression, with aspirations to a liberation through nature, as seen in Art

Nouveau objects, barefoot dancing, modern literature and theatre symbolism. (1)

Both of these understandings of nature, as part of the natural world and as a state of being, are depicted in modern dance reviews.

In contrast to the excitement that Duncan expresses in relation to the dancer of the future, many critical responses articulate a certain anxiety in relation to technological narratives that can be read as symptomatic of modern mechanization. According to Stephen Kern in *The*

Culture of Time and Space (2003), perceptions of temporality shifted during the modernist era, to a mode in which the past was invoked as a time of stability in the face of the hasty technological and cultural change (36). At the same time, Kern continues, the experience of the future became one in which expectation dictated that technology would facilitate a sense of control over one's environment (89-90). Fuller, Duncan, and Allan all negotiated this era of shifting kinesthesia differently, but in the reviews of the works of each, there is a sense of both innovation and nostalgia. It is not coincidental that modern dance emerged at this time in which technology was perceived as a double-edged sword offering "both utopian possibilities and a wounding and fragmentation of the self" (Armstrong 101). It is this very contradiction between past and present that these three women negotiate in much of their movement, reflecting both a fascination with and trepidation towards the burgeoning technological future.

The evocation of the past, evoked in modern dance, can be contextualized within the concept of "covering." As theorized by Martin Nachbar and Maaike A. Bleeker, covering refers to an appropriation or inspiration from a past work, in a way that shifts the focus of reenactment to the artistic process, rather than a historically accurate event (Bleeker 14). Integral to "covering" is that, in reenacting past performances, new works often result. Part of modern dance's invocation of the past involved incorporating familiar visual or aural cues, but remixing them with unfamiliar movement. For example, by covering imagery from ancient Greek statuary, Duncan uses still poses, but animates them according to a radically new understanding of space and time, in a sense remixing the statuary within a modern context. By imitating Greek poses, but filling in the movement details, Duncan mixes corporealities of the familiar past with the unfamiliar future, anchoring the familiar within the innovative, and thereby making it more palatable for her audience. In a sense, covering lends itself to new aesthetics in that, by remixing a recognizable trope, an artist is, in a sense, removing it from its original reference, often

resulting in abstract meaning. Ultimately, by taking a visual cue out of its original context these dancers were utilizing time abstractly.

Such temporal ambiguity places these dancers in a category that was often difficult for early critics to contextualize using traditional cultural beacons, such as named steps, gestures, or stories. The natural imagery of Romanticism was referenced and remixed differently by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan. Rhonda Garelick, in her book on Fuller, suggests that Fuller maintained the seemingly effortless qualities of romantic ballet with the buoyant movement of her voluminous skirts (130-34). Likewise, Allan, in her most renowned (and most narrative) work, *The Vision of Salomé*, reinterprets the ancient biblical story, incorporating elements of “orientalist” aesthetics that, in effect, positioned her work as “primitive” and therefore has biased anti-technological connotations. By covering, instead of reconstructing a recognizable aesthetic, modern dance during the modernist era retained a connection with the past, while presenting a novel aesthetic. This combination was, I suggest, integral to the success of these dancers who were able to both incite anticipation and nullify anxieties regarding femininity in a modern context.

Fuller, Duncan, and Allan all presented new facets of dance performance that positioned the feminine body as simultaneously “natural” and modern in ways that were palatable to audiences of varying demographics and at different times and locations. And their presentation of movement in relation to these narratives contributed to their success. The 1930s dance critic John Martin, whose modern dance criticism follows in the print culture “footsteps” of these earlier reviews, remarks on just this association:

The unknown, as in any type of activity, must be couched in terms of the known.

Continuity—which is only another way of saying a cleared path for attention—is attained simply by preparing for each successive step within the preceding one,

so that when it arrives it has a comfortable enough feeling of familiarity about it
to support that element which is new. (*Dance in Theory* 42)

Martin's linkage of feeling, comfort, and newness is of note, for the past and the future are replete with corresponding emotional connotation. Fuller, as the first of these solo performers, is exemplary of this temporal liminality. Embodying both the sweeping lines of art nouveau and the technology of Futurism, Fuller was co-opted by both the Symbolists and the Futurists. In relation to dance performance, Fuller positions herself as an antidote to what she perceived as the rigidity of ballet aesthetic and an alternative to the vaudeville skirt dancer of her roots, which she considered to reflect a superficial gaiety. But just as surely as Fuller rejects both aesthetics, she also references them. Jody Sperling, a self-proclaimed twenty-first century Fuller imitator, elaborates on Fuller's modern version of the skirt dance. "By adding substantially more fabric to the width of the skirt and introducing novel lighting effects," Sperling explains, "Fuller shifted the skirt dancer's emphasis from displays of pretty refinement, or leg-revealing suggestion, and instead concentrate[ed] on creating abstract visual imagery" (53). Predating this sentiment in a 1957 article for *Dance Magazine*, renowned American dance critic Carl van Vechten proclaimed that Fuller "borrowed the skirt of the Skirt Dance [and] exaggerated it to insane proportions" ("Terpsichorean Souvenirs" 16). Similarly, the critic Archie Bell, writing on Duncan's movement in the *Ohio Plain Dealer*, muses: "This is Isadora's first invasion of Cleveland, and as soon as the folks who demand that actresses be dressed in hoop skirts ... become aware of the nature of her particular brand of art, there is likely to be an outcry that will... seem like the sizzling of an old fashioned pinwheel" ("Isadora Duncan is Coming"). Finally, Allan, whose *Vision of Salomé* led to legal charges of "lesbianism" referenced the imagery of ancient biblical myth in modern dance, presenting the story in a new aesthetic context.

By summoning, referencing, or “covering” the past, these dancers illustrated a longing for aesthetic interaction that was thought to reconnect with a sense of physicality somehow forgotten or buried in the progression of industrial modernity. But more essentially, this summoning actually reveals something profound about how they anticipated future physicality. More specifically, the quest for an authentic sense of movement associated with the past reflects the anxieties associated with modern bodily perception, a perception becoming intertwined with technologically enhanced sensory experiences. The unease and excitement of the early modern dance audiences also parallels the performance studies impulse, as articulated by Phelan, in which performance “liveness,” or authenticity, is seen as located between two live bodies. The same issue is at stake in both scenarios: early audiences, as evidenced by the reviews, sought experiences to reconnect them to some sort of “authentic” experience of the body rooted in the notion of the natural dance. Similarly, the discipline of performance studies, particularly as it emerged in postmodern scholarship, was concerned with what made liveness a unique aesthetic proposition. Thus, the experience of temporal displacement experienced through technology (as in the case of a video or review) is an impetus of anxiety for both modernist spectators as well as within postmodern aesthetic perception.

Fuller, Duncan, and Allan all used nature as an inspiration in their dances, and did so in novel ways. Nature did not often manifest itself in their works as a literal homage to flora and fauna, but as an emotional response to what they perceived as nature’s rhythms. For example, although Fuller referenced images from nature, such as flowers, birds, or insects, she used them as fleeting, Rorschach-like references. Descriptions of her movement suggest that as soon as a spectator could recognize a familiar shape, Fuller had already transformed into several more. Duncan attributes her dances to the rhythm of natural landscapes, such as the ocean, and espouses the health benefits of dancing outdoors. Similarly, for Allan nature imagery was

abstractly conjured via emotional response to close listening of music. Writing on Allan's *Dance of the Gnomes* for the *Boston Daily Globe* in 1910, an anonymous critic writes, "Miss Allan became a writhing, whirling vision of fury, with flying, unbound hair to enhance the picturesque splendor of her abandon.... She summons to mind a wealth of beautiful imagery which nature must seek through many moods and conditions to match" ("In Classic Dances"). In reviews of Allan's work, which frequently describe her musicality, we can begin to see that idea of the natural as embodied by Allan as pure impetus, that is, movement that was unfettered by the clutter of quotidian physical comportment.

The anticipation and nostalgia inherent in their performances took on gendered meanings, which, in turn, convey technological allegory. It is partly this liminal space, between nostalgia and innovation, that made modern dance so challenging to describe, for, as Ann Daly has observed, the natural feminine body became synonymous with aesthetic transcendence, and not appearance (*Done Into* 39). In this way, the assigned transcendence of modern dance worked to solidify its non-narrativity, and these two aspects also made it difficult to commit this movement to language. Adding to this indescribability was an aesthetic ambiguousness that referenced both a familiar past and an unrecognizable future.

The Shroud of Objectivity

Because modern dance at this time was aesthetically and temporally uncategorizable, movement descriptions often took on an aesthetic preeminence that, for journalists, was expressed as objective detachment, despite its subtle communication of feeling. Aesthetic experience, for the modern critic, implies an appreciation that defies temporality, engaging the dancer as somehow detached from culturally bound signifiers, and thus universally accessible. In this influential Kantian perspective, objects become aesthetic, or art, when the viewer can

engage with them via non-sensory modes of appreciation. Herein, however, lies the incongruity, for it is apparent in reviews that, although reviewers attempted to write from this objective stance, their descriptions of the rhythmic sensations reveal the beginnings of kinesthetic empathy, underneath the shroud of detached objectivity.

This disinterestedness, involving a separation of the art object from the viewing (or experiencing) subject, actually contradicts the environment through which aesthetic transcendent experience is cultivated. For transcendence, as least as it is invoked in dance reviews, refers to “feeling” or kinesthetic empathy, while, in contrast, the eighteenth-century model of aesthetic perception, an ideology guiding dance criticism in newspapers into the twentieth-century, is mode of writing the aesthetic that adapted to the concerns of visual art of its time, in which critics viewed art as a tangible static object to behold.³² For the critic, disinterestedness is, I suggest, an experiential mode suited to writing what the critic *sees* rather than what he *feels*, and is thus more attuned to describing the qualities inherent in an art “object,” rather than a performance. By describing an object, a writer is able to ascribe to it the status of a thing. In contrast, modern dance was difficult for early critics to describe in these terms because performance itself is an experience that does not refer back to a tangibly and persistently static object. After a performance the dancer ceases to be the object of performance and for this reason the disinterested model of aesthetic perception is particularly problematic in relation to performance, which by its very nature is time-bound.

³² For example, Immanuel Kant’s aesthetic theory, although acknowledging judgment as both subjective and universal, argues for disinterestedness that assumes form can be recognized as universally beautiful.

As a challenge to the designation of object-ness, modern dance presented writing difficulties to the critic. Ballet criticism, particularly as it was written for the American press, provides descriptions of dancers which are much more object-centered and fit more easily into the objective mode of review writing. Critics will, for example, describe the dancer's physical characteristics in relation to the steps they are able to execute. One 1900 *New York Times* article describes the performance of an unidentified company: "[I]t looks as if weeks of practice has been spent... in learning the intricate steps, the quick turns and a hundred and one quick revolutions" ("Terpsichore on East Side"). Another reviewer, writing in 1892 for *The New York Times*, compares two ballet dancers: "Sozo is probably a more agile and a more skillful dancer than... Salmoraghi, who bears the burden of the work.... Both [dancers] are... so absolutely in control of all their muscles" ("The Casino's New Bill"). Modern dance reviews also mused on the physical capabilities of the dancers, but with an important difference. They tended to evaluate the physique of the dancers in relation to the mood or emotion they were able to elicit, instead of focusing on their technical prowess. A case in point is *Los Angeles Times* critic Henry Carr, a journalist who often wrote under his sardonic persona, "The Lancer." Carr writes of Allan in 1910: "Her dance is not a dance of bare legs and wonderful arms that undulate like snakes, or a lithe, slim, bare young body, her dance is a dance of creative imagination, of sinuous dreams made tangible ("A Cynic").

Remarkably, it is in the newspaper, the very epitome of disinterested rhetoric during the era, that we also see the "objectivity" model begin to break down. It is often through tone, not content, that the "objective" critic communicates subjective attitude, as tone could be anywhere from reverent to sardonic. Often the satirically toned reviews can be as revealing as the laudatory responses. For example, the following 1911 excerpt from the *Ohio Plain Dealer* is illustrative of how discordance can manifest itself in criticism. In anticipation of a Duncan

performance, critic Archie Bell proclaims: “Whatever it means, it’s beautiful. It’s got to be. If you say it isn’t, you get a letter from the first high-brow you see telling you that you are putting cold water on the flame of art which has been going in a sad flicker for a long time and needs a little fanning” (“Isadora Duncan is Coming”). After the performance, Bell published a follow-up review, in which he glibly stated: “If you like [Duncan’s dancing], you’re a person with some class and intelligence; while if you don’t, you’re a flathead beyond redemption” (“Orchestra Plays Exquisitely”). In this rare signed review, Bell denotes both a reverence for and distrust of the sort of description that would portray him as having an emotional response to this performance, opting instead for irony and sarcasm. These ironic reviews mainly derive from journalists who write as weekly newspaper “personalities,” who are intended to provide humorous and slightly debasing satire. There is a sense that Bell is not only poking fun at modern dance, but also to the typical critical responses to it, bringing attention to the developing canon of modern dance reviewing. Bell’s use of irony in relation to the performance review genre echoes Berman’s assertion that “to be fully modern is to be anti-modern.... No wonder then that... the deepest modern seriousness must express itself through irony” (Berman 14). Irony, for the sardonic critic, then points to the dismantling of objectivity in favor of editorializing subjectivity. Essentially, because they are written by the “villain” character-actors in the newspaper, often these articles reveal some of the tensions between various demographics of newspaper readers.

As the reviews suggest, the experience of watching dance is always corporeally framed, positioning accurate description at odds with the role of critic tethered to standards of “objectivity.” With fewer reference points in relation to the choreography (such as the many names of steps found in classical ballet but missing in modern dance), there were fewer technical anchoring points through which to describe the dance. This lack of narrative

signposting for the critic to grasp, in combination with the rather unstable emotional cues presented by non-narrative imagery, was beginning to facilitate movement interpretation based on feeling.

2.2 Temporality and Emotion

If reviews are any indication, by covering the past and referencing the future, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were able to arouse strong and diverse critical responses. Portraying both a nostalgic longing and excited anticipation, as we have seen in the preceding discussion, these modern dancers were able to relax anxieties in relation to the new aesthetic they presented. I now turn to explore the relation between temporality and emotion in past and future in the context of modernism, and the specific sociocultural surroundings at the turn of the twentieth-century. In doing so, I argue that nostalgia and the past are evoked as an empathetic conjuring of memory, whereas the future is called forth in sympathetic imagining.

Displaced Emotion

One of the most obvious ways in which the critic's subjectivity was covertly expressed in the corpus of reviews investigated herein is relayed in how the bodies of these women were depicted as vehicles for the spectator to experience transcendence. In this way, critics were attempting to deny the sensations they experienced as personally derived. As noted above, at times this process manifested itself as an imbuing of the dancers with a divine or supernatural essence ("a divinity rousing the crowd," as Fernand Nozière wrote of Duncan's 1916 performance of *Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony* [qtd. in Loewenthal 146]). Such associations of femininity with the sacred, which melds the previously separate realms of soul and body, emotion and kinesthesia, now requires further investigation. For by defying conventional

description and objectivity, modern dance spectatorship facilitated an emotional response that positioned women dancers as vehicles of transcendence.

Because transcendence was, in modern dance, accessible through the feminine and graceful body, the body in its “natural” form, the opposite notion of female corporeality—the body that expresses uncomfortable, ugly, or unchaste representations—was a debasement of femininity.³³ The attributes of beauty required for female dancers and performers was, as dance scholar Karen Vedel states, necessary for women to achieve her sublimated “sexual purpose” (132), and, correspondingly, to fulfill her perceived spiritual purpose. Thus, the tenet of transcendence, in relation to the dancer’s body was not as simple as its de-sexualization.

The process of describing the dancing body often involved a removal of desire in which femininity was recast as “natural,” and sublimated. This negation of desire is particularly apparent in some reviews of Allan’s performances of *Salomé* (one of the few famous semi-narrative modern dances of this era) in which it was common for critics to either chastise or espouse Allan’s chasteness on the basis that her dance transcends eroticism. Reporter Henry Carr (aka “The Lancer”), in his quippy entertainment pieces of Allan’s *Vision of Salomé*, explains that her “gown is about the size of a handkerchief; but she does not impress you as being a woman without clothes on. She impresses you as having risen above clothes. She seems to have cast off all base material things—including clothes” (“A Cynic”). Similarly, an anonymous critic writing for *The Boston Globe* in 1910 contends that “[Allan] is not sensuous in suggestion except in that symmetry of appeal which conveys true beauty to the senses and delights them” (“In Classic Dances”). In order to feel comfortable with a female body, which

³³ With German expressionist dancers, such as Mary Wigman (1886-1973), emerging in the 1910s and 1920s, modern dance began to open up to “grotesque” movement.

was unencumbered by the Victorian corseted standard, the bodies of the dancers had to be desexualized (but not defeminized), and propelled into the realm of Kantian disinterestedness or “objective” form. In the words of Felicia McCarren, Fuller “de-anatomizes femininity, redefining it as movement rather than structure” (*Pathologies* 166).³⁴ This apt statement could easily be applied to Duncan and Allan as well. Reviews of Allan’s work during her 1918 trial, in which she was accused of “sexual perversion” and “lesbianism,” stand as examples of how imperative chasteness was to maintaining an aura of transcendence in relation to the performative female body. In a 1910 *Chicago Tribune* article, Allan herself defends the virtuousness of her Salomé dance, by resorting to the rhetoric of sacredness, when she compares her dance with that of her imitators. As she states in an interview that appeared in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

[N]one of them do it as well as I do. That’s why I don’t like to be imitated.

That’s why I’ve given up my Salome dance. That was a sacred conception to me.

But a lot of these imitators have just dragged it down until it’s—it’s—well, you know what it is,’ and tears were dangerously close to thought of the degradation to which Salome has been dragged. (“Art Warms Barefoot Dancer”)

With her reputation in shreds after the trial, Allan’s rhetoric regarding her dance (“a sacred conception”) was a concrete effort to protect herself, and went hand in glove with the critics’ transcendent gestures. Her rhetoric denigrated her “imitators,” for she was unable to teach dance

³⁴ Felicia McCarren contextualizes Fuller using the nineteenth-century poetics of Mallarmé, who wrote his own de-corporealization of Fuller as *idée*, and medical/psychoanalytic practices, which pathologize femininity as weakness.

to children and therefore, unlike Duncan, had no control about how her work was projected into the future by strangers.

By participating in the problematic assignment of women's bodies as either chaste or sexual, critics were also (with varying degrees of success) able to divorce themselves from reacting to the dancers in ways that implicated their own bodily, and specifically erotic, response. At times, this denial manifests itself in a discussion of rhythmic elements suggestive of kinesthetic empathy. For example, the same *Chicago Daily Tribune* article claims that Allan "believes the vibrations of the body are harmoniously akin to the vibrations of music. The dance she goes through is just an interpretati[on] by means of movements of the body of the soul" ("Art Warms Barefoot Dancer"). In another review, dated 1910, a *Los Angeles Times* writer muses on the connection of Allan's use of rhythm and its relation to bodily senses:

Rhythm is the measurement system of vibration: it is natural and universal; sound is the audible result of vibration, as light is the visible result.... If it were possible to sufficiently increase the vibration we could see the notes, for they would appear as light. Our ears receive the impressions of certain limited sets of vibration, and our eyes receive the impressions of certain others, but all are alike in character.

Rhythm is important to the eye and motions performed in perfect time are always pleasing to the musical sense. ("Maud Allan Returns")

The pseudo-scientific tone this reviewer projects, is, ironically, a tactic that also allows him to discuss kinesthetic empathy or personal response, but with a tone of experimental whimsy. In this segment, desire for the feminine body is written atypically. Instead of sexual desire, as is

often written into descriptions of ballet and vaudeville,³⁵ multisensory longing is revealed in the writer's desire to experience rhythm so intensely that he writes of experiencing a simultaneous harmony of the senses. In reading these dancers as concurrently de-sexualized and transcendentally feminine, reviews suggest they inhabit a imaginary space set apart from quotidian materiality. What these seemingly objective responses expose instead is a desire for a multisensory experience, not simply a visual one. This desire implicates the critic's bodily response.

The convergence of transcendence and femininity within these documents reveals yet another fracture, indicating a connection between "soul" and body that, I suggest, denotes a correlation between emotional feeling and kinesthesia. By invoking the "soul," the critic communicated a clinical, but vague allusion to emotive potential, which in turn functioned as ambiguously expressed semblance of formality deemed appropriate for a newspaper audience. "Natural dancing" as the critic J. B. C., of *Musical America* writes of Fuller in 1909, "is the expression of the soul, spontaneous and original with each dancer. No pupil of Miss Fuller is taught to dance in any stereotyped way. She is taught the principles and then is let out to pasture on the meadows of feeling and self-expression" ("La Loie Flitting About"). Attributing feeling to a trait inherent in the dancer, and not taking ownership of their reaction, the critic maintains his disinterest. For example, instead of discussing their preference for one or another dancer, based the their emotional impact to them, reviewers compared the first modern dancers to each other according to their ability to *portray*, rather than *incite* emotion. A 1910 *Chicago Daily*

³⁵ In addition to being associated with prostitution, ballet narratives were usually concerned with heterosexual romantic associations (Hanna 151). For more on the association between dancing bodies and sexuality, see Judith Lynn Hanna's *Dance, Sex, and Gender* (1988).

Tribune critic claims that Allan is “more elastic and more satisfying as a medium for the translating of music into emotion [than Duncan]” (“Music in Motion is Dancer’s Art”). The writer works to “objectify” performance.

Other critics, in some of the most captivating descriptions, use the opposite strategy and reference affect in a way that stages the writer’s own feelings and, in turn, solicits affect from the reader. Consider this 1908 *Decatur Daily* (Alabama) review:

Your heart beats and your eyes are moist and you know that such perfect moments are years past.... and then the figure melts back.... It is most extraordinary—the impression this woman leaves with you.... You do not recall a single ‘step’ of all the dancing.... Miss Duncan dances as she feels. (“When Isadora Duncan Dances”)

The vibrant kinesthetic empathy expressed in this review blurs traditional binary aesthetic distinctions and, when read in tandem with how the dancers themselves imagined their impact, reveals a congruency between performer and critical spectator. Consider, in this context, the following comment by Loïe Fuller. When asked if the average music hall patron would understand her choreography, she replied:

The delicatessen man is indeed more likely than the educated man to grasp the meaning of my dances. He *feels* them. It is a question of temperament more than of culture. My magnetism goes out over the footlights and seizes him so that he must understand—in spite of his delicatessen. (qtd. in Gunning, “Loïe” 83)

This quote describes the idea of the uneducated man, whose interpretation through feeling is more valuable than that of the man-of-letters, whose interpretation is intellectual. In this tongue-in-cheek response, Fuller alludes to exactly this novel mode of spectatorship, that is, one that elicits a felt corporeal response to the dancer’s presence and deemphasizes intellectual

interpretation that the critic must master on the pages of his newspaper. Moreover, the distinction between intellectual and physical apprehension echoes the complexity of theoretical understandings of spectatorship during the 1890s, when abstract form was becoming an aesthetic choice for visual, musical, and performing artists. Fuller's statement raises other questions: in proclaiming her viewer to be "seized" by her movement, is Fuller assuming an emotional response, a kinesthetic sensation, or describing a synaesthetic rapport between vision and touch? Even though her definition of "feeling" remains ambiguous, and perhaps deliberately so, what is significant is her claim of physically embodied interpretation as superior to intellectual hermeneutics, the latter being antithetic in the enjoyment, and notably, the understanding, of her dance.

Noticing a similar response in relation to other spectators in the theatre, "The Lancer," ever the skeptic, also notices the physical response of the audience in relation to Allan's performance. In a rare moment of first-person account he states: "I tried my best to do what every high-brow seemed to be doing. When she was dancing I leaned forward in my seat with my lips half opened and a look of rapture divine on my face; and when the curtain went down, I drew a long sigh" ("A Cynic"). Although his parody pokes fun at Duncan's "high-brow" audience, what this critic brings attention to is a perceived physical response on the part of this audience. The reader even gets the impression that this critic was not writing about his experience in the theatre so much as noting how the "high-brow critic" responded in reviews, thereby revealing his familiarity with the (changing) dance review genre, which are perceived worthy of parody. In proclaiming his "expected" response to the performance, "The Lancer" is already drawing on modern dance audiences as a public cliché in the year 1910. He both pokes fun at their unanimous reaction and points to alternate responses to it. In this way he demonstrates how reviews play an integral role in the negotiation of audience expectation and,

consequently, how the performance is temporally altered by reading or hearing about a performance before seeing it live. It is this concept of temporality that now requires further investigation.

The Role of Nostalgia in Extending the Memory of the Live Event

As Stephen Kern has argued, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries, the past was often conjured as tranquil memory; there was a sense of nostalgia that, in the face of modern technological change, represented safety and predictability. In fact, nostalgia, as the Modernism scholar Svetlana Boym articulates, has cathartic potential when it is conjured as a coping mechanism in reaction to the anxiety of anticipation. She notes, “nostalgia is a rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress” (Boym xv). Similarly, Roger Aden suggests that the realm of nostalgia provides a “sanctuary of meaning,” an escape from a time or era considered inhospitable (188). Of course, the halcyon lens of nostalgia reveals less about the past, which is idealized in the present context, but more about future anxiety. The perception of the past in the modernist era of rapid change (in technology, media, science, and politics), culminating into a number of crises (war and revolution), is one in which emotion is commonly evoked through nostalgia.

Remarkably, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan all reference nineteenth-century Romanticism in their movement aesthetics, which itself invoked feeling in the context of “soul.”³⁶ As Martin articulates, Romanticism itself tended toward the halcyon:

³⁶ Modern dance’s Romanticism also intersects with the neoromantic avant-garde of the fin-de-siècle, which reinterpreted pagan elements and focused on sexual freedom.

In romanticism we see a return to feeling as a guide rather than form and precedent.... To our taste as we look back at it, it seems prettified and superficial, but against its own background it had a certain lustiness which offset the contemporary concern for the more attenuated and unearthly qualities of the spirit.

(Dance in Theory 85-89)

In turn, I suggest, nostalgia itself involves kinesthetic empathy. In evoking a comfortable past experience, an empathetic “having been there” (as opposed to a sympathetic imagining) is being summoned. In imagining past incarnations of the body we have a sense of its history, in a way that is unavailable and unknown for anticipating future events. Memory is, of course, evoked in this process of retrieval and reinterpretation as well as in the criticism of any live event. But memory and criticism also share another trait in that they both entail an interpretive value judgment of past experience. By engaging in recall, we are consciously or unconsciously assigning value and significance to that which we remember and thus memory is always a process of active meaning-making. In addition, because of its interpretive (rather than mimetic) function, by assigning value to memories we also alter the present remembering of past experience in relation to our present circumstances and corporeality.

This notion of memory as an interpretive process is of particular significance to scholars who decipher events through their documentary traces. Reviews, because they preserve events through language and media that persist in our current culture, act as solidifiers of collective memory. As Henri Bergson reminds us, memory is not a transcription of real events but is itself a complex derivative process of referring our current situation to past experience so that we may make sense of the present for the future. Written at the turn of the twentieth-century, Bergson’s articulations of corporeal memory apply to the process of writing dance. The writing and performance of dance criticism, similar to the first modern dancers themselves, represent just

such an in-between-ness of past, present and future temporalities by continually conjuring memory and anticipating future audience.

As a technology, the newspaper, similar to the gramophone, extends the memory of the live event into the domesticity of the private home. For example, the butterfly dance style, which Loïe Fuller modified and popularized in the late 1800s, became an international sensation before she toured widely outside of Europe, owing its recognition to widespread press coverage. The American press ran articles and reviews telegraphed from Europe to larger newspapers, which were then reprinted (sometimes without copyright permission) in various forms in smaller-run presses. The result was that American audiences were anticipating Fuller's dance before they saw her live performance. For many, the first "viewing" of Fuller's performances was via the review. Finally, when her imitators began to perform widely, many spectators would see live imitations of her dances, which often masqueraded as authentic "reenactments," or as Fuller herself.

Anticipating the Future

In contrast to nostalgia, the emotions associated with the future are anticipatory ones, typically of excitement or anxiety. As previously mentioned, the understanding of temporality shifted during the modernist era to a mode in which the past was invoked as a time of stability superseded by a modern period of hasty technological and cultural change. At the same time, as Stephen Kern observes, the experience of the future became one in which expectation dictated that technology would facilitate a sense of control over one's environment (90). There was, according to this model, a sense of both excitement and trepidation in relation to the future that was linked to technological innovation.

The emotions associated with newness, as outlined above, are less manageable than nostalgic pangs, which can more often be conjured at will as acts of memory. The descriptions attributed to technology during this era fit seamlessly with the temporality of affect theory in that they, as Ben Anderson describes, offer a “promise of a new way to attend to the social or cultural in perpetual and unruly movement” (162) and “open unsuspected possibilities for new ways of thinking, being, and acting” (187). In fact, the association of newness and affect is pervasive throughout affect discourse, which describes novel techniques and coping mechanisms of perceptually engaging with the world. As reviews indicate, modern dance, in its presentation of new performative experiences and “objects,” incites a diversity of affective states from its critical spectators.

Loïe Fuller’s performances at the 1900 World’s Fair in Paris provide a striking example of the contradiction between excitement and trepidation in relation to technology. Of the main focal points of the exposition, Fuller was the ultimate representative of two of them, using electricity to create an art nouveau aesthetic. The sweeping organic lines and imagery in art nouveau, and its use of “feminine” iconography suggests a nostalgia of the past, while in contrast, the pageantry of this event was inseparable from scientific and technological advancement. Many posters advertising the Exposition, drawn in art nouveau style, feature a lit-up city, foregrounded with a woman draped in flowing robes, while in the background the Paris cityscape features the Eiffel tower, itself an icon of technological progress. The Journalist Paul Morand writes of the Fair and Fuller:

The Electric Fairy triumphs at the Exposition.... The public laughs at the words, “danger of death,” written on the pylons, for they knew that electricity could cure all ills.... It is progress, the poetry of the poor and the rich.... At night the spotlights sweep the Champs de Mars, the Chateau d’Eau shimmers in cyclamen

tints and falls in showers of green and purple light.... Electricity is accumulated, condensed, transformed, bottled.... it is the scourge and religion of 1900. (65)

As a new and luxurious technology, electricity was attributed with supernatural capabilities and, as an icon of this event Fuller applied for and was granted a section of L'art dans la Rue. The theatre itself features an elaborate art nouveau façade designed by Henri Sauvage and Pierre Roche and a life-sized statue of Fuller topped the entranceway. This statue has been described by Fuller biographers Richard and Marcia Current as “a great bird about to take flight” (137), and persists as a metaphor of Fuller’s role in the exposition, and her untimeliness as aesthetically bound to the past and propelling into the future. The 1900 World’s Fair provides a literal illustration of how emotional feeling is implicated in both the summoning of the past and the anticipation of the future. Furthermore, because the body is always implicated in the experience of emotion, there is a distinction to be made between the emotional impact of the past and future. Nostalgia induces kinesthetic empathy in its sense of having “been there” that contrasts to how we experience anticipation—our imagining of the future. In contrast, the future is imagined in a manner that is similar to a *sympathetic* conjuring—an imagined or assumed “being there.” It is this relationship of memory to empathy and physicality that make the writing of dance criticism (which is itself a re-call) a corporeally empathetic process, implicating the corporeality of the critic, even if they work to deny such a connection.

It was this mixture of comforting nostalgia and anxious anticipation that was mapped onto the feminine body of the modern dancer in this era. In fact, the term kinesthesia, coined by neurophysiologist Henry Charlton Bastian in 1880, was used to refer to the “conversation” between the nerves in the body and their communication with the brain. Later, in 1910, the psychologist Edward Titchener, described the orientational nature of this concept as it relates to our surrounding outside the body. Kinesthesia, then, referred to not just the movement and

position of the body in space, but the body's position in relation to its surroundings, a way of concurrently perceiving its "position, movement, momentum, and proximity to everything around it, and even its relationship to gravity" (Foster *Choreographing* 73). According to Titchener, to have an image in the mind of the body's actions, we amalgamate kinesthetic sensation with visual and auditory input stimuli to trace in the mind the body's actions. In this way, Titchener reasoned that perceptual meaning-making is inherently kinesthetic, in that human bodily response and the corresponding sensations orient our understanding and perception of a given situation. Similarly, Foster's reading of Titchener's kinesthesia also has implications for how the writer's body is connected to the writing process. As a keen observer of his own perception he noticed that his entire physical attitude was altered depending on what he was writing, be it personal correspondence, lecture notes, or a manuscript. What Titchener and Foster both allude to is how kinesthetic circumstances guide language not just as a memory or sum total of human experience throughout time, but also in its present circumstance. This seems apropos when read beside contemporary dance reviews that implicate the body in the manner that the corpus of reviews analyzed herein, because in both residing in a body, and reading or writing about bodies, our perceptions of corporeality on the page is intertwined with our experience of language.

The idea that physical circumstances could influence perception of the world was developing at a time when the environs were rapidly evolving due to industrialization and urbanization. In relation to technological innovation, temporal shifts expressed via prosthetic technologies, such as the phonograph or the photograph, brought temporality into question by bringing the memory of liveness into the present. The changing sense of spatial dynamism that technologies of this era facilitated seems to pierce the impenetrability of matter by extending the senses. The telephone, for example, could traverse distance and time by extending the ear;

while the x-ray rendered the skin transparent, allowing modern viewers to peer into the body itself. As Kern outlines, the changes in how space was perceived and utilized at this time manifested itself in artistic practice in “the breakup of a homogeneous three-dimensional space” (147). He elaborates using Cubism and the modernist novel as examples. “Painters, limited to a single instant, used multiple perspective to portray objects as they came into view in time.” Kern explains, “Writers, limited to a series of single settings, used multiple perspective to depict different views of objects in space” (148).

One example of how modern dance altered spatial spectatorship is reflected in its subversion of tableau perspective. With ballet performance, for example, the posed stillness at the end of a musical phrase denotes a moment in which the dancer holds a posed position that lends itself to the view by catering to the audience’s fixed, immobile view. The dancers are often facing outward from of the proscenium arch and often their gaze is lifted and outward to give the impression of eye contact with every member of the crowd. In contrast, Loïe Fuller, in particular, used continuous motion (pausing would cause her skirts to wilt because of the momentum required to hold them aloft) in a whirling motion, seemingly not in awareness of the directional gaze of her viewers. In a manner similar to narrative film presentation, she seemed to be dancing in her own performative space. From all accounts, it was as if the stage was a world apart, in which the spectator could peer into.³⁷

³⁷ This assertion is based on both descriptions of Fuller’s movement and videos of her impersonators as articulated by Clare Parfitt (2009). Notably, these filmic imitations occur during the early years of film (1896-1906), a time period film theorist Tom Gunning has termed the “cinema of attractions,” to refer to a period before narrative film in which the performance of actors acknowledged the view of audience outside of their live performance.

In contrast, as Armstrong asserts, technology could also precipitate, instead of a heightened sensory experience, an alienating sense of detachment from the corporeal experience. Although medical technology, for example, offered the body new possibilities for healing and augmentation, the prosthetic nature of technologies such as the telephone gave the false impression that the senses could be experienced separately, what Jonathan Crary has termed the “industrial remapping of the body” (19) occurring in the nineteenth-century. Crary explores how some visual technologies (evolving from the mid-1600s) demand a distancing from the body, through which it became seen from outside itself. Although he insists that not all visual technologies encouraged this distancing, those that did initiated a dissociation of touch and sight that disables the haptic origins of vision. As a result of this fragmentation, Crary suggests, is the positioning of the viewer, an observer suited for specular consumption, an isolation of vision from the viewed. In 1909, the critic J.B.C., in a piece for *Musical America*, writes of Loïe Fuller: “Probably ‘La Loie’ had succeeded better than several million other mortals in being the greatly desired ‘natural.’ Natural dancing has probably led to the acquisition of that most rare art. One couldn’t find anything affected about Miss Fuller with a microscope” (“‘La Loie’ Flitting About Her Hotel Room”). The idea of peering at Fuller, through the supposed detached and objective lens of a scientific instrument presents a revealing metaphor for the view of the critic as scutinizingly disinterested. But, this view from above was a stance challenged by the haptic visual engagement of modern dance, and, in response, “feeling” is written into these documents.

2.3 Gender and Physical Practice

I now turn to the body, whose newfound physicality powerfully emerged in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In considering the physical practices of this era, one is faced

with a body represented as a manageable instrument that could be manipulated and honed to the best of its abilities. Dance theorists such as Susan Foster have observed a more “volumetric experience of physicality” (*Choreographing* 102) emerging in this era. “No longer a pictorial presentation of the self, propped and adjusted with the aid of externally applied prostheses, the body became an organism striving for erectness whose musculature contributed centrally to the effort” (102). Similarly, Ann Daly describes this shift as a change from a perception of the body as a container for the self, to a conception of the body as force of the self (*Done Into* 130), which, in turn suggests a transformation of agency from self-sacrifice to self-realization.

In the corpus of reviews discussed in this dissertation, the critics (mainly men) are the ones writing and documenting the female corporeality, bringing to the fore questions regarding the gendered spectatorship of bodies. The notion that a feminine body was vulnerable to technology corresponds to the dialectic of natural/feminine and technological/masculine that has persisted since much before 1890. According to eco-feminist and scientist Carolyn Merchant, although the concept of the earth as woman is ancient, it was during the Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that “the two ideas of mechanism and the domination of nature came to be core concepts and controlling images of our modern world” (417), in which the earth became associated with the feminine body. Merchant, who takes an outmoded technologically determinist stance, nonetheless identifies some striking examples of this metaphor in relation to mining, in which the mechanical rupture of the surface of the earth was referred to as “mining the earth’s womb” (417) and mineral mining as “an abortion of the metal’s natural growth cycle before its time” (418). As Merchant describes it, “The earth’s springs were akin to the human blood system; its other various fluids were likened to the mucus, saliva, sweat, and other forms of lubrication to the human body...” (419).

Although Merchant's gendered allegory sounds like a platitude, it is cited here for the simple fact that it persisted quite actively as a cultural assumption in many of the reviews studied in this dissertation. The reviews of Isadora Duncan and Maud Allan's work connect their natural movements with pastoral notions of an escape from the complications of urban modernity. Fuller's physical body, as it is depicted in some reviews, matches the allegory of the technological impact on "delicate" femininity. Because Fuller, incorporates technology in her presentation of the body, she is portrayed in many newspaper articles (and in her own statements), as placing her health in constant jeopardy, for her elaborate stage technology resulted in over-exposure to electricity. In fact, some of these concerns were legitimate; for example, Fuller suffered painful vision loss as a result of over exposure to her stage lighting. There are even some articles that announce Fuller's cancelled performances while she takes time out of her busy touring schedule to recuperate in a rural setting. It is as though Fuller's experimentation with technology, and subsequent illness, serves as a warning in the allegorical positioning of the feminine as naturally aligned. Likewise, Duncan, who is the most explicit practitioner of natural movement, espouses the health benefits of this movement practice as a deterrent of the damaging effects of more modern and technological modes of comportment.

The Modern Body as Machine

Whereas the feminine body of the Victorian era was uncouth, a site to be managed, controlled, and repressed, the transcendent body of the future was positioned as the entryway into physical health and emotional perception. It was around the mid-nineteenth century that physical practices for men began to portray the body itself as a metaphorical machine. Mechanical nuances appear as early as bodybuilding, a pastime introduced to counteract the sedentary lifestyles introduced by modern urbanity and industrialization. In bodybuilding

rhetoric, the physical body could be harnessed as a moldable instrument. Thus, for men in particular, muscles began to emerge as parts of a whole that could be altered and shaped (Foster, *Choreographing* 99). In 1879 Dudley Allen Sargent was hired by Harvard University to develop the first physical education program in the United States, a program that became rapidly adopted into college and state school systems throughout the early 1900s. Foster describes this connection between bodybuilding and labour:

Sargent's regimens, along with several other similar systems of exercise that worked with dumbbells, balls, and ropes helped to forge an entirely new experience of the body as a musculature distinct from other physiological systems.... His regimen also located the body comfortably in relation to the machine, thereby referencing favorably the new relations between bodies and machines that were transforming the workplace and all of daily life....

Contributing vitally to the health and well-being of the person, muscles now needed to be developed and maintained through regular exercise devoted specifically to them. (*Choreographing* 103-5)

The ties of men's physical leisure practices to labour and work culture is also notable here.

Perhaps the most striking example of this correlation is Rudolf von Laban's (1879-1958) movement trajectory. Beginning his career in dance studying German expressionist movement (*Ausdruckstanz*) under dancers such as Mary Wigman, Laban was later hired by German factories to collaborate with workers in order to establish the most efficient patterns of movement. The idea was to prevent factory workers from experiencing muscle strain due to continuous, monotonous movements and, consequently, to increase productivity and yield. Although Laban's factory work occurred later in the nineteenth century, it reflects attempts to maximize the performance of the body in relation to machine culture, positioning the body as a

sum of working parts, a site of maintenance, and as housing for our being which can then be summoned to action. As Foster articulates, “On the one hand, there was celebration of the musculature and all that it could accomplish, and on the other, a strong mandate to economize on expenditure of effort, now seen as existing on a continuum between full exertion and relaxation” (*Choreographing* 110).

Laban’s system of documenting, describing, and analyzing all forms of human movement indicated that all physical actions are internally motivated. Developed during his earlier studies at the turn of the century, this system theorizes effort as one of the more subtle qualities of movement in relation to emotive intention. Utilizing scales of space, weight, time, and flow to determine movement affinities, Laban’s system maps movement. For example, a punching motion (which is quick, direct, strong, and bound) is the opposite from a floating motion (slow, indirect, light, and free), but a slash (quick, indirect, strong, and free) shares affinities with both. The fact that Laban defines movement on a system of effort, or exertion, is indicative of an economy of movement in which the body is positioned as both accessible to one’s desired manner of comport and as intertwined with and originating from inner emotive impetus. Cultural historian Hillel Schwartz also comments on the categorization of motion in relation to exertion arguing that at this time new methods of organization within the factory promoted the repetition of discrete movement patterns, but also that a new range of technological innovations, such as the zipper and the escalator, privileged continuous motion.

Comparably, dance historian Ann Cooper-Albright describes the process of “reconstructing” Fuller’s *Le Lys* (1895) as one of familiarizing oneself with a set of sartorial parameters:

Within her costume, I have to prepare each step in order not to trip on the extra fabric. Twisting first to one side, then to another, I gather my strength and then

launch the spiral, catching the air underneath the fabric and opening my arms and reaching towards the sky. (5)

The effort required for these effects was deceiving, for a slight bend or twist left a resonant rippling through the fabric, widening the perimeters of the body. Dance scholar André Levinson explains the effect of Fuller's costume: "[It] surrounds the vertical of the body's equilibrium by a vortex of curves, segments of circles, arcs; it projects the body of the dancer into magnificent parabolas, curves and into a living spiral" (46-47). It was because of her costuming and the practical constraints it posed that Fuller developed an early method of what is now a modern dance staple—"the spiral"—involving a controlled twisting of the spine in opposite lateral directions. The premise of the spiral that, by stabilizing the pelvis one side, the torso has freedom to move in another with abandon.

However, this new muscularly-dynamic modern body played out differently for men than women. Foster observes that, during the nineteenth-century, the perceived differences in male and female anatomy impelled a segregation of exercise regimes according to sex. It was not just in the motion and poses of exercise that indicated masculine and feminine traits, but also the role that movement played in producing specific physical characteristics (*Choreographing* 75). In the early nineteenth-century women were discouraged from engaging in vigorous physical activity, and even physical activity in public space. "Formulated as a presence gracing and presiding over domestic space," as Foster writes, "this construction of the feminine was expected to conserve, to spend with discretion, and to regulate her own conduct and that of her children" (*Choreographing* 99).

At the same time that Sargent's exercise regime was molding the muscularity of masculinity, Delsarte movement technique, an exercise regime popular with and deemed appropriate for women, was emerging in the 1880s. An integral part of the physical culture

movement, this technique was developed by the French musician and teacher François Delsarte (1811-1871), and was concerned with how emotions were considered internal forces determined by external behavior. For women, this expression of their interior lives was, up to that point, only privately evident. Promoted in the United States by Delsarte proponent Genvieve Stebbins (1857-1914), this technique divided the body into zones of energy – spiritual, emotional, and vital – and positions of the body into three types – excentric, normal, and concentric. Depending on a combination of energy and position of a body, it could express a variety of emotional states which, in turn, could be harnessed in persuasional public speaking, or performance expression.³⁸ In classes, Stebbins developed a series of “artistic statue posing,” involving specific emotional circumstances with prescribed and accompanying movements. In theory, what Delsarte’s technique reinforces—the connectedness of physicality to emotional states—also suggests that emotional feeling can originate from outside the body, and that emotional feeling can guide kinesthesia. As Foster explains,

In Delsarte’s theory and Stebbins realization of it, mind, located in the brain, and the body were intimately connected, especially via the emotions, also located in the mind. Emotion could activate the body’s movements, or in the reverse process, the enactment of the actions associated with a given emotion could generate those feelings. (*Choreographing* 107)

Thus, physical culture, for Delsarte, was not only concerned with extending the body into space

³⁸ Influenced from Delsarte, Émile Jaques Dalcroze (1865-1950) would later develop a system he termed “eurythmics” (from the Greek eurhythmia, meaning rhythmic order and graceful motion, a word also used during the Renaissance to refer to the graceful motion of arts of a whole). Eurythmics involved dancing in empathetic response to music.

and testing its limits, but also involved breaking boundaries. By exploring how inner emotion is expressed outwardly, rather than containing it, Delsarte's practitioners were also participants of the modern project of extension as discussed by Kern, and torque, theorized by Schwartz. The body was no longer a container for feelings, but an instrument through which feelings could be expressed and actively harnessed. The following sequence, titled "Imaginary Scene IV" illustrates one such pantomime, in which placing the body in certain positions assumes a corresponding emotional translation:

The object still shows great doubt of your love; and, consequently, you intensify your expressions of devotion. Retaining the attitude of protest, you now call in the aid of your left arm in order to intensify your expressions. Raise left arm almost to level of shoulder, attitude similar to that of right arm. Rotary movement of wrists turns hands into relative attitude.... Raise hands.... bend forearms. Sink elbows, pressing them to sides; this brings fingers to armpits, torso bending in opposition to forearms, head to hand. (Stebbins 179-80)

One striking feature in this description is in the manner it intricately instructs the body, echoing the machinic allusions we see in Sargent's body building exercises. Even though women's exercise privileged expression over physique, there was still an attitude toward the body as a sum of independent parts. In addition, there was a sense in both practices that the body could be manipulated at a whim to one's will, indicating that emotions are compliant to bodily control. It is fitting that this practice was deemed suitable for women at this time, when displays of "inappropriate" or overt female emotions were often still deemed "hysteria." In addition, since the voices and presence of women in public spaces was so highly regulated, Delsarte's use of emotion as controlled exercise seems like yet another attempt to maintain control over women's bodies and their accompanying emotions.

In contrast, modern dance's expression of less prescribed emotion seems to present women as more than just a sum of definable performative emotional "weaknesses." The summoning of feeling at will seems to suggest that emotions can be manipulated or acted in order to fall within the purview of familiarity, which, in turn, implies that by molding and improving the body one can successively improve their character. The self no longer created comportment; comportment created the self. In her autobiography, Allan calls "the human body [her] instrument" (62), stating that the "[b]ody and mind should be en rapport" (63). She continues: "A drill sergeant is all very well for soldiers; dumb bells and elastic exercisers for raising lumps and muscles; but a woman who seeks grace of movement is best served when she strives to harmonize motion with inspiration" (63-64).

Thus, with the emergence of the male body as a moldable machine or tool, so too the concept of feminine corporeality as naturally expressive developed. In this way physical culture was an embrace of the material body and an expression of emotion, albeit with formulaic possibilities. Delsarte offered a reification and remedy to the body as machine allegory, melding emotion with physicality. As Daly articulates, "Bodily activity became respected in the highest sense only when it was rooted in the mind or spirit, or the emotions" (*Done Into* 128). However, this prescription through which physical culture instructed bodies (as illustrated in the earlier Stebbin's quote) indicates that it was still dictated by the whim of an instructor and thus still adheres in a fundamental manner to the metaphor of body as a regulated device.

A Dance of Autonomy

What physical culture did not offer by way of emotional freedom, modern dance extends by presenting to the viewer greater autonomy in movement impetus. When modern dance underwent a shift from stage spectacle to pedagogy, it too became a popular pastime for young

women. In a 1910 article entitled “Dancing Schools” in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, it is noted that “The study of dancing—ballroom and esthetic—is spreading most rapidly among all classes of people. At the colleges esthetic dancing is part of the physical training work required of the students.” Remarkably, in contrast to the popular ethos of “natural dancing,” this article goes on to claim that the success of the dancer relies on a combination of “natural ability *and* acquired training” [emphasis added]. Where Delsarte’s physical culture emphasized physical perfection and mimetic agreement, modern dancers seemed intent to portray their craft and process of creation as lawless, spontaneous, and inherently attuned to the unruly rhythms of the natural world.

This became especially apparent as Fuller and Duncan began teaching their movement as technique, and imparting their own approaches to movement practice and development. In an article in *The New York Times* Duncan describes her pedagogy as “Training the body in rhythmic and harmonious movement—not mechanical drills or sports” (“Isadora Duncan’s Childish Assistants”), bringing attention to the spontaneous quality of her teaching as well as her belief that children should learn in an environment that nurtures instinctive play. Critics too picked up on this aspect; in a 1909 article in *Musical America*, J. B. C. relays an interview with Loïe Fuller, who is paraphrased as follows:

The difference between natural dancing and that promulgated by Isadora Duncan is that she teaches the dances of old Greek classic motions. It is something definite—something of form. Natural dancing is the conversation of the senses and the soul. Something in a bar of music suggests something to our mind, and accordingly our bodies shape themselves and move in sympathy with that idea. I will illustrate. Suppose that some musical composition suggests the chasing of a butterfly. We all know how a child pursues the butterfly in the field of garden.

The dance, then, might be like this. I might say, because no two are and no person ever dances the same way twice. Everything depends on the inspiration and direction from within. (“‘La Loie’ Flitting About”)

Similarly, Allan also emphasizes subjectivity in her choreographic process, as she explains in a 1910 interview published in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

When I dance I just take a big breath and close my eyes and listen to the music.

Then everything goes by itself. I never practice. My soul pulsates with the beauty of the music, its beating is transmitted to my body and I break into the dance with an abandon that is spontaneous and always as fresh as a daisy. While I’m dancing I know nothing but the surge of the music. (“Art Warms Barefoot Dancer”)

Despite their focus on spontaneous emotion, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were undoubtedly influenced by Delsarte technique.³⁹ Certainly, early modern dance, with its focus on expression and emphasis on “natural” impetus, can be read as a rejection of the social and physical boundaries imposed on women in much the same way that Delsarte technique has been theorized.⁴⁰

³⁹ This connection is explored in detail, in relation to Duncan, by Ann Daly (1995) and more recently by Carrie J. Preston (2011).

⁴⁰ Stephen Kern describes the testing of the body’s boundaries as a multidisciplinary modern endeavor that gained momentum after 1910. Citing American arts patron Mabel Dodge, Austrian writer Robert Musil, French philosopher Henri Bergson, American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, and others, Kern outlines how the modern individual pushed the boundaries of the body and consciousness (182). “National boundaries themselves had become more porous so that travelers crossed with exceptional ease” (194), he notes, adding that art movements such

Here I wish to make a distinction between the way these dancers conveyed emotion and the way Delsarte practitioners harness it. Delsarte technique relied on pantomime and the idea that through bodily mimesis one could call forth specific emotions. Because physical culture was developed primarily as a tool for actors, the technique involved summoning emotion at will, or the acting-out of emotional intent. Although there is no doubt that marshaling certain emotions can result in genuine emotional sympathy or empathy (from the actor for their character), this process still involves a certain “adding on” of emotion from external impetus.

In contrast, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were, by their accounts, more concerned with tapping existing emotion as the impetus through which to inform their movement. Thus, the emotional trajectories of each system were disparate; by adding emotional impetus, an actor or Delsarte practitioner experiences emotion from the outside in (this model would also apply to narrative ballet), but in modern dance the emotional intent is more focused on expressing the inner impetus via the body.

Although Susan Foster reads Delsarte’s method as a system that facilitated the two-way flow of emotion (originating with either gesture or emotional impetus), in practice Delsarte technique was more prescribed, allowing little room for improvisation or emotional autonomy. It is also worth noting that the emotional expression employed by Delsarte’s participants was easily recognizable emotion, that is, emotion linked to a gesture of the body and face. Modern dancers communicated emotion differently; because they did not always use pantomime or recognizable gesture, according to accounts, their harnessing of emotion resonated with the spectator in a manner that left room for subjective interpretation on their

as Impressionism and Cubism depicted changing spatial relations by blurring boundaries and interrupting space (160).

end and subjective response from the spectator. It was clear from the reviews that the modern dancers were thought of as expressing emotion, but the language used to describe it is often vague; specific emotions are seldom referred to in the reviews. I discuss the difference between recognizable and transcendent emotion in more detail below (see Part Four), but it is worth noting here in relation to the discussion of expression and bodily response.

The emotional spontaneity associated with modern dance⁴¹ was seemingly at odds with theory of performance as repetition, a “twice-behaved behavior,” as performance theorist Richard Schechner articulates (36). Surely, if a dancer must summon a specific emotion during a particular performative moment, there must be mimetic action. One element to consider is how the dancers generated movement. When describing the process of creating their dances, all three dancers highlighted the role of improvisation. It is likely they employed loosely defined movement improvisation involving the spontaneous creation of movement and based on a response to one’s sensory surroundings such as sound or scenery. In the mythology of “natural” dancing, improvisation was a key element and most of these early dances are often thought to be loosely impromptu, meaning that because the movement quality and impetus was derived from internal sensation and emotion, each performance likely contained sections that were flexibly interpreted according to spontaneous impulses. There was likely an elastic vocabulary of movement to choose from during these interludes and, certainly in Loïe Fuller’s choreography, in which her movement was dictated by the relationship between her skirts and gravity, there would have been set beginnings and endings (often decreed by music) that would have loosely structured their performances.

⁴¹ In fact, spontaneity or improvisation was utilized in varying contexts by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan. For details on this point, see Part Four.

This notion of natural spontaneity is a critical motif that appears throughout the modern dance reviews and threads as a motif through the dancer's autobiographies. As the critic J. B. C., of *Musical America* (quoted earlier) writes of Fuller in 1909, she is "let out to pasture on the meadows of feeling and self-expression" ("La Loie Flitting About"). Similarly, Allan writes in her autobiography: "Many who have watched me time after time have asked me why I can never dance the same measure twice in exactly the same manner—I cannot answer, I know only that the music calls, so every muscular fibre that responds to the beating of my heart, responds to that particular voice, and the tone becomes movement" (10). Finally, a 1901 article in the *The Daily Picayune* [New Orleans] quotes Duncan:

The poems I illustrate I make part of my life for the time being. With each passionate outbreak and subtle love scene I am the person to whom such spoken lines are allotted, but I dance them instead. Again, I am the humble person who hides in the background.... We make a distinction between instinctive and voluntary gestures. ("Woman's Way")

Despite these assertions, just how much of the three dancers' movement was actually unstructured is a difficult question to answer. What we know about their process of creation and the differences between one performance and another is limited, due to lack of film footage and detailed description and notation. But certainly the concept of spontaneity was, and still is, integral in the mythology of modern dance.

Thus, the notion of natural movement was also synonymous with the concept of spontaneity, and this distinction was yet another way modern dancers distinguished their performances from ballet—by portraying the feminine body as capable of spontaneous and self-derived agency. There is no disputing that modern dance from this era, and its accompanying reviews, present the female body as radically unfettered, both in form and dress. In this way,

modern dance can be read as a reaction against the idea that women should be bound, by corsets, and by the home as an extension of this corporeal border.

2.4 “Feeling Without Effort”

Even though Fuller, Duncan, and Allan presented the body in ways that offered less formulaic opportunities for expression, stylistically, modern dance’s aesthetic approach was not without corporeal ideology. At the heart of the “natural” spontaneity of modern dance there lies an incongruity that reveals the constructed-ness of the division between nature and technology as it is represented in modern dance spectatorship. While in one sense spontaneity facilitated emotional and physical expression by women, the allocation of these women to the category of “natural” positioned them as interpreters or “translators” rather than attributing them with aptitude or skill. Although their autobiographical (self-generated) movement facilitated autonomy of expression, free from the auspices of a choreographer (who would likely have been male), it seemed that the viewing publics and the artists themselves, were not prepared to effusively embrace this authorship of the self. Furthermore, even though these women were creating and performing radically new movement, some reviews still evaluated their movement on the continuum of technical virtuosity, rather than expressionism. To complicate the matter further, the allusion to the dancers as divinely inspired plays into the notion of them as interpreters of a higher art, further undermining their role as choreographers and isolating their craft from the realm of labour by presenting it as effortless (or spontaneous). Divine inspiration is an idea championed by the artists as well. For example, in a 1910 article for the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Allan recounted her process of generating movement:

Then I would suddenly, after repeated trials, find the exact expression in dance for the mood the music created. Then Marcel Remy would often come and play for me

in my study, improvising on the piano, watching to see how well I expressed the feelings of the music and how promptly I obeyed the impulses which the music aroused. (“Maud a Pupil of Isadora?”)

By “obeying” the impulses of the music, Allan could both assume “natural” spontaneity and avoid authorship of it. Even though this designation was a political nomenclature, designed to set modern dance apart from what modern dancers viewed as the rigid creation economy of ballet, it was an idea that guided the conversation of their art in print reviews.

Nature and the Feminine

A 1910 review of Duncan’s performance in the *Oakland Tribune* comments on the issue of improvisation by asking: “‘What is art’[?]. Art is technique so well mastered that technique is lost sight of and accomplishment seems spontaneous” (“Duncan Dance All that is Artistic”).

The article continues:

And what is her special mission? To reveal to the world the true, natural beauty which is the dower of every woman, to reveal the grace of the natural motions of the normal healthy woman (we see the divine meaning of a woman, woman created according to the divine laws of nature when we see this lovely being expressing inspired and spiritual thoughts).

The alignment of femininity with a pastoral nostalgia, as expressed in the above quote, reinforced this dichotomy. The ideal and transcendent feminine body, achieved through shedding gestural affectation accumulated as detritus from modernity, stands in stark contrast against the ideal male physique, achieved through adding muscular layers via techniques that utilized the body mechanically. Thus the designation of femaleness with “natural” transcendence appears, I suggest, as an antidote to the modern condition, a reaction to the

alienating fragmentation of the modern self that Marshall Berman and Tim Armstrong point to. The concept of naturalness as a cultural construction within modern dance gestures toward how the term “natural,” as it was used by these early dancers and critics, infers an assignment of femininity as influential but unthreatening. As Armstrong asserts, “Women serve as the point of mediation between the natural and artificial, between the being of the body and its shaping” (110). **Figure 2.1** depicts Duncan in just such a relaxed, but dramatic manner. Her diffused gaze gives the impression of blending in with natural surroundings. What Armstrong points to is how the feminine body is in an oxymoronic double bind of achieving perfection, while remaining natural. In addition, like the anonymous and “objective” journalists, the concept masquerades as neutral and unbiased, but it is not without ideological and culturally partisan undertone.

Where masculine physicality was concerned with modifying the body by adding layers of musculature, femininity, as represented in modern dance, became about revealing affectation to discover grace and release spirituality. And this too was mirrored in the emotional trajectory of modern dance, which, as opposed to the addition of character that narrative dance imposed on the dancer, now expressed femininity by expressing the uncovered and “true” spirit of it. The term “nature” was also used to articulate the female body as capable of instilling and portraying a state that was a combination of physical and emotional feeling. Dance writing expresses this concept frequently by using language that equates femininity with naturalness and emotion. But the idea of corporeal naturalness as neutral-ness was also harnessed for sinister applications. Before World War I modern dance presented aesthetic ideas that masqueraded as objective, out of the realm of politics, objective, or “natural,” but in the context of war it was clear that the staging of the female body was not immune from nationalist propaganda. In an article titled “To Rear a ‘New, Healthy, Clean, Race’” written for the *Oakland Tribune* in 1918, journalist Clive Marshall, quoting Duncan, refers to natural dancing as the “dance of the future,” espousing its

role in promoting “new motherhood,” “new womanhood,” and ultimately the “betterment of the race.” That the race in question does not require specification is an indication of the association of whiteness with “naturalness” and other races with “primitivism,” further illustrating the constructed-ness of the concept of the natural in a cultural context. In this segment of the article Marshall’s seemingly innocent statements express how the positioning of these dancers as “natural” meshed with the ideals of racial hierarchy:

... to this era the dance brings a message of bright promise. Where, in times of tranquil peace, it was an abstract potentiality, it is now a definite promise. And with it more than any other plan of regeneration is Woman concerned—she represents its organic entirety.... It is a beautiful note of rehabilitation. It is probably the most exquisitely profound expression of the feminism that is already giving the world a new and glorious aspect.

Given these pronouncements, it is probable that Marshall was taking this cue from Duncan herself who, as Daly has explored, proposed that her natural dancing idea was superior to “Oriental” or “primitive” dance traditions, thus excluding the racialized body (as interpreted by white women) from the realm of the transcendent. In contrast, intertwined with the history of the earliest modern dance, was a fascination with Eastern exoticism, reflected in much of the first modern dance depictions of Salomé, or other depictions of “orientalism.” These threatening portrayals of the “Eastern” femme fatale was, according dance scholars Toni Bentley and Amy Koritz, only digest-able to audiences because it was presented by the less threatening (that is, white) bodies of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan and their imitators. As Koritz has argued in relation to Allan’s portrayal of Salomé, whiteness tamed the threatening potential of the “exotic” femme fatale, and her placement within the frame of the proscenium opera house stage, transforming the Other (as translated by a neutral body) into an object of high art, in spectacular manner that

mimicked the *Buffalo Bill's Wild West* shows. Fuller, who began her performance career in these very enactments, had the least successful version of a Salomé dance of all three artists. But these forays into “orientalist” aesthetics, which were so ubiquitous during the 1890s and into the twentieth-century, foreshadow the 1980s post-colonial performance art emerging in reaction to such presentations of race. Nearly a century later, artists such as Coco Fusco and Guillermo Gómez-Peña re-contextualized these performances.

With the revival of the Olympic games in 1896, a preoccupation with physicality was evident in the era's growing delight in public spectacles displaying physical strength and arousing nationalist tendencies. In a later, but more extreme, example of the racializing effects of the term “natural,” the Nazi regime, in their quest for physical perfection based on Aryan characteristics, reinforced the concept by racially branding the un-white body as unnatural. The propaganda advertising the cult of the body emerging in Adolph Hitler's Germany illustrates this point with astounding brazenness; however, there exists a less obvious, but nonetheless invasive, trace of this racism in modern dance narratives and how they read the bodies of these women.

That the natural body was associated with whiteness in the public imagination has a distinct impact on the performative possibilities for these dancers: with this association came the political message that “high art” was created by and for white audiences. In the same article, Marshall, who at one point refers to Duncan as the “fair American,” includes a quote from the sculptor Auguste Rodin who describes Duncan's dancing as “feeling without effort.” Not only is this idea of effortless movement as residual feature of classical ballet, but it also reifies the notion of the “natural” body as neutral—de-feminized and de-racialized. That is, the bodies of these dancers were mediums for the creative process, neutral bodies that, with the shedding of affectation, could portray “pure” movement. For women, whose ideal body involved a

subtraction of affectation, to show effort or strain was unflattering, even “primitive.” A 1903 *New York Times* writer muses:

Certainly there is need of reform in public dances. At present, as to art, they are on the level of a peasant’s jig and considerably below the redman’s dance in which he expresses at least some meaning, if it be merely to say that he takes on the character of a given spirit, bird, or beast. If these young Americans are able to storm that entrenched camp of Philistinism, the operatic stage, and drive out ballet, they will deserve well of the Republic. (“Art Notes”)

Far from being the tabula rasa that Duncan eschewed, this notion was actually, as Daly points out, a rhetorical strategy that privileged the ancient Greeks over African “primitivism” (*Done Into* 20), thereby setting up a movement hierarchy. The “natural” body, perceived as being nearer to culture rather than nature, allowed these women to escape being categorized as vulgar entertainment.

Designating modern dance “natural” becomes even more implausible later into the twentieth-century, when Fuller and Duncan begin to teach pupils movement, taking modern dance from stage spectacle to embodied cultural practice. No movement pedagogy, I propose, can escape the designation of technique. Dance technique, as a technology of the body, always utilizes mimesis and, consequently, the transmission of dance as a technique, pedagogy, or social practice, relies on mimesis because, in learning a dance, the dancer shapes him or herself in the image of another through space and time by loosely copying their shape, rhythm, and emotional intent. The dancer, when learning or executing movement, navigates bodies at once their imagined and real bodies; one is an imagined ideal, the other a physical reality. They are at once feeling from the inside and seeing themselves from the outside (via mirrors). At its most mimetic, dance pedagogy can be, rather than a recovery of latent naturalness, a system of self-

surveillance—a technique of the body in which corporeality assumes imitation. Certainly, throughout theatrical dance technique, modes of pedagogy have been designed in ways that were culturally contingent on conception of the body. Within modern dance, for example, Duncan’s technique is reliant on the concept that children are born natural, but deformed due to the crushing (but never specified) pressures of modernization, as they mature. Utilizing quotidian motions such as running, skipping, and jumping in its canon, the shape of the body is less important than the intent and genuine expression of emotion. In a manner similar to Delsarte (but with more autonomy), students are often presented with imaginary scenarios to enact. For Duncan, movement is centered on the solar plexus, which she considered to be the meeting point for soul and body, and thus the key to their integration. Later, Martha Graham’s technique, in which the dancer embodies the physicality of Graham, also emphasizes the expression of emotion; but whereas Duncan accentuated freedom of movement, Graham used muscular tension based on a system of contraction and release. In Graham technique dancers learn to use the torso in a system based on breath, originating from the grounded pelvis. Other systems in modern dance, notably the techniques of Merce Cunningham, Lester Horton, and Jose Limón, are all methods based on the preferred physical movement patterns of their founding individuals, which are subsequently embodied by generations of dancers.

What is important to parse from these movement systems is that they all, whether claiming to subtract layers or develop musculature, involve techniques of imitation, or ways of teaching moving that were and are ideologically bound. In addition, as I argue in more detail in Part Three, the role that modern dance technique came to play as a system based on mimesis and repetition even facilitated a use of movement technique that was financially beneficial for these women, even as it contradicted their efforts to set their movement apart from the monetary economies of the ballet and vaudeville performer. The inherent mimesis in dance technique also

calls into question the status of modern dance as a reaction against realism, in which the pervasiveness of photography in the 1880s, made realist painting irrelevant. In contrast, modern dance's status as separate from mimesis, while always originating from spontaneous impulse, becomes even more questionable.

By writing these dancers as revealing true essence, instead of participating in technique, critics participate in the myth of the ideal feminine physicality as flawed via accumulation. In an article for the *Oakland Tribune* in 1916, the American modern dancer Ruth St. Denis discusses how this concept plays out in Duncan's aesthetic. "Isadora Duncan did not give us anything," St. Denis asserts, and continues: "She revealed to us what we already had and this revelation is changing our entire mode of theatrical expression" ("Dance Expression of Nature"). But the supposed natural-ness inherent in the first modern dance is, even if we assume it is a regression into a past physical state, not immune from affinities with technology. Here, Martin Heidegger's definition of technology (*techné*) is useful to further explore dance technique, or a perceived lack of it, in modern dance. In his lecture "The Question Concerning Technology" (1954), Heidegger makes the case that technology points out something significant about human ontological situatedness; that is, our being-in-the-world, or perception and interaction with our surroundings, is continually mediated by technology. He elaborates that technology, or its etymological root, the Greek *techné*, includes technique, the skill, art or craft that leads to a mode of doing or making. For Heidegger, this understanding of technique as a process of making disguises a more essential meaning of this concept that encompasses *alethia*, or mode of revealing that involves a bringing-forth of a disclosed truth.

The implication of this understanding of technique is that it offers not only a metaphoric prosthesis or addition to the body, but a revelation of something already present. This definition of *techné* as the revealing of what is already natural and essential, is exactly the argument that

those espousing natural dancing used to present it in opposition to the technological condition. A dancer or body in a Duncan-esque sense, still encompasses the spirit of *techné* according to Heidegger. This is due to both the association of the feminine with nature and the status of the natural as being what is always *already present*. This idea is presented by Duncan in an interview conducted by San Francisco journalist Redfern Mason. Duncan states:

The music plays upon my consciousness like light upon the dancing surface of the water; I take my aesthetic color from it. When I am dancing, the movements succeed one another so rapidly, so spontaneously, it would seem—though every effect is carefully worked up beforehand, that I hardly know what I am doing and my state of mind is akin to clairvoyance. (qtd. in Daly, *Done Into* 138)

The indication in this passage is that Duncan's talent is not owned by her as a developed craft, but rather a quality already inherent, but revealed via her body. The ideal feminine body was achieved only by removing affectation. As Foster articulates, modern dance was at the intersection of change for women's bodily perception:

Unlike eighteenth century conduct manuals that guided readers between the poles of uncouth disarray and pretentiously exaggerated politesse in order to achieve a naturalness of appearance and carriage, early twentieth century dance pedagogy presumed that a natural grace lay hidden beneath surface distortions. Where naturalness and grace of motion were cultivated in the eighteenth century, now they were discovered. (*Choreographing* 112)

As previously articulated, the male body, in keeping with Sargent's body-building regime, was technologically aligned because of its addition of machine-like musculature achieved through the labour of ongoing training. Considering this dynamic, alongside the masculine practice of bodybuilding and the dance practice as subtracting layers to achieve "naturalness," it seems that

physicality for men was entailed via augmentation, an adding on similar to technological enhancement, while for women, achieving a desirable body meant shedding layers of urbanity. Although these boundaries were slowly being challenged by the gradual elimination of corsetry around the time modern dance originated, there is still a sense of their bodies as meant to retain something elemental and bound to the past, the interior containment that the corset once provided still existed as a metaphorical barrier between women and the world despite the signs that it was slowly eroding.

Nature and the Spectator

For audiences represented and addressed by the review, naturalness is also enacted more as a method of spectatorship in which the viewer was able to see the dancer as less of a referent to a human body, or woman, and more as a plastic abstract form. In this way, the allusions of the feminine to nature shifted from Carolyn Merchant's fleshy geographical associations of female anatomy to one in which it transcended the flesh all together. With this preeminence the authorship of their choreography seems to be even less attributable to the women themselves, assigning their movement instead to an ability to tap into natural rhythm. In the following passage, published in the *Massillon Evening Independent* (Ohio) in 1909, Duncan describes her creative impetus in a manner that evokes divination:

I sat once, on a bright afternoon, on the sands of Nordwijk in Holland. I saw from afar my little niece, who was 'instinctively' dancing on the silver edge of the ocean, because the sun was bright, because the air was warm and cheering, because she felt happy to live. Nothing could have been more beautiful than the little barefooted girl dancing with intense joy, with the ever moving blue sea as the background. I at once saw the relation between the rhythm of the mighty sea

and the fragile dancing of the girl.... [E]verything around her was dancing; the waves at her feet, the clouds above her, and the winds, to; because the rhythm of the dance is everywhere in nature.... [D]ancing is bound to be inspired by the beauty and the rhythm of the universe, and will thus contain the elemental emotions of the soul. ("Pupils of Isadora Duncan")

What this quote articulates is not only that natural dancing could have a restorative effect on the body, but also that nature, at the turn of the century, was not the surface appearance of a phenomena, but the *noumena*: it represented a ubiquitous essence that underlined existence. Integral to Duncan's practice, and similar to Delsarte, was practicing movement surrounded by natural landscape and there are many photographs of her and pupils dancing in these settings.⁴² This is evident in **figure 2.2**, a photograph that shows Duncan's established dancers, Lisa, Anna, and Irma Duncan (all Duncan dancers took on this last name) with clasped hands, appearing to twirl in a carefree manner. In this photograph, the relationship of the young dancers to the landscape (and thus to nature) appears benevolent, graceful, and "natural." Through modern dance, Duncan espoused, one could tap into this essence to uncover truth. Embodying the natural through dance did not mean flapping one's arms like a bird, but rather penetrating the essence or rhythm of flight.

The gulf between objectivity and subjectivity can be theorized within this distinction. If the body was being utilized to portray a character, the summoning of emotional intent through acting would entail mimesis; but expressive dance, in theory, originates with the emotional impetus prior to or during movement, and therefore was thought to portray a more indistinct

⁴² Nature imagery similar to Duncan's account became prominent in literature of the era as well. See, for example, the work of Canadian writer L. M. Montgomery.

bodily expression. In a 1917 essay, Duncan describes at length how she imagines abstract expression in relation to her audience:

Many people take my work too literally. ‘What is she doing now?’ they seem to say, when I raise my arms or lower them, just as if I were doing a play in pantomime. Now that is not the idea at all. The notion that every gesture has some precise meaning is all wrong. It is mood, not photography. Perhaps the music suggests to me the idea of the sea. In that case the undulating of my body will be inspired by the unrest of the billows. But the sea is a symbol of passion or mental perturbation and to narrow my dances down to the one meaning is to miss half its significance. First comes the music and it acts upon me in such a way as to produce a state of mind of which the idyll I dance is a portrayal. The onlooker does not need to know just what it is I have in mind in order to enjoy my art. Let him suffer the dancing to awaken in him the vision to which his psychic constitution makes him prone. It may not agree with the ideal formed by his neighbor. But for him it will be true and, though the various interpretations of what I do may differ, I think they will be found, on analysis, to have some factor which makes them part of a common revelation. But the idea that a particular [idea] should inevitably suggest this or that gesture or movement of the body is an error. (qtd. in Daly *Done Into* 137-8)

Invoking the idea that “feeling” trumps active interpretation for her spectator, Duncan makes the point that abstract movement does not need to be understood in a lingual framework (or by referencing similar imagery) to be enjoyed. In addition, because there is no character through which to assign narrative meaning, the spectator’s “task” is also indistinct, but seems to, at least for the critic, incite strong emotions. Although the practical accessibility of theatre

performances is debatable, certainly Fuller, Duncan, and Allan thought of their movement forms not as alienatingly avant-garde, but, similar to newspaper audiences, as forms that were accessible to many demographics of viewers. Quoted in a 1914 article for the *Daily News* (Perth), Allan describes performing for a group of “rough looking” foundry workers, one of whom remarked, ““Boys, she ain’t a girl, she’s an angel”” (Untitled). In this way, the viewer’s experience, like the “effortless-ness” of the dancer’s movement, can also be theorized on a continuum of effort and release, not simply in terms of physicality, but also in relation to emotion and kinesthesia. To understand modern dance was considered, in the popular ethos of the era, a wasted effort, but to experience it involved a letting go of lingual meaning-making toward experience. Thus, the shedding of effort that modern dancers instituted, evoked a similar response in its spectatorship—a relinquishing of hermeneutics.

Herein lies the contradiction of how these dancers present their “naturalness”; they distinguish themselves from the strenuous physical practices of training that classical ballet demands, claiming that their movement involves, instead of the added affection, gesture, and musculature of ballet, a shedding of the fetters of this physical technique. However, they still clung to the illusion, very much a relic of classical ballet,⁴³ that their movement existed outside the realm of effort. This illusion was contradicted by both press reports and personal writings of these three dancers who all at times experienced exhaustion due to their performance schedules.

The downplaying of effort in their art has significance in the way it fashioned their bodies as mediums of expression, rather than agents of it. However, it is possible that this was a strategic career maneuver on the part of the dancers. As previously mentioned, their invocation

⁴³ Garelick elaborates on this idea by refuting again the idea of Fuller as antidote to ballet and exploring her aesthetic ties to the lightness of Romanticism (130-34).

of “natural” artistry was a way of removing their art from the economy of work, propelling it into “high art,” and consequently distancing themselves from the connotations of sex work associated with ballet and vaudeville. This did not go unnoticed by the critics, who, more often than finding offense in the un-corseted bodies, instead often commented on the chasteness of the dancers. The more divorced from the realm of desire they were, it seemed the more potential there was for kinesthetic empathy within critical responses to it.

One critic writing for the *Oakland Tribune* in 1908 writes: “Miss Duncan, therefore, does not rely upon physical charms to add to her success, as do some of the so-called dancers who are at present doing various sorts of stunts on both sides of the water (“Imitates the Grecian Maidens”). Another, writing of Duncan for the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in 1909, remarks that she “has been careful to avoid in her dancing any hint of suggestiveness. She endeavors to portray by her art, hope, joy, grief, satisfaction, and a thousand other emotions and refinements of emotion which are really nameless” (“Has the World Gone Mad”). Finally, in 1910, *The Boston Daily Globe* claimed that Allan “is not sensuous in suggestion, except in that symmetry of appeal which conveys true beauty to the senses and delights them” (“In Classic Dances”).

Ann Daly has contextualized this idea of the natural body of Duncan as “[f]unctioning as the foundational trope for her artistic practice, the grace and clarity of the “Natural” body thus served to purify and elevate the sullied image of the dancer in turn-of-the-century America” (*Done Into 90*). But this transcendent designation also served to, according to reviews, facilitate the communication of emotion that is dependent on the transcendent status of their bodies as materially liminal. For example, in his article, Clive Marshall (quoted earlier) relays a statement from the sculptor Gutzon Borgium, who asserts: “Isadora Duncan is not a dancer in the vulgar acceptance of the term, but a supreme artist, who has taken physical movement of rhythm and used them as a medium to develop the complete psychology of emotion” (“To Rear a ‘New,

Clean, Healthy Race’’). This quote not only illustrates the de-sexualization of the body in terms of its transcendent potential, but also points to this transcendent body as facilitating emotive response.

The aforementioned Rodin quote, which describes Duncan’s movement as “feeling without effort,” continues to state that Duncan “has drawn from nature that which one calls not talent, but genius.” Certainly the ideas of the dancer as a passive vessel has a more nuanced meaning within the realm of “high art” that hints at a denial of authorship.⁴⁴ This idea that the success of their performance, what Martin refers to as “excellence by accident” (*Dance in Theory* 57), was attributable not to themselves, and apart from the realm of labour is also reinforced by the dancer’s autobiographical accounts of their creative process. Thus, by downplaying the work involved in creation, these dancers, and the critics who wrote about them, were able to invoke naturalness by marketing themselves as mediums of expression, rather than as artists who were making a living from performing or writing, thereby removing themselves from the realm of labour (Daly 115; Garelick 128). It was also a statement about the unnaturalness of the female body in relation to commodity, an idea that intersects with current discourse in performance studies, which tends to position the live interaction of two bodies outside the realm of commodity fetishism and economy that visual art relies upon.

The depiction of the modern dancer as medium, established during this era, set up a mode of viewing the body that still persists today for contemporary dance training, in which the focus is on molding a body to be a neutral “blank slate” (and therefore capable of taking on the aesthetic of any choreographer’s aesthetic). In this way, modern dance can also be historically

⁴⁴ This concept is drawn from the ancient Roman concept that genius is a divine alter-ego or spiritual double, originating at once from the self, and existing outside of it.

situated as a reaction against the notion that ballet presented the body as a machine. Dance scholar Alexandra Kolb outlines how, in the late 1800s the German playwright Frank Wedekind argued that the realism in ballet limited the artform to a mere technical demonstration of bravura at the expense of transcendental dimensions (42). In a 1910 *Chicago Tribune* article, Allan claimed: “I never practice.... While I am dancing I know nothing but the surge of music” (“Art Warm”).

The significance of recurring themes such as nature, divinity, genius, and spontaneity are interconnected in the body of reviews examined herein, and become increasingly relevant when studying how these concepts relay an embodied experience. It is telling that these two ideas—naturalism and transcendence—are contained within these reviews, for it allowed modern dance to avoid the classification of a technical practice. Not only does this perspective assume that technique is unnatural, an additive to a natural state, but it also insists that technique posits the body as an instrument of the self and is, therefore, distanced from the essence or truth of corporeality.

Ultimately, the newspaper curates the critic as a medium whose culturally neutral body reinforces the “object-ness” of the review. This is how reviews become designated as, not performances, but archives. But the “objective” journalist’s stance, although it encourages these dialectics, begins to erode as critics are forced to talk about subjective response to the newness of modern dance.

The idea that dance can be expressed via language, or that is itself a language of sorts, begins to be challenged as this aesthetic shift takes shape. In the meantime, reviews, in which language is inherent in their medium, continue to concretize, make coherent, and categorize the indescribable. It was this early work in newspaper reviewing that would later pave the way for

critics such as John Martin to develop his theory of “metakinesis,” relegating the stoic man-of-letters to a past in which art critique was less bodily reflexive.

Part Three

At a Loss for Words: Authenticity, Imitation, Metacriticism

In October 1892, Loïe Fuller arrived in Paris, beginning a run of performances that would launch her as a celebrity. Her name preceded her: her first visit to the Folies Bergère revealed a bill that included Serpentine dancer “La Loie.” She reflects, “imagine my astonishment when, in getting out of the carriage in front of the Folies, I found myself face-to-face with a ‘serpentine dancer’ reproduced in violent tones on some huge placards. This dancer was not Loie Fuller” (*Fifteen Years* 53). The feeling of uncanniness Fuller expressed would follow her, and the other famous solo dancers, throughout their careers as they worked to promote and protect their images, both onstage and off.

Fuller’s uneasiness with her imitators became apparent earlier when, prior to her 1892 Paris departure, she filed a suit for copyright infringement against the management of the *Casino Theatre* in New York. Fuller, who was in the middle of a run of solo performances at the theatre, left because of a contract dispute with the theatre manager. In an effort to maintain ticket sales, the *Casino* hired another actress to fill the role, but continued to use Fuller’s name and image to advertise the play.⁴⁵ To make matters worse, according to Fuller, the new “Loïe” (a chorus girl named Minnie Bemis) in her rendition of the role, appropriated her skirt

⁴⁵ Fuller’s run at *Casino Theatre* involved a rendition of her dance in the play *Quack M.D* (Current and Current 32). Rudolph Aronson, the theatrical manager, ran it between the acts of a musical comedy called *Uncle Celestin*. Fired from that production after demanding a raise, Fuller found work performing the *Serpentine Dance* as an entr’acte number in the musical *A Trip to Chinatown* (Sommer 91–92).

techniques. Of course Fuller would, during the course of her career, have many imitators, such as the one seen in **Figure 3.1**. Selected from a myriad of like photographs, this image (circa 1890-1909), taken by well-known New York City commercial photographer Theodore C. Marceau (1868-1922), is remarkable in capturing the silks in motion. The hand-painting on this black and white photograph depicts the stage-lighting effects in a manner similar to blended watercolour shading. The mass amounts of photographs and film footage of Serpentine dances is a testament to not only the popularity of Fuller and her aesthetic, but also the Serpentine dance's impact in popular culture and early moving image culture.

Despite this proliferation of her Serpentine dance, Fuller attempted to claim authorship of it, and the judge ultimately ruled against her attempts at copyright,⁴⁶ arguing that “A stage dance illustrating the poetry of motion by a series of graceful movements combined with an attractive arrangement of drapery, lights and shadow but telling no story, portraying no character and depicting no emotion, is not a ‘dramatic composition’ within the meaning of the copyright act” (qtd. in Garelick 30). The court transcript further reveals the judge's ruling regarding the necessity of narrative storytelling structure for the identification within legal limits:

It is essential to such a composition that it should tell some story. The plot may be simple. It may be but the narrative or representation of a single transaction; but it must repeat or mimic some action, speech, emotion, passion, or character, real or imaginary. And when it does, it is the ideas thus expressed which become the

⁴⁶ Fuller was eventually able to secure many patents related to stage technologies, including her lighting design, colour gel chemical compounds, use of chemical salts, costuming, and stage props.

subject of copyright. An examination of the description of the complainant's dance... shows that the end sought... was solely the devising of a series of graceful movements, combined with an attractive arrangement of drapery, lights, and shadows.... The merely mechanical movements by which effects are reproduced on stage are not subjects of copyright where they convey no ideas whose arrangement makes up a dramatic composition. (qtd. in Garelick 30)

The judge's remarks draw attention to how language is used to stabilize memory in future contexts. This stabilization of both longevity and meaning gestures to how the dance review, even when read as performative, can never quite escape its status as documentary reference and, consequently, is a document that challenges the notion of performance media as belonging to one or the other of these categories. Part Three outlines how metacriticism within reviews are moments in which the critics recognize the limitations of their documentation of the memory of dance performance and, in doing so, begin to perform criticism. Metacriticism reflects the critic's concern with authentically "translating" experience, as well as their realization that accurate translation is impossible.

The Fuller trial also provides a compelling case study through which to explore how themes of authenticity are inherent in modern dance from its origins. First, it reflects the modern concern with image proliferation; however, since dance is a moving visual medium, and Fuller, Duncan, and Allan's first performances all preceded widely accessible film as a documentation technique, the accompanying anxiety surrounding the body in the commodified circulation of these images was concerned mainly with the living bodies of women who were modern dance "imitators." Second, even though modern dance was deemed by critics as challenging to describe, the trial illustrates how attitudes surrounding the legitimacy and ownership of ephemeral emotion and movement were bound to the legalities of and stabilization of

movement through language. The quotation also reinforces performance studies theorist Diana Taylor's distinction between the archival (things that carry legal weight such as documents, buildings) and ephemeral (repertoire, spoken language, dance, ritual) as constructed categories, for, as she suggests, even though archives are supposedly less vulnerable to disappearance (19), and performance impermanent, upon reflection these categories are not as distinct.

Part Three also reflects how authenticity is implicated in the emotional resonances of “natural” dance. With the supposedly unmediated expression of modern dance came the concept that these dancers offered a “pure” or “real” essence of the performer. Intriguingly, the judge who denied Fuller's copyright case lists emotion as a feature inherent in narrativity, while denouncing Fuller's movement as non-emotive. This pronouncement stands out in stark contrast against reviews of the first modern dancers (as well as their own accounts of their choreography), which emphasize the emotional expressiveness these dancers portray and incite. But, as I argue in the next section of this part, the judge's version of emotions—as “things” one can both identify and “have”—does not recognize Fuller's movement as emotive. The reason for this is because modern dance portrays emotion in a more unrecognizable form which tended toward utilizing movement textures to portray “feeling” states, rather than relying on the narrative connotations of gesture and facial expression as recognizable emotive communication. There was the sense in many reviews that these authentic feeling states were supposedly only accessible through viewing the original dancers and that this form of dance offered new potential for experiences that tapped into something “real.” For example, ever the disparager, “The Lancer,” weighs in on Allan's inimitability by remarking: “No one can imitate her; no one can ever dance again as this girl dances. When Allan stops dancing, the chapter is closed. I know this because I saw one of the dancers who have sought to steal her ideas. The imitator reminded me of a frisky bovine” (“A Cynic”).

3.1 The Performative Pause

As audience members, critics both expressed a concern with seeing “the real thing,” and began to articulating an increasing concern for accurately communicating performances “as they really were.” When the critic was unable to express the performance to their satisfaction, some critics addressed their inability directly by claiming, often dramatically, that accurate description was impossible. Often these moments have either a tone of futility or fascination. In 1895, a *New York Sun* reviewer bluntly commented on Fuller’s *Fire Dance* by writing: “It is impossible to describe the effect which is produced as she circles from one stream of light to another” (“Loie’s Fire-Like Dance”). This writer then abandons the task of description all together. Another reviewer in 1910 for the *Los Angeles Times* proclaims of Maud Allan, “Such dancing might be called statuesque. And in perfect statues, as in perfect dancing, one is blinded by physical details. Just how Miss Allan does it, or just what she does, is a little beyond accurate description” (“Woman’s Art a Revelation”). In a rare Canadian review, the *Montreal Star* reporter Morgan S. Powell wrote of one 1916 performance as follows: “The art of Maud Allan is something that cannot be easily expressed in terms of art. It eludes definition because it is largely evanescent” (“Maud Allan as the Interpreter”).

After claiming description futile, the second phase of metacriticism entails a deliberation questioning the validity of critical inquiry in the absence of adequate communicative tools. The following response from an unsigned review of Fuller’s work in *Black and White* magazine in 1900 illustrates a typical example of this negotiation. “Loie Fuller is unique,” the reviewer asserts and continues: “She waves her magic wand and criticism falls prostrate before her. I had intended to be eclectic and to approach the dancer in an attitude of unbending criticism. But how is it possible to be eclectic when there is only one element presented?” (“Loie”). The exertion required in expressing this linguistically intangible feeling to readers is palpable. It is

in this very metacriticism that the astute reader becomes aware of the desire, on the part of the critic, for legitimacy and authenticity of description. Ultimately, metacriticism results when words reveal their shortcomings in adequately translating dance. By proclaiming the task of description inadequate, metacritical moments uphold the problematic notion adhered to within this era that sensory appreciation of art is separate from aesthetic interpretation.

The performative aspects of the above quotations are immediately apparent in the critic's dramatic proclamation that criticism "falls prostrate" in the face of the unfamiliar or non-narrative. But metacritical statements such as this one also embody performance in a less apparent way that requires a performance studies analysis. In Philip Auslander's essay "The Performativity of Performance Documentation" (2006), he outlines how the relationship between media (photography in particular) and performance had traditionally been theorized as either documentary or performative. Documentary media either reconstructs the live performance or acts as proof of its occurrence. In contrast, theatrical or performative documents are created not to perform for a live audience, but rather to perform for the subsequent reader or viewer, who is absent from the process of creation. Theatrical or performative documents are staged or written exclusively for the creation of that document, thereby displacing the location of the audience. Both categories are based in notions of audience consumption. Amelia Jones also takes up the notion of the documentary photograph, stating that "The body art event needs the photograph to confirm its having happened; the photograph needs the body art event as an ontological 'anchor' of its indexicality" ("Presence' in Absentia" 16).

But, as Auslander contends, these boundaries of documentary and performative are actually more porous than they appear. He presents his thesis using examples of performative photography and music, outlining how the urge to categorize performance media as documentary or performative is bound up in notions of determining authenticity. In relation to

Yves Klein's infamous photograph *Leap into the Void* (1960),⁴⁷ in which Klein appears to be jumping out of a window to the ground below, Auslander asks: "is our appreciation of Klein's image of himself leaping into the void sullied by the fact that he erased the safety net from the photograph?" (8). By asking such questions, Auslander calls into question the ontological assumptions of traditional performance, stating that the relationship between performative documentation and its audience is "phenomenological rather than ontological" (9).

In bringing these contemporary theorizations of performance media to historical accounts of performance, I explore how metacriticism materializes as a transition stage in which critics, struggling to authentically "say" experience, instead brought attention to the materiality of language itself. The expression metacriticism is inspired from English scholar Alvin H. Rosenfeld, who, elaborating on Heidegger's theory of poetics, identifies a trend in modern poetry he calls "metalanguage," in which, in Heidegger's words, "a poet might even come to the point where he is compelled—in his own way, that is, poetically—to put into language the experience he undergoes with language" (*On the Way* 59). This notion of drawing attention to the medium of expression is one that became increasingly important in modernist art practices, and modern dance too can be seen, by its minimalist presentation of the body, to hint at this dynamic. Thus, criticism and metacriticism mimic the self-reflexivity of modern dance, as it engages with issues of expression and medium. Art historian Michael Schreyach identifies this concern in relation to visual art criticism, stating:

⁴⁷ Other examples of performative photography include Man Ray's photographs and film stills of dada artist Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven (1920), Man Ray's photographs of Marcel Duchamp's alter-ego Rrose Sélavy (1920-21), and contemporary artist Cindy Sherman's self portraits (1970s to present).

The medium of representation reveals more about the materiality of the medium than it does about the object it represents. The materiality of the writing causes interference; but, at the same time, it is this interference which provides the conditions for the inventiveness of the writer. (Schreyach 6-7)

By problematizing the documentary functions of the writing as mediating the aesthetic, Schreyach points to the impossibility of realistic “translation” that traditional, objective journalism requires.

Performance criticism, I suggest, offers opportunities to traverse the distinctions of document and performance for, as a genre, it is inherently both things. One way of thinking about how and why it does so is again returning to the idea of imagining the critic participating in two audiences, connecting them temporally, and, in doing so, documenting the experience of one, while performatively addressing another. In this way, criticism is both autonomous from *and* dependent on the original event that it describes. Criticism, I suggest, can assume the position of pure document, and certainly the “objective” critic insists on this.

Where metacriticism brings attention to the medium through acknowledging the limitations of language, other critics brought attention to the genre as a medium of performance. Critics such as Henry Carr (“The Lancer”) and Archie Bell, both quoted earlier, don satiric personae to stage a mode of communicative display that frames their reviews as recognizably performative. They use satire, discernable for the reader by their signature style, to not only portray an opinion about the review, but also to bring attention to the genre or “medium of display” itself. “The Lancer,” when he sarcastically proclaims that he mimicked other “high brow critics” by leaning forward in his seat with his “lips half opened and a look of rapture divine on [his] face,” as discussed earlier, is not only making fun of the spectatorship conventions, but also how critics were beginning to write “feeling” into the

review. By purposefully framing their reviews as performative, they are saying “Look at me. I’m performing,” acting as an intentional cue for their reader that they are writing performance.

But for many anonymous critics, writing from a position of disinterest, performativity is enacted more subtly, even unintentionally, as an enactment of their supposed objectivity. They perform the objective persona of being the man-of-letters and metacriticism is the result of their failure to uphold this non-performativity that occurs when simple description fails. Peggy Phelan states that critical feminist writing is performative because it “reveals itself at the site of failure” (“Reciting” 20). Metacriticism offers a similar ostensible performance of failure and, by doing so, provides necessary reflexivity by which dance criticism re-invented itself. Metacriticism, although it says little about the performances it gives up on describing, is an important phenomenon that I identify as the first stage in a changing landscape of dance writing. Within it, lies a trepidation on the part of critics in which their reluctance to dissect this dance might rob it of its mystery.⁴⁸ These pauses are, ultimately, and admittedly, unsuccessful in describing movement, but represent a necessary reflexive phase for modern dance criticism as it was developing as a genre. In this way, the consolidation of authenticity

⁴⁸ The distinction between sensory experience and active interpretation in aesthetics was again important in 1960s art discourse, and is epitomized in Susan Sontag’s pivotal essay “Against Interpretation” (1966). In this essay, Sontag argues for a new approach to aesthetic experience in which the spiritual importance of art is more important than the intellectual interpretation of it. Appreciating great works of art for their transcendent potential, she contends, is more integral than the intellectual distinctions of form and content, writing: “in place of hermeneutics we need an erotics of art” (13).

and legitimacy as intertwined processes is enacted. In response to the reversed trajectory of emotion that modern dance presented (from inner impetus to outer expression), critics too began to change their style of writing to reflect not only their inner physical responses to performances, but also the emotional affects it produced. It is, therefore, not surprising that these reviews stand out in stark contrast to ballet reviews, as the objective distance was being breached in subtle ways. With critics determined to maintain “objectivity,” issues of authenticity also arose. In the rhetoric of disinterested journalism, authenticity requires a relaying of fact and denial of personal reaction or emotion; however, the accuracy of relaying modern dance performance did not subscribe to this model, for there was little fact, narrative, or recognizable emotion to relay. The “poetry of motion” the judge identified illustrates the same tension between abstract expression and narrative storytelling that Fuller’s reviews negotiate.⁴⁹ In saying that a composition must “mimic some action, speech, emotion or passion, or character” the judge was suggesting that in order to claim ownership of movement it must be describable in lingual terms. Because Fuller’s movement was deemed untranslatable to the rhetoric of language, it was, therefore, ineligible for copyright protection. Here the judge demonstrates how, within a legal framework, the longevity and memory of dance exists via printed word. The emotions or movement into words made them seem “real” or legitimate. Nonetheless, as previously elaborated, language provides an imprecise memory of movement that preserves only specific qualities or impressions of the live. I make an argument for how dance’s longevity and preservation is accurately kept

⁴⁹ This ruling was in effect until 1976, impacting choreographers seeking to obtain legal rights over non-narrative dances (Kraut 3). For further reading on movement copyright, see Anthea Kraut (“White Womanhood” 2011).

“alive” via pedagogy—from one living body to another. The irony behind this desire to control their images is that corporeal imitation is unavoidable within dance transmission and pedagogy.

According to the Judge E. Henry Lacombe’s ruling, if one cannot describe a dance in a manner that distinguishes it from other dances it exists separate from the jurisdiction of mimesis.⁵⁰ The judge’s ruling, together with reviews of Fuller’s work, illustrates her radical break with ballet and vaudeville. But the larger implications of this copyright case, and the crux of this dissertation, lies in the notion that although language structures much of human thought, non-narrative, and non-representational aesthetic experiences are not easily expressed via language. That narrative is key in the copyrighting of movement indicates a communicative leap in the translation of abstract dance into language. Judge Lacombe’s insistence that movement alone cannot tell a coherent story (that is, one that can be told again through language), indicates a problematic connection between narrative structure (the saying of experience through story-telling) with the documentation of narrative-defying performative events in social memory, for in remembering these events through words, we solidify them in particular ways.

Ultimately, this deliberation concerns how experience, emotion, feeling, or movement can and cannot be claimed or “owned” and how language defines these parameters. If one cannot “say” or “write” experience, as concluded by the Judge in Fuller’s court case, the experience is un-ownable under the purview of copyright law, thereby opening up the dancer’s movement to reenactment, and foreshadowing the role of commodity and celebrity in the

⁵⁰ Although music is also an ephemeral form it can retain its memory via notation. This is particularly true of Western musical forms. Although there are systems of dance notation (e.g., Benesh or Labanotation), they are not widely used or taught.

careers of these women. Thus, in the next section I first examine how the desire for authenticity can be read as both conducive to and a reaction against the mimesis inherent in commodity fetishism. Some women, eager to physically embody the authentic, real, or “natural” feelings of these dancers, became their sartorial imitators, thus participating in the reification of the dancer’s images, and “owning” their own version of an intangible performative feeling. Next, I explore in further detail how non-narrativity utilizes emotional impact in unfamiliar ways, often eliciting potent affect in the critical spectator. But, conversely, the reviews also depicted authentic experience as intimately connected to the live body of the performer in a Phelan-esque manner that denies mediation as legitimate. Ultimately, in relation to Phelan’s paradigm of liveness, authenticity, and presence, reviews indicate that the challenges of translating experience into narrative documentation for readers is a process of interpretation in which they were forced to develop new seeing and writing strategies. And, if this challenge of accurate portrayal of emotion was deemed unattainable, the last resort was metacriticism.

3.2 Imitation, Authorship, and Pedagogy

“A small creation is greater than the greatest copy” Loïe Fuller wrote in an unpublished essay, reflecting on ballet repertoire (qtd. in Garelick 124). Her statement, which reads as a response to her 1892 copyright case, addresses a key point of unease inherent in dance and performance studies—that of locating the original source of movement. At the root of this concern is the complex issue of ownership. At what point can one claim authorship of movement? Can one ever claim movement, when it supposedly disappears as soon as the performance is over? And, can one ever own feeling? In relation to dance studies such questions are complicated because corporeal mimesis is inherent in both learning and watching movement. As discussed in Part Two, the process of learning to dance is, traditionally, a system

based on reproduction in which students either imitate the shapes and intentions of movement by looking at another body in which the learner must shape their body in the image of the demonstrator. The role of mimesis in developing new movement is perhaps one of the best arguments for kinesthetic empathy, as the corporeal memory of learning a gesture or action is subconsciously brought forth through the repetition of these motions to the point where movement and gesture become second-nature. Thus, early modern dance, which was rarely captured in film, and was without a widely-used notation system, was an artistic form susceptible to reenactment. Earlier (see Part Two) I discussed how, in modern dance, movement was considered “natural” (unmediated by choreographers) and, therefore, was presumed to present liveness in a manner that assumed an unmediated experience for the viewer. In the following section I propose to revisit this concept as one of authenticity, in which “autobiographical” dance was thought of as offering the viewer a more authentic experience of liveness previously un-experienced. These notions of liveness and authorship reveal a tension between modern dance audience’s instance of access to the original bodies of the dancers and its pedagogical aims and methods.

Citationality

Authenticity in modern dance became located in the original bodies it derived from and, accordingly, the imitators of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were never given much consideration, nor press coverage, from serious critics. However, with the proliferation of their imitators, it is not surprising that issues of ownership and copyright appear at this time. Complicating the matter of the authenticity even further, modern dance coincides with technologies that made image reproduction ubiquitous. Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were replicated in miniature through photographs and other ephemera. Accordingly, locating the authentic source was only a concern

in the context of liveness. The proliferation of images was, in fact, encouraged by the dancers and was certainly integral to their promotion and success. Intriguingly, the logic of Fuller's attempt to keep her performative image uncontaminated by mimesis (a concern later shared by both Duncan and Allan) was in keeping with the interpretation of modern dance as autobiographical presentation of emotional expression. It was also during this era when newspapers advertised clothing for women inspired from Fuller, Duncan, and Allan's costumes, through which women with enough means could embody these dancers in a way that, I argue, positions fashion between ephemeral performance and material commodity. This example also illustrates the evolution of modern dance from avant-garde performance to pop-culture expression.

The drive toward authenticity is also tied to judgment, a function of critique; in determining legitimacy, a decision must be made to attribute value to an object. In relation to this object, the definition of authenticity – conventionally defined as inner principles reflected through outer action – is conducive with the tenets of early to mid-century modern dance as expressive of authentic, or autobiographical emotion. In this way, reviews illustrate how judgment is a necessary component of determining emotional authenticity. In addition, themes of authenticity abound in the critical reflection of these choreographies via the evaluative function they perform, for in ascertaining the “authenticity” of a dancer's identity or movement, a moral judgment is also performed by the critic. If, for example, a viewer were watching an imitator, the experience might spark a comparison to the “original” body to perform the movement, leading to critique of the imitator's lack of or advantage over their muse; whereas viewing the “real thing” seems to afford the critic the room to discuss the form of movement, rather than distractedly ruminate on the legitimacy of the performer in question by comparing her to the “original” solo interpreter.

In fact, the notion that solo movement is original is debatable. In her essay “Solo Solo Solo” (2005), performance studies scholar Rebecca Schneider explores the idea that solo performance denotes authenticity; however, the desire for originality, she states, is colluded with twentieth-century American modernism, which valorizes the genius of the individual (27). “We have become accustomed to posit the rise of (solo) performance art as a direct result of late capitalism and the object’s famous loss of aura” she insists, and continues:

When the aura of the discrete art object dissipated under the habits and pressures of indiscriminate reproduction, the aura was displaced onto the artist himself – a figure supposedly not given to duplication.... Thus, such a theory spins, in reaction to the commodification of art and the loss of the auratic object, emphasis shifted to the (singular) artist making that object. (Schneider 33)

In other words, the performer was not only a solo performer, but his or her performance was *perceived* as a projection of the self by way of its originary impetus. Schneider insists that the notion of solo performance should be revised; while solo performers work alone, they bring with them the “echo-palette” of other performers, becoming “a map of citations and subjectivity” (36). This conception of performance is particularly relevant in relation to the notion of spontaneity of modern dance, but less relevant in relation to “acted” performance, in which the performer purposefully takes on the persona of another. The notion of spontaneous self performance is, I suggest, in direct conflict with Richard Schechner’s theory of performance as “twice-behaved behavior,” or re-enactment (a theatre history approach). That modern dance initiated a theorization of itself as unmediated expression of the performer’s self, when in fact there are many other factors involved, indicates that there are slippages between these categories. However, acknowledging that ways of perceiving performance arise in

response to specific performative traditions is integral to understanding the dance review during this era of transition.

This preoccupation with mimetic control, authenticity, and the proliferation of images in many ways parallels some of the classic debates emerging in the 1990s with the performance studies discourse, which grappled with the ephemerality of performance and the political possibilities its disappearance and present-ness beget. Phelan, as previously discussed, argues for a present-ness in performance that offers possibilities for marginalized expression that defies the commodity of the image. Because the performance act is always disappearing, and never appears the same way twice, it escapes the reproductive representational economy that exploit marginalized but highly visible populations. Phelan's often quoted assertion, which runs counter to the dialogue that visual prominence commands influence, reads: "If representational visibility equals power, then almost-naked young white women should be running Western culture" (*Unmarked* 10). The power of performance, according to Phelan, is that there is potential for it to exist outside of the realm of commodification of the body and thereby presenting supposedly unmediated authenticity. Interestingly, Phelan's claim is impeccably demonstrated when considering the dichotomy between Fuller's drawn commercial images in conjunction with photographic images and even descriptions of her dancing. Fuller's appearance offstage, without costume and stage effects, was often surprising to critics, whose disbelief was no doubt due to how she was represented in her promotional posters, in which, without exception, she appears as nymph-like, nubile and naked underneath semi-transparent silk costuming, such as the poster in **figure 3.2**. Illustrated by French painter Jules Chéret, known for his Belle Époque poster art, this drawing is a typical promotional poster in that it depicts both the movement in Fuller's hair and silks, but also reveals the shape of her body underneath (which one could not, actually see beneath her costuming). What these posters highlight, however, is the concept that

transcendence was tied with feminine beauty. Interestingly, Fuller, a lesbian who lived openly with her partner, in many ways counteracted many of the typically feminine traits in both her stage persona and her personal life, but her advertising represented her celebrity otherwise. Similarly, the ideology of spontaneity in natural dancing adheres to Phelan's notions regarding the transformative potential of liveness.

Spectatorship too involves "imaginative" mimesis via kinesthetic empathy. This internal enactment is also legible in reviews (which, incidentally, are caught up in their own process of mechanical reproduction). In these documents we can read how stylistic choices implicate the kinesthetic empathy of the critic. The empathy exhibited in reviews portrays a more subtle kinesthesia, an "inner mimicry," as John Martin terms it. Because mimesis is so integral in the way dance is learned, viewed, and written and seen, I argue that all danced movement, is negotiating representation in a manner that makes locating the "original" problematic.

Despite the problematic issues at stake in laying claim to original movement, there is a crucial distinction to be made between movement that utilizes narrative storytelling and that which does not. The issue at stake is one of representation and authorship. Because the movement of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan, unlike ballet, opera, or vaudeville, was considered autobiographically generated, even though its authorship was complicated by their reliance on familiar motif (which "covered" imagery such as romantic pastoralism, Greek motif, and biblical narrative), it was considered a performance of the self in the present moment, instead of acted characterization. In fact, it was the first western theatrical dance to feature soloists presenting movement that was both choreographed by the dancer and had elements of spontaneity throughout. This approach to movement expression was acknowledged as a reaction against the spectacle of ballet. Duncan, in particular, was even uncomfortable with the term choreography, as she associated it with ballet's "contrived framework for technical display"

(Loewenthal 14) that, by nature of its deliberate intention, supposedly endangered the creativity and emotional expression of a dancer.

John Martin also picks up on the difference between ballet and modern dance, by describing ballet as an “invented code of laws, quite unrelated to natural impulse and subjective experience” (*Dance in Theory* 34). Although the dancers elaborated on the amount of spontaneously generated movement in their choreography (possibly to make their movement appear more “natural”), their accounts of movement creation indicate that, for the most part, they utilized a loosely improvised framework. Of the three dancers, Fuller’s performances, by the necessity of her costuming and effects, required at least some degree of continuity; however, her accounts of her choreographic process reveal the role of improvisation in her movements. Similarly, in relation to Duncan, her biographer Lillian Loewenthal writes, “Fans who returned to the theatre to see a favorite work knew well that she would not appear as before in the same dance” (15). As for Allan, it is unclear how much of her performances were improvised; however, her use of spontaneously generated movement in the choreographic process, influenced by close listening to music, was highlighted by critics as what made her work spontaneous. Allan herself confirmed this interpretation in a 1908 interview with *The Atlanta Constitution*. As she explained: “Well, in the rough all dances are thought out before I go on the stage, but for the details I trust to the inspiration of the moment” (“Most Daring of Dancer”).

For critics, it seemed that indescribability was often a side-effect of this very spontaneity. For example, one critic for *The Boston Daily Globe* in 1910 exclaims that Allan’s movement is “too elusive, spontaneous and complex in its very simplicity to be caught in words.” He adds that it is “repeatedly flashed out to the eye [at] the beginning of a musical period or phrase (“In Classic Dances”). In relation to writing performance, Schneider’s claims that performance is never unmediated representation, is represented with the critic’s bodily

framing of the event. In her essay “Reciting the Citation of Others” (1993), Peggy Phelan takes up the issue of citationality in relation to performance art, warning against the “broad-stroke” notion that the performing body can exist in a realm liminal to signifying systems, but also emphasizes the failure of sticking signs to bodies (15), that viewers and critics undertake. The implications for documentation or criticism, Phelan asserts, are not only that writing a performance changes it, but also that writing it “fuel[s] the desire for its mimetic return.” She continues:

Writing is a substitute for the failure of this return—which is why “theatre history” frequently contains a hint of nostalgia.... Critical writing is an exercise in rewriting and repetition.... [It] comes after the event and traces the impression left by its disappearing absence.... [I]t reveals itself as the site of failure.... Our critical eyes watch the failure of the attachment between the referent and the sign, between the critic and the performance, and attempt to compensate for this failure by performing other activities of documentation, research, citation” (19-21).

Phelan, although addressing feminist critical writing, asserts that what makes performance *performative* is this recognition of failure. This is precisely what metacriticism does, although it does so in a manner that disables description. (In Part Four I will discuss how critics recognize failure in a way that facilitates description).

Despite the assumed autobiographical nature of modern dance before 1900, I argue, the movement styles of these dancers would become replicated both through their various imitators and their pupils: first, women who recognized their style as a money-making opportunity, and second as they began to teach their movement style, aesthetics, and pedagogy to children. In these two ways of reproducing (and advancing) modern dance it is apparent that living bodies

are crucial for “passing on” a dance. However, the location of originality and authorship become murky as the movement impetus migrates to an external teacher or performer and the moving bodies are peripherally guided (however gently that may be). With modern dance pedagogy, the lines between the biography and autobiography became blurred. In the words of John Martin:

The moment the dancer ceases to appear as himself experiencing a present emotion, and assumes a character, he steps into the actor’s field.... Dramatic form as such can be said to exist when the dance, instead of presenting the essence of an emotional experience deals with a specific sequence of events out of which such an experience grows. The more literal the treatment, the less it has of dance about it.... Dances of more lyric character naturally eschew the dramatic form altogether. (*Dance in Theory* 54-55)

Although Martin adheres to distinct guidelines between acting and dancing the self that are malleable, he identifies a key intervention of modern dance. In particular, in the rhetoric of Duncan’s pedagogy authenticity was supposedly accessible to all pupils and involved the agency of their own movement impetus. However, accounts of Duncan and Fuller’s teaching suggest that the concepts of naturalness, supposedly so integral to their movement, became elaborated when applied to pedagogy.⁵¹ Just as the prevailing idea of naturalness was itself a

⁵¹ According to Felix Cherniavsky, unlike Fuller and Duncan, Allan taught only a brief stint in the 1920s (*Salome Dancer* 255). The lack of live transmission of her choreography is likely why we know so little about her movement aesthetic, and perhaps the reason she remains so unknown, despite surpassing the fame of Fuller and Duncan during her brief performance career. Cherniavsky states that there is reason to believe that Allan would have made an astute

construct connected to and promoting the ideals of femininity (as I have argued in Part Two), modern dance pedagogy cannot completely escape the model of ballet technique: it was through mimesis that the ideal movement was learned. Martin points to the contradiction of modern dance pedagogy, even in system based on freedom of expression, there was a tendency to:

...establish ready-made systems and ready-made vocabularies. Methods of movement which an individual dancer may have discovered to be expressive and logical for his own body with its particular conformations and for his own temperament and mental attitude, are frequently transformed into standard technics and bodily conformations they have nothing in common. (*Dance in Theory* 61)

The legacy of Duncan's mimesis is still practiced in the twenty-first century, as younger generations of dancers study her "school" of movement. Likewise students of Martha Graham and Jose Limón technique learn to embody the shapes, momentum, and stylistic resonances of these modern dance innovators. It is inevitable that dance styles are codified in this way, because not only is dance preservation dependent on transmission through living bodies (similar to oral storytelling) in which permutations, modifications, and "translations" occur over time, but it also stimulates our drive to preserve and remember—a drive reminiscent of the dance critic's quest for accurate (or authentic) description.

dance teacher (*Salome Dancer* 227), but her ruined reputation after her famous Oscar-Wilde-esque court case meant that teaching children was out of the question, for even though Allan's dance's were proclaimed chaste by many reviewers, by the time of Allan's libel suit in 1918, the political climate in Europe (brought on by World War I) allowed for less tolerance of so-called "alternative lifestyles."

My research on the pedagogies of Fuller and Duncan also indicates how a shift took place during the transition from solo dance expression to pedagogical method that modern dance underwent in the careers of these two dancers. Fuller's pupils, ironically named "Les Petites Loïes," or the "Fullerettes," were selected for their resemblance to Fuller, and one pupil even went by an assigned French nickname – Orchidée.⁵² Similarly, Duncan, whose teaching legacy still persists today, took on many pupils, forming a group called the "Isadorables." These young women, eventually adopted by Duncan, even took her last name. According to Duncan biographer Lillian Loewenthal, "Not until their adolescent years would the six Isadorables receive a recognition of their own" (44). For Duncan, the strain of ballet was disingenuous and her teaching was based on uncovering latent beauty. Although Duncan's teaching credo was based on developing the dancer's intuitive movement, the lack of strain that Duncan encouraged was, in fact, a technique of moving, and ultimately, a learned technique.

It is the remarks of others that are the most revealing in terms of the mimesis Duncan encouraged in her "Isadorables," and later, in her performing group the Isadora Duncan Dancers. Duncan's sister Elizabeth remarked that "None of the children is being brought up to become an independent dancer; each is but a link, a small link in a bewitching chain" (qtd. in Loewenthal 39). In **figure 3.3**, a 1917 photograph taken by Arnold Genthe depicting Duncan with her "Isadorables" (Irma, Theresa, Anna, Lisa, Margot, and Erica Duncan), the relationship between Duncan and her pupils appears to be loving, but can also be interpreted as a relationship that augments Duncan's performative personae. The image shows the

⁵² Orchidée is not referred to by her given name in reviews or biographies. One 1909 *New York Times* review refers to her as "an American girl, who is young and beautiful" ("Loie Fuller shows her Dancing Girls").

“Isadorables,” languidly posed around Isadora, gazing at an object (it is impossible to tell what it is) held in her hands. The casual, yet staged posture of the photograph is perhaps the most revealing aspect of the image, for, like Duncan’s teaching, the auspices of natural, take on learned and culturally determined aspects that masquerade as universal traits. One unknown reviewer remarks of Duncan’s pupils:

Long ago Isadora had trained them, had taken their soft, childish arms in her divine hands, curved their tender necks, straightened their shoulders and aligned their heads, and finally, by the caressing touch of her grace through their yielding bodies, initiated these virgins into the mysteries of rhythm. (qtd. in Loewenthal 66)

Finally, Claude Roger Marx (the son of critic Roger Marx) observes of Duncan’s pupils, “The little girls... have grown up into miniature Isadora Duncans” (qtd. in Loewenthal 44).

In terms of performative goals, Duncan’s forays into teaching (particularly with her youngest pupils) presented the dancers as a chorus for Duncan’s own performances. Thus, the pedagogy of natural dance was a contradiction of its claims of original authorship, which defies repetition, revealing a tension between modern dance’s performative enactment of authentic authorship and its pedagogical techniques. To be truly authentic meant to be eternally disappearing. Although her pedagogy was ideologically rooted in the notion that revelations of the inner self would manifest themselves outwardly, it was based upon her ideas of what was natural and graceful—ideas that, as outlined in Part Two, are culturally defined.

Less is known about Fuller’s teaching than Duncan’s, but, according to Rhonda Garelick, Fuller insists her pedagogy was “less forceful” than Duncan’s (175), a statement that implies the idea of the natural was maintained in her teaching philosophy. In performance, Fuller utilized her pupils as textural backdrops for her choreographies, and, like Duncan,

changed the focus of modern dance from autobiographic to biographic. In her 1925 work *La Mer* (set to the Debussy score of the same name) Fuller makes her dancers a depiction of landscape. In this work the stage is completely covered by a giant silk sheath. The dancers, who circulated under the fabric, executed movement that gave the illusion of undulating waves. Rhonda Garelick, who has examined Fuller's pedagogy in detail, refers to Fuller's students as "fragmented extensions" of Fuller's "techno-body" (144).

Although this aesthetic offered women an alternative corporeality free from the constrictions of corsetry, this putatively "natural" movement was rooted in problematic ideals of beauty, womanhood, and racial signification. The pedagogy of both Duncan and Fuller offered revolutionary movement in that it encouraged freedom of expression via spontaneously generated movement. However, teaching dance is always rooted in mimesis. In her essay "Dancing Bodies," Foster explains that dance "[t]raining thus creates two bodies: one, perceived and tangible; the other, aesthetically ideal." She continues: "A third kind of body, a demonstrative body.... displays itself in the body of the teacher, and sometimes in one's own image in the mirror and in the bodies of other students in the class and their mirror images" (237-38). Even though Duncan and Fuller disavowed the kind of technical training of ballet, as participators and mediators of dance pedagogy they taught how to move and how not to move by way of their demonstration.

Dance Pedagogy as Embodied Citation

In reality, it was not just the select pupils of these dancers who were embodying their movement. As reviews were highlighting the dancer's inimitability, North-American women were challenging this assumption. When Allan's adaptation of the Salomé myth spawned an obsession with the femme fatale image after her *Vision of Salomé* (debut in Vienna in 1906), the

“Salomé Craze,” or “Salomania” spread to America. The craze, reported widely in the press in relation to Allan, operated similar to Fuller’s popularization of the Serpentine dance, with performers adopting her movements and dress. **Figure 3.4** depicts a 1908 newspaper article titled “Women Whom Salome Has Made Famous,” from the *Chicago Tribune*, using images to illustrate how Salomé became a trope in opera and ballet. The article also mentions Allan’s influence on Salomé’s other incarnations, performed by Gertrude Hoffman and other operatic performers such as Emmy Destinn, Lili Marberg, and Lottie Sarrow. Interestingly, the article also pictures a group of four small children playing the part in Allan’s controversial costume. Other newspapers outlined Maud Allan dinner dances at which high society ladies would dress and dance the part of Salomé that, as a 1908 *New York Times* article relays, was “undesecrated by the presence of any man.” The article continues:

[T]he guests were bidden to appear in Salome costumes. The idea created intense interest and much enthusiasm among those honoured with invitations. Each of the ladies proceeded to outvie her sisters in providing herself with a costume matching in all details the undress effect of Miss Allan’s scanty attire.... [S]ome of the more graceful members of the party demonstrated that they had not only succeeded in matching Miss Allan’s costume, but had learned some her most captivating steps in movements. (“Salome Dinner Dance”)

As an icon associated with the commodification of her image, Allan’s likeness was produced on a large scale. Salomania involved the proliferation and commodification of Allan’s Salomé, which was reproduced in a number of goods, appearing on statuettes, matchbooks, postcards, and other ephemera (Cherniavsky *Salome Dancer* 174). Some of the most mass-produced items from this time were postcards, on which Allan’s image was sent around the world (see **figures 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7**). Each of these postcards depicts the dancer in a different

work, revealing how Allan was known for other choreographies than her famous Salomé dance: figure 3.5 is likely a pose performed in *Mendelsohn's Spring Song* (1903), 3.6 depicts a pose from *Chopin's Funeral March* (1903), and 3.7 is from *The Vision of Salomé* (1906). Although Salomania began in Europe, where Allan was performing in 1908, it would soon cross the ocean in full-force. "In August 1908 there were four Salomés performing in New York alone; by October there were twenty-four" (Bentley 39). Society ladies even began to don sandals in the ballroom (Cherniavsky, *Salome Dancer* 174).

Appropriation is also inherent within the imagery of modern dance as it was presented by its legitimate creators. Dance scholar Anthea Kraut notes how Eastern imagery and "Orientalism" played a major role in the development of modern dance, which was performed predominantly on white bodies. Building on the work dance historians such as Jane Desmond, and Amy Koritz, and inspired from the work of Edward Said, they have elaborated on the idea that early modern dancers such as Ruth St. Denis and Maud Allan, "simultaneously enacted and distanced themselves from the East and thereby carved out a space for themselves as white female performers on the public stage" (Kraut 12). As Kraut elaborates, by citing the imagery of Eastern culture (often inaccurately), "white female dancers buttressed white supremacy and legitimized their artistic practice.... Likewise, when early white modern dancers took on Eastern themes, they were exercising their right 'to take delight in, to use, and to possess' nonwhite expressive practices" (12-13). Kraut concludes that the proliferation of the *Serpentine Dance* was threatening to the modern dancers because it blurred the categories between their "legitimate," autobiographical status and their commercial image. Others could achieve the same aesthetic, which moreover could be acquired commercially.

Over half a decade later the notion of autobiographical movement was also emphasized as a political act within feminist performance art, emerging in the 1970s. Performance studies

scholar Lynda Goldstein examines this notion in relation to the late twentieth-century feminist performance art of American artists Karen Finley and Holly Hughes, who, similarly to early modern dancers used personally-motivated work to produce an ontologic relation to performance, of which its authenticity was based on its non-reconstructed, and non-fictionalized status (105). According to Goldstein, their work was meant to “politicize personal experience, create empathy, and blur the line between performative and social experiences of women.” She continues: “This tradition encouraged the adoption of an ‘autobiographical’ voice in an attempt to give voice to the ‘reality’ of women’s bodies” (105). The reemergence of these issues, first brought to viewers of performance via the female bodies of modern dance, highlight the act of confession and expression as a political act. In addition, there are many parallels to be made in the way they presented the personal, and emphasized empathetic response. Goldstein goes on to outline how the work of these artists was distorted by critics in popular print, who depicted lurid misinterpretations of the female confessional body these artists presented. Similarly, as outlined throughout this dissertation, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan’s work was often misinterpreted or confusing for those writing about it. “Problems of citationality,” Goldstein outlines make visible the “unequal economy of power-knowledge in which performers and writers find themselves” susceptible to the economy of the document, in which “the writer’s work can be reproduced, circulated, given a kind of (temporary) permanence that performance art itself lacks” (Phelan, “Reciting” 23).

In time, the imitators of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan became commercially recognizable, revealing the cycle of how avant-garde expression of newness inevitably becomes absorbed into popular culture. Duncan’s resistance to the corset, at first a countercultural statement, was quickly co-opted by the mainstream consumer and haute couture alike. As Loewenthal points out, “The world of *haute couture* took notice of the unadorned simplicity of Isadora’s loose and

graceful costuming” (16). Parisian designers like Paul Poiret considered Duncan a muse in their designs as pictured in **figure 3.8**. The 1912 photograph of Poiret’s model depicts the same kind of pose and flowing garments that Duncan popularized as her trademark. This Duncan-inspired garb quickly caught on in America. Ann Daly remarks that by the 1910s, “as a result of Duncan’s success, dance in America meant a band of barefoot nymphs in Greek tunics and headbands, each with a knee lifted high and head thrown back, frolicking quite ‘artfully’ around a tree or against a skyline” (*Done Into* 102). A 1915 article titled “Is Paris Fooling the American Woman?”, printed in *The Indianapolis Star*, pokes fun at this frivolity, stating, “American women don fantastic clothes which they let themselves fancy reflect the very latest emotion of exclusive French millinery and tailoring art. ‘Mostly New Yorkers!’ cries Isadora Duncan of the women who accept these absurdities.”

Fuller’s costumes also became enmeshed with the commodity fetishism of the Bon Marché and the Louvre department store, where her costumes were emulated and sold as streetwear to fashionable female customers (Garelick 6). As early as 1892, newspaper advertisements appeared alongside her reviews, using her name to sell clothing and other items, often flowing garments, which appealed to a feeling of freedom from constricting corsetry. One ad boasts of “Loie Fuller” organdies (*Washington Post*, Feb. 21, 1894). Another ad peddles “the ‘Loie Fuller’ hair curler” (**Figure 3.9**). The marketing of this hair curler, no doubt emulating from the concept of Fuller’s more metacritical reviews, exclaims: “we can give you no clear idea what it is like, so just ask to see it” (*Washington Post*, 4 Nov. 1893). Such celebrity endorsement, as performance studies scholar Marlis Schweitzer notes, emerged during the mid 1800s when, “[m]anufacturers and designers also named sleeves, hats, slippers, coats, and various other fashion articles after popular actresses, hoping that the star endorsement would

equal big profits” (*When Broadway* 9). By mimicking the genre of dance reviews, the Fuller hair curler ad is also performing indescribability.

In fact, the success of the celebrity testimonial is dependent on the idea of mimesis. Drawing on the work of Stanley Resor, Marina Moskowitz and Schweitzer write: “testimonials played into the ‘spirit of emulation,’ arousing consumer desires to ‘copy those whom we deem superior in taste, knowledge or experience’ and thereby enact some form of self-transformation” (2). Testimonials also present the consumer with a firsthand narrative that is dependent on imagined empathy and emotion. That is, they are effective because the consumer can imagine himself or herself enjoying the advantages the product gives to the celebrity. Thus, just as criticism was beginning to encompass first-hand narrative (or first person narrative disguised as objective), so too was advertising considering the experience of the individual. It is no surprise, then, that the celebrity endorsement is given increasing importance during the end of the nineteenth-century (Moskowitz and Schweitzer 6), bringing a sense of personality to mass marketing when loss of individuality threatened to harm communities.⁵³

The gossip column and society pages of the newspaper, in which dance reviews were often placed, are also illustrative of the rise of celebrity culture. As celebrity theorist Fred Inglis has noted, accounts of the private lives of citizens in the public forum of the newspaper blurred

⁵³ Theories of celebrity draw on host of previous cultural writings from Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer’s “Culture Industry” (1944), to Jean Baudrillard’s *Simulacra and Simulation* (1981). For more on celebrity theory see Richard Schickel, *Intimate Strangers* (1985); Richard Dyer, *Heavenly Bodies* (1986); P David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power* (1997); Su Holmes and Sean Redmond, *Stardom and Celebrity* (2007); Fred Inglis, *A Short History of Celebrity* (2010); and Karen Sternheimer, *Celebrity Culture and the American Dream* (2011).

the lines between public and private (18). Just as the newspaper brought public “stories” into the physical space of the domestic home, celebrity or society gossip was a mode of exposing the private publicly. In addition, Stephen Kern notes, as early as 1890, newspapers began publishing stories about the “right to privacy” (189). The dance reviews that appear in these sections of the newspaper often conclude with members of high society who were in attendance during the performance. The American newspaper and the American celebrity can both be theorized as bridges between the democratic citizen and capitalism, in that they ease fears about the loss of individuality, while actively cultivating commodity fetishism. It is also noteworthy that, as cultural theorists Richard Dyer (1986) and P. David Marshall (1997) examine, celebrity was conceived as a naturally occurring status. That is, those who were celebrities, much like those who were artists, did not achieve fame or talent, but were inherently in possession of it, not a performance of fame, but performance of a famous self. According to Dyer, the notion of celebrity as manufactured is recent, but the underlying ideology of celebrity has always involved the search for the “authentic” person behind the fame.

For Fuller, Duncan, and Allan, who became famous artists, the presentation of the self that modern dance offered—as “autobiography,” or presentation of the authentic self—further emphasized them as public personalities, not just performers. As Schweitzer explains:

Indeed, the increased emphasis on the actress as personality rather than a character—one of the effects of the emerging “star system”—was a crucial factor in testimonial advertising because it positioned the actress as a cultural performer *outside* the limits of her stage roles. By bringing theatrical stars to consumers via the pages of fashion and women’s magazines, advertisers succeeded in reaching a much broader segment of the theatergoing and non-theatergoing public. (*When Broadway* 8-9).

Thus, the co-dependence of advertising and performance in the theatre was also visible within the newspaper.

As an illustration of the peculiar place that fashion occupies, between material commodity and intangible performance, I argue that “Salomania,” and other imitations of these modern dancers, reveals a desire to make intangible performance and live experience substantive. The proliferation of images and the embodiment of these dancers through sartorial expression indicates that, to women, commodity fetishism held the promise of a feeling that could be transferred sartorially embodied. The fashion-ization of modern dance during the beginning of the twentieth-century marks the crossover of commodity and performance that counteracts the notion that performance’s liveness facilitates a place for it outside of economics; by sartorially imitating these dancers and their aesthetic personas, women were embodying a performative feeling of natural spontaneity and freedom that modern dance presented, as well as participating economically in the proliferation of their images. I read this co-opting of images as a longing to keep the essence of the live with them, to make tangible the live, or to make it material by propelling it into longevity. Critics were able to preserve dance by writing it (even if the result was imperfect translation). But, for women, who were not often able to write about dance, making the feeling of spectatorship material involved material mimesis. Thus, although the writing of modern dance performances at this time point attests to the inimitability of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan in terms of their performative capabilities, women seemed to actively challenge this notion of authenticity as inimitable by embodying their images.

In contrast, for the critic, the real was to be found in the intangible movement of modern dance. For instance, in a 1910 article for *The Hartford Courant* a critic identifies how in modern dance, at least for the discerning spectator, elements of the real appear within Allan’s performance. He states: “Miss Allan is only one of several who have been seen here in such

dancing and with each new dancer the idea grows in the mind of the discerning spectator that such dancing is, after all, the real dancing; that untrammelled movement of every limb and the grace of freedom in the dance..." ("Maud Allan's Graceful Dance").

The Still Pose of Dynamic Movement

Because photographic technology dictated that photographs of these dancers be posed, the sense of movement Fuller, Duncan, and Allan presented to the viewer is more effectively depicted via artistic renderings or written description. Of Fuller's photographs, one series taken by Eugène Druet, depicts Loïe Fuller in motion (**see figure 3.10**). This undated photograph shows Fuller, dancing outside at dusk, her skirts aloft in the air, creating the blurred effect of movement on film. Musing on the aesthetic disparities between this long exposure image and how it differs from posed photographs, Fuller scholar Ann Cooper-Albright observes: "the overall impression of her dancing in this action shot revolves around the force and momentum of her torso's movements. The fabric becomes the afterimage, the traces of her motion as it ripples out into space" (31). It is in these photographs that we have a more accurate portrayal of Fuller's movement, for the limitations of the posed image contradicts the goal of most modern dance, which emphasized continuous movement, or movement between musical phrasing.

As newspapers did not begin to regularly print photographs, and drawings of still photographs of these dancers until about 1908, drawings of Fuller, Allan, and Duncan were often the medium through which the public were introduced to their images. In addition, I argue that these drawings often presented a more accurate sense of their dynamic range of movement. The "translation" of performance into illustration (seen in **figures 3.10, 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13**) presented these women in transitioning temporalities and modalities. Because photography at this time involved a posing in a stationary pose for long period of time, it was virtually

impossible to obtain photographic images of these early dancers in motion. As a result, these photographs of the dancers appear to the viewer as more intentional (and often more narrative) than their movement might have. With crisp, focused lines, posed photographs contrast with the aesthetics of modern dance, which emphasizes continuous motion. Investigating both the power and vulnerability of posing, art critic Craig Owens writes: “To strike a pose is to present oneself to the gaze of the other as if one were already frozen, immobilized—that is, already a picture” (198). Ultimately, the stillness that photography asked of its subject, specifically in this era, meant it wasn’t able to capture the essence of modern dance, which, because it is motivated from inner impetus, is not as focused on what it looks like in a particular moment of stillness, but rather approaches movement from an impressionist perspective. In her autobiography, Allan discusses how her movement departs from this concept of motion:

It was not sufficient to master a pose... and rest content with that; nothing was more difficult than to weave harmonious, musical connection between different poses so that there should be no break, so that there should be nothing to mar the rhythmic sense of continuous harmonious expression. (76)

It is revealing that in the vast amount of artistic rendering of these dancers they are presented in motion and by wearing the clothing of these dancers, women could embody their essence of performative modernity.

Remarkably, Fuller’s early performance also coincided with the first years of cinema. The popularity of her “Serpentine” movement, which she was renowned for, is obvious in the proliferation of her imitators in the early film reels. In fact, almost all of the earliest film producers, including the Pathé Brothers, the Lumière Brothers, Georges Méliès, and Thomas Edison, captured footage of Fuller’s imitators. Most of these films were titled for public consumption as if the dancer were Fuller herself. These early kinetoscope films, similar to live

performers, would tour the vaudeville circuit; many were even shown in the same theatres where Fuller and her live imitators had also performed onstage. In this way, according to Fuller biographer Clare de Morinni, “The Serpentine [dance] spread like wildfire and its American originator sometimes had difficulty convincing managers that she was not an imitation of herself” (208).

This confusion of originality is evident in advertisements for performances given by Fuller’s “sister” Ida. In February 1896 Fuller performed a three-week stint at Koster & Bial’s music hall in New York City. Shortly after Fuller completed her engagement she was replaced by another skirt dancer, billed as Ida Fuller, Sister of Loïe. Advertisements in newspapers hailed Ida as an “exact duplicate of Loie and included an authorized statement, purportedly written by Loie herself, attesting to the authenticity of Ida’s movement (**figure 3.15**). This claim was a hoax; in fact, Fuller had no sisters. Claims to Ida Fuller’s authenticity are suggestive of the innovative intersection of celebrity culture and marketing that is now known as the celebrity testimonial, in which celebrities perform product endorsements. Complicating the matter further Thomas Edison’s vitascope films, depicting a Fuller imitator billed as Loïe herself (but actually the American dancer Annabelle Moore [1878-1961]), screened on the very same stage on April 23, 1896—that same year, marking the debut of cinema in North America. These films went on to circulate in many of the same theatres these two dancers appeared in across the United States, adding yet another layer to this complex environment of performative representation and reproduction in 1896 and marking an overlap of two emerging theatre spectacles modern dance and film.

This venue overlap also indicates that audiences may have seen more than one of these Loïe incarnations, leading to questions of how watching Fuller perform must have differed from the experience of seeing her imitator, and diverged still from viewing the temporally altered

filmic images of vitascope Annabelle. But why was authenticity so important for live serpentine performances, but not in the reproduced images of film? As evidenced by Fuller's copyright trial, Fuller was intimidated by the idea of her performative imitators. However, this anxiety seemed only connected to live imitators, for often they actively promoted the proliferation of their likeness as commodity. It is ironic that at the same time as these women were working to protect their image from the purview of imitation, they were also actively promoting the duplication of their promotional materials, thereby competing with their imitators. The fear of the double seems rooted only in live animation, but not duplication.

This distinction might seem inconsequential, as live performance and still images are so obviously disparately experienced. But, in fact, advertising became so ubiquitous in theatres that the two were constantly juxtaposed. Fuller, and the other dancers, on their end, were also complicit in the reproduction of their images by marketing themselves in the theatre lobbies in the form of lamps, figurines, and postcards. Schweitzer explains this infiltration:

Advertisements were everywhere: in the programs, on the curtains, on the scenery.... This fusion of theatrical spectatorship and consumption represented a crucial step in the formation of a mass market for consumer goods and the rise of the cult of celebrity, two intertwined cultural projects designed to fuel the American economy and overwrite anxieties about the exploitation of labour and the loss of individuality. (*When Broadway* 4)

Schweitzer's statement regarding losing individuality relates again to Fuller's court case, in which feelings of anxiety about losing one's place in the midst of modernity's increasing image reproduction was expressed.

In addition to their imitators,⁵⁴ Fuller, Duncan, and Allan were often vexed about being imitated by each other, even though they quite clearly presented different aesthetic points of view. The professional influences these dance innovators had on each other is sometimes illuminated in the reviews, but underplayed or outright denied by the women themselves. These reviews portray their opinions of each other as fraught with jealousy. In the headlines alone the comparisons are apparent: a 1908 *New York Times* article declares “Isadora Duncan Raps Maud Allan” (**figure 3.16**), and a 1910 *Chicago Tribune* headline asks: “Maud Allan a Pupil of Isadora?” When the dancers mention each other, it is often in the context of asserting the originality of their own art as uncontaminated by other dancers and insisting on the superior authenticity of their own movement and downplaying external influence. Despite these denials of external influence, it is clear that these dancers were, in fact, inspired by each other (for example, both Fuller and Allan performed a version of *Salomé*). In a 1908 article in the *South Carolina Paper*, Duncan is quoted as accusing someone of stealing facts from her autobiography and presenting them as Allan’s. The journalist writes: “Miss Duncan complained to me that someone has even stolen the facts of her biography and tacked them on to miss Allan.... ‘I saw in the paper recently the statement that Miss Allan started in San Francisco, went to Chicago and New York, and finished up in Berlin. Now these are exactly the facts in my case’” (“Isadora Duncan Looking”). Of course these are also the facts of Allan’s biography, but to Duncan, suspicious of the threat of imitation, it seems that to admit to another dancer’s influence would somehow undermine the legitimacy of her own craft, revealing it as less than original spontaneous creation and more of a rational process of craft. In a similar manner, this

⁵⁴ Like Fuller, Allan also had a nemesis imitator (Gertrude Hoffman) against whom she took legal action (Cherniavsky *Salome Dancer* 69).

often quoted excerpt by Fuller remarks of Duncan:

By no means is my kind of dancing like Isadora Duncan's, although there are one or two points in common. The two kinds are as different as night and day. Miss Duncan's dancing is essentially a cultivated art—a learned kind of dancing that takes much practice—whereas mine is natural, inspirational, and spontaneous. Miss Duncan imitates the movements of dancers as represented on Greek vases and her students copy her. I and my pupils give the original natural expression and movement which inspired the Greeks when they made their vases. (qtd. in Current and Current 196)

Fuller's categorization of her movement techniques as more natural than Duncan's, brings attention to the constructed-ness of natural in modern dance, for if all of these women are claiming their own style as natural, and other as less so, it contracts the idea that natural movement is autobiographical. Interestingly, Fuller also insists that she taught both Allan and Duncan to dance, but that they refuse to credit her (Current and Current 194).

Authenticity, as it was enacted in modern dance, was, for women, not only something to feel via spectatorship, but, in the ultimate act of kinesthetic empathy, was a literal embodiment that could be adorned. For men, this experience was accessed via the spectatorship of women. Ultimately, for women, whose voices and bodies had been stifled, and whose feelings were rarely legitimized in a culture that increasingly valued efficiency, authenticity itself became a feeling and concept associated with freedom. This issue of gendered experience of authenticity brings to the fore concerns of how liveness is mixed up in judgments of what is authentic, immediate, and valid. In this way, reviews are indicative of how mimesis on the part of the spectator was encouraged within modern dance aesthetics. They are also indicators of the cultural belief that authentic feeling, in response to movement, could only be achieved from the

original body of creation. It was thought that the legitimacy of the dancer could incite this elevated feeling of emotional and physical reaction. Thus, in reinforcing their status as originators of a new aesthetic, reviews highlighted the distinctiveness of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan. Thus, I now turn to investigate in more detail how these two contradictory trajectories of emotion imply authenticity in different modes.

3.3 Gesture and Language

Fuller's copyright case implies a parallel relationship between movement, language, and emotional intent. The judge's insistence on storytelling through dance, in order to identify the origin of movement is reliant on the basis that "it must repeat or mimic some action, speech, emotion, passion, or character" (qtd. in Garelick 30). Modern dance, I argue, portrays expressive emotion; while it is often dependent on familiar motif, it diverges from more imitative portrayals of emotion. Therefore, modern dance reviews offer insight into how unfamiliar, but emotionally expressive, movement was written by critics. In this section I interrogate how emotion is communicated in non-narrative dance in unaccustomed ways, and how this feeling is subsequently written into dance reviews. My positioning of metacriticism as a growing-pain stage in the evolution of modern dance writing is indicative of how the abstraction of emotional intention was presenting critics with new communicative challenges that differed greatly from previous theatrical dance spectacle.

Using a framework of emotional recognition derived from philosopher Kym Maclaren, I suggest that the judge's definition of emotion as a portrayal of identifiable, even pantomimic, feeling sets up an understanding of emotion as belonging to recognizable and overly simple categories. Extending this idea, I contend that, in dance, these recognizable feelings are read through not only facial expression, but through exaggerated gestures, readable as semiotic

signals that correspond to specific, unanimous meanings. This type of feeling is one that I assign as “acted pantomime,” in which the impetus is taken on from an outside source, such as a choreographer or script, and internalized prior to performative expression. As emphasized earlier (in Part Two), modern dance utilized emotional expression in a reverse process, in which performers portrayed supposedly “autobiographical” (then called “natural”) emotion, which, expressed spontaneously, was, in theory, internally motivated from the self, and then expressed outwardly.

Naming Gestural Emotion

In traditional ballet, a character’s emotion is typically communicated via gesture. Gesture and emotion in classical western dance forms are often used in conjunction with overall narrative plot in theatrical dance traditions such as traditional ballet, which, in the trajectory of storytelling, uses gesture in pantomimic fashion as an extension of facial expression to express emotion. These gestures are often exaggerated in order to be visible from the very back rows of the opera house. This combination of gesture and storytelling is used in narrative ballet often as a sort of wordless monologue designed to communicate specific emotional responses from spectators in relation to a character or archetype.⁵⁵ In fact, the relationship between language and gesture is intertwined. Gesture often references language by operating as a signifier, which functions in lieu of words, subsequently referring back to them

⁵⁵ This is why the formula of the melodrama is successful in eliciting a response from its viewers that can feel like a manipulation of feelings; it is as if the body responds in a programmed way to specific visual gestural cues. For more, see John Mercer and Martin Shingler’s *Melodrama: Genre, Style and Sensibility* (2004).

(for example, in waving goodbye). It can also depict familiar emotions (for example, the clenching of a fist is recognizable as an expression of anger). Finally, gesture can manifest itself as spontaneously performed action to emphasize speech. Of this last category of gesture, movements take on an onomatopoeic character by mimicking the sound or intention of the words expressed. Accordingly, gesture of any motivation operates in conjunction with language and, as a result, is more easily described in words. As an accompaniment to verbal or lingual communication, gesture operates in a semiotic or punctuation-al relationship with language, in which bodily movements correspond to specific meanings that are easily translatable into a narrative meaning. In contrast, unfamiliar movement poses challenges to lingual expression because it severs its relationship with recognition.

The fleeting recognition that occurs within modern dance is by way of the image. Similar to the imagery that Romantic ballet offered up, that of flowers, birds and butterflies was also evident in reading of Fuller's body as a system of "readable" motifs. If considered similar to a script, modern dance predecessors (ballet and vaudeville) typically presented movement that follows the cadences of musical phrasing, ending the musical sentence with a posed full-stop. Loïe Fuller's reviews, in particular, describe something different, that is, a morphing and evolving shape in constant motion through which the spectator can, at times, discern a familiar shape or image, but which only provides fleeting moments of comfortable recognition. The illustrations in **figures 3.11** and **3.12** depict these shapes. In the first set of illustrations, printed in *Picture Magazine*, from 1893, Fuller's shapes are assigned symbolic forms, whereas the illustrations printed for *The San Francisco Examiner* in 1896 depict continuous form. The dates of these illustrations are significant because Fuller's aesthetic developed significantly during this time from that of the vaudeville skirt dance, to a more intangible signification.

The new movement range of modern dance is attributable to the corset-less costumes of the dancers, Fuller, Duncan, and Allan, which heralded a change in women's sartorial expression. As a costume choice, loose garb not only facilitated the torso movements required of modern dance, but it also enabled the movements that were thought to communicate emotional expression via articulation of the torso. This fluidity of the torso in its unbound state opened up a range of movement vocabulary that originated from the spine and, therefore, was not reliant on symbolic gesture, but communicated exaggerated, undulating waves of movement originating from the "emotional center" of the body. In this way, I suggest, the shedding of corsetry is a tangible representation of what these dancers were trying to facilitate during their performances, that is, a transfer of heightened emotional and kinesthetic resonance.

Therefore, with modern dance the relationship of movement to language shifted. In lieu of providing a story, reviews of modern dance began to reflect the intangibility of such experiences. "The philosophy of life seems a large sentence to give as a motive for the rhythmic dancing," an 1889 review of Duncan in *The New York Times* claims, and continues: "but since the world has grown more civilized the deep meanings and morals to be taught are not expressed dogmatically, but delicately hinted at" ("Philosophy in the Dance"). The subtleness of watching Duncan, this critic suggests, cannot be verbosely expressed, but he nonetheless hints at a profound, indescribable understanding. In an 1893 excerpt describing Fuller's movement in the *New York Herald*, the reader gets the sense of descriptive attempts at sketching the images she creates in lieu of a story: "At times the form of the dancer is entirely obscured and there is but a pyramid of gorgeous mist or a pin wheel of iridescent light" ("Evolution of La Loie's Dance"). In relation to Fuller's court case, the elusive structure of Fuller's movement places it outside the realm of hermeneutic interpretation, revealing that it is only through language, specifically language that tells a story, that we stabilize meaning. By

proclaiming modern dance as indescribable, the meaning of dance itself was thrown into question.

Some critics expressed confusion over whether modern dance could be categorized as dance at all. A typical 1909 review from *The Logansport Daily Reporter* (Indiana) asserts that the experience of watching Duncan was so different that it defied categorization as well as description. As the reviewer asserts:

“Dance” is not the word that stands for all that we may do when we jig around a room in a crude effort to keep time to a two or three-beat piece. But there is no word as yet for the art which makes every movement of the human being, including the expression of the eye, an interpretation of an idea, which has hitherto been set forth only by the notes of music. (“Intimate Correspondence”)

Fuller herself even elaborates on this idea of unfamiliar form in her autobiography *Quinze ans de ma vie* (1908), stating, “In the dance, and there ought to be a better word adapted to the thing, the human body should, despite conventional limitations, express all the sensations or emotions it experiences” (*Fifteen Years* 70). The often-voiced confusion over categorizing “autobiographical” movement as dance, I suggest, stems from the idea that dance is something one *does*, not what one *is*. Because modern dance entailed a destabilization of storytelling and gesture, there was even less recognizable content or context. The definite ontology narrativity insists on is concretizing; however, as I further elaborate on below (see Part Four), language, when used poetically, has the potential to destabilize these meanings. In relation to poetic language T. S. Eliot, quoting poetry critic I. A. Richards, makes an important observation. “The experience of poetry,” Eliot insists, “like any other experience, is only partially translatable into words; to begin with, as Mr. Richards says, ‘it is never what a poem *says* that matters, but what it *is*’ [W]e must remember too that poetry is not written simply to provide material for

conversation” (Eliot 18). For example, by describing Fuller’s shapes as a “pyramid of gorgeous mist” or a “pin wheel of iridescent light,” as a previous quotation did, the previously quoted *New York Herald* critic is reading Fuller poetically; that is, because she is not storytelling, he instead describes the moving figure she embodies.

The concept that art can portray ideas, emotions, or images inaccessible to language, is taken up by German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer. The finitude of language in its descriptive capabilities often leaves us unequipped to capture the totality of aesthetic experience, as he suggests: “Language often seems ill-suited to express what we feel. In the face of the overwhelming presence of works of art, the task of expressing in words what they say to us seems like an infinite and hopeless undertaking.... One says this, and then one hesitates” (Gadamer 402). The reluctance Gadamer refers to accurately describes the pause the reader experiences during metacritical moments of inarticulate frustration. This matter is particularly compounded, I submit, with aesthetically unfamiliar art, and even more complicated in relation to ephemeral performance. Gadamer’s aesthetic theory relates to critical conjecture by way of his suggestion that it is this very inconclusiveness of hermeneutic entanglement with the aesthetic that provokes us to probe for meaning within it. The possibility of reinterpretation—that something more or something different can be said about a work of art—is our very reason for probing it. A perfect translation is nonexistent and, therefore, there is no final word or interpretation or description of aesthetic experience, only further discussions to be had. This is why we re-interpret and describe works of art again and again within ever evolving contemporary theories and contexts. It is, ultimately, what makes both criticism and aesthetic “covering” relevant.

I propose that the poetic use of language (the topic of Part Four) is used by critics as an alternative to the notion of correspondent translation within dance criticism. But it seems as

though metacriticism reflects a transition stage from narrative dance writing to poetic dance writing. Poetic description has the potential to both stand-in-itself and invoke beyond itself. Despite this dual connotation, the imperfect aspects of poetic description of dance (or experience) are ones in which, I contend, poetic prose still refers back to original word etymology even when contextualized poetically.⁵⁶ Similarly, when watching a body move in an abstract manner our knowledge of it as a body is never utterly suspended. The term “poetry of motion,” used in many of the first modern dance reviews,⁵⁷ points to this use of movement and the body in which it is free from character association. This term exposes the connection between the abstract expression used in many forms of poetry and dance.

The letting go of intellectual interpretation to embrace an embodied interpretation is exactly what Fuller was describing when proclaiming that her delicatessen man could *feel* her art. And it was a sentiment reviewers expressed in relation to Duncan and Allan as well. A critic in a 1909 article in the *Chicago Tribune* claims:

Miss Duncan endeavors not merely to demonstrate the poetry of motion, but also to feign and portray emotions and sentiments. She wishes to revive the ancient Greek art of dancing and possibly develop it. It is her claim that there is no shade of human feeling which cannot be expressed by dancing in a manner far more beautiful than it could be by language, painting, statuary, or, perhaps, even music.... She endeavors to portray by her art, hope, joy, grief, satisfaction, and a

⁵⁶ The exception to this statement is dada sound poetry, which, by using imaginary sounds that disrupt the syntax of language, can avoid denotative meaning.

⁵⁷ Conversely, for the poet Stéphane Mallarmé, Fuller enacted the idea of *écriture corporelle* (corporeal writing) in which dance functioned as a metaphor for the poem (Townsend 89).

thousand other emotions and refinements of emotion which are really nameless.

(“Has the World Gone Dance Mad?”)

By naming emotions, and then redacting these emotional categories as insufficient to cover the range of expression that Duncan offers her audience, the writer of this passage is actually implicating his own bodily response in a vague way that, for the reader, initiates an accompanying, sympathetic imaging of a spectator response. The renowned dance critic Henry T. Parker (1876-1934) comments on the use of gesture and narrative in a 1916 review of Duncan’s work: “In a word, Miss Duncan was the dancer rather than the mime. The mime, as ancient dancing and even modern ballet employs the word, dances to suggest specific emotions, a specific mood, even a specific character” (Parker 235). Ultimately, in feeling and naming emotion, identifiable or otherwise, modern dance critics point to a corresponding physical response.

The Materiality of Language

The significance of words in relaying bodily experience is also expressed in the 1910s in the emergence of sound poetry performances which use nonsensical words onomatopoeically in order to bring attention to “language’s flesh,” as Charles Bernstein terms it (21). In their article “Harpsichords Metallic Howl” (2011), modernity scholars Irene Gammel and Suzanne Zelazo outline how the modernist performance artist Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven, composed sound poetry that brought attention to the constructed-ness of language, “rendering problematic the very concept of articulation” (260). They continue: “the Baroness’s sound poems let her body speak.... She also conveys something of what Bernstein describes as the sensuous ‘noise of language’ and the jouissance of linguistic play” (260). Sound poetry’s destabilization of connotation is meaningful in relation to the conversation of modern dance’s

abstracted imagery, since they share a similar goal. As Gammel and Zelazo note, the Baroness's "word-like constructions... only marginally suggest a semantic origin" (262), and thereby, they only suggest at ambiguous meanings. Thus, her sound poetry brings attention to the limitations of words, prioritizing feeling as a mode of experience. These poems, then, like metacriticism, encompass a "meta-poetic statement on sound poetry as a genre" (264).

Metacriticism brings attention to the materiality of language. Consequently, hermeneutics, the precise interpretation of written texts, does for poetry criticism what active interpretation does for modern dance criticism. In searching for a coherent meaning, the critic who attempts to view figurative work and "correctly" apply interpretation is implicit in what Alvin H. Rosenfeld describes as "revealment and concealment," in which "the[se] two poles of phenomenological disclosure, thus become the central focus of the critical act, which, like the poetic act itself, searches for meaning in the repetition and retrieval of ordinary being" (540). In other words, searching for hidden meaning that refers to narrative, myth, or archetype, is, in many modern dance works, to miss the point. Writing in 1939, Martin provides insight into how these concerns were approached within modern dance. A quarter decade prior to Sontag's pivotal 1966 essay "Against Interpretation," Martin observes: "It is useless to approach any work of art with the notion that it must be understood before it can be responded to.

Understanding is a process of rationalization after the experience; first there must be the experience or there is nothing to rationalize about" (*Dance in Theory* 21). Although Martin's understanding of aesthetic interpretation is one that oversimplifies the intertwined processes of art apprehension, his notion of understanding as after the experience of spectatorship reflects his occupation, in which he cogitates on the memory of the live performance, to linguistically interpret the performance after viewing it.

With the introduction and development of modern dance, the intangible expression of

emotion introduced possibilities for expression outside the categories of the recognizable narrative (and emotional) frameworks, resulting in a new relationship to language. Although it would be wrong to suggest that Fuller, Duncan, and Allan *never* referenced pantomimic gesture or emotion in their dances, the majority of their works relied more on the immaterial imagery of “natural dancing,” which allowed internally motivated emotion to act as impetus, instead of adding on movements to fulfill a narrative purpose. As Fuller was beginning to evolve her abstract aesthetic she still thought of her movement as pantomimic; however, as the following quotation from an 1897 *New York World* indicates, her definition of pantomime, in reality, represents a move away from narrative structure, rather than a link to it. In fact, what Fuller describes in this passage actually reflects her career trajectory, in which she moves away from vaudeville narrative and toward a new aesthetic innovation. Her reluctance to establish her movement as something other than storytelling can be read here as the tentative assertions of an emerging artist, developing her craft, but still in-between aesthetic paradigms. She muses:

What is pantomime? If I may state it as a matter of opinion I shall call pantomime a spirit language represented in expression physically, without words. In such case what a misnomer it is to attempt to pantomime any action where words or their equivalents should be made use of. *Real* pantomime should exist only where the situations and action are such that no words are required and none should be used. In fact, where none could be used. When such a pantomime is created there will be no need for us to understand a dumb language; it will be within the understanding of all who can see, for the same spirit exists within us all, and nature's law provides us with the same manner of expression.

(“Pantomime as a Feature” emphasis added)

Fuller's use of the word “real” to refer to movements and emotions deemed inexpressible

reveals an inverse relation between the intangible and ideas of authenticity. Similarly, Duncan remarks on the interconnectedness of authenticity and intangible transcendence: “Thank god the Boston critics don’t like me. If they did I should feel I was hopeless. They like my copies. I give you something from the heart. I bring you something real.... My imitators make caricatures of my dances. They dance with the arms and legs, but not with their souls” (*Duncan Speaks* 53). This notion is at odds with the ideology of print media, which generally tends to document (to authenticate or make “real”) by its “objective” reporting of real events.

In addition, Fuller’s focus on “real pantomime” is not pantomime at all because it is not mimetic or “acted.” Rather, it is a figurative move away from gesture as a communicative device, bringing attention to the dependency of authenticity and indescribability in modern dance. It is here that I wish to investigate how emotion and authenticity operate within this aesthetic movement. It is important here to remember the connection between emotion and gesture (discussed above) as a distinction between recognizable emotion, as the type represented in ballet narrative, and the indistinct or nuanced emotion expressed by these dancers. Because modern dance movement is not easily recognized as either emblematic of words, or used or created in the spontaneous creation of speaking, the corresponding emotional feelings associated with modern dance are also less distinctly recognizable.

Gestural Recognition and Unfamiliar Emotion

Affect theorist Sara Ahmed proposes that in the process of categorizing feeling or “naming emotions” we change our interactions with the lived world. “In this sense,” she contends, “emotions may not have a referent, but naming an emotion has effects that we can describe as referential” (14). Naming emotion, Ahmed states, gives us the illusion that we possess or “have” them, thereby having some agency over them and giving them a manageable

focus. According to Ahmed, emotions actually function as perceptual states through which we respond to objects and others (10). In thinking about emotions not as individual property, but as states that one can pass to others, we also take up the idea that emotion is “catchable”; however, in Ahmed’s words: “even when we feel we have the same feeling, we don’t necessarily have the same relationship to the feeling” (10). In naming and categorizing feeling there is a sense that instead of feeling them, one “has” them.

John Martin touches on the connotations of indistinct emotion for the spectator in the process of kinesthetic empathy (although with less ambiguity), as he writes: “When, for instance, we see signs of anger or rage in another, we are able to recognize them as such only because we have experienced them ourselves. Translating them automatically into a memory of these personal experiences, we understand at once the state of mind they represent” (18). In dance, this same intangibility has been describes by Ann Daly as “effect over form; suggestion over mimesis; internal experience over external appearance” (*Done Into* 141). While Martin and Daly do not elaborate on the implications of this dynamic in the writing of dance, their observations nonetheless point to the role of kinesthetic empathy in new experiencing, processing and responding to the aesthetically unfamiliar. The connotations of this shift for critics was that they were challenged to either modify their ideas and tactics for describing dance, or condemn the new aesthetic to maintain their existing model of evaluation.

Taking this impetus from Martin’s critical approach in relation to viewing dance, I would like to further explore the notion of the emotional trajectory in the review writing process as one that starts as indistinct to more specific within the “translation.” In doing so, I also elaborate on the distinction between dance designed to elicit a particular emotional response from audience from dance that is an expression of the artist’s subjective, spontaneous emotion, thereby leaving space for a subjective response from the audience. Kym Maclaren takes up this

process of emotional meaning-making as a trajectory from initially felt “authentic passions” to a subsequently interpreted set of “emotional clichés.” This emotional model derives from Merleau-Ponty’s study of lingual expression, in which he differentiates authentic use of language from ready-made uses of it. Ready-made language, or “second-order speech,” Maclaren states, “relies upon the familiar, already established meanings of words; it expresses thoughts previously constituted by ourselves and others and makes sense of the world in familiar, well-worn ways” (57). She continues, “First-order or authentic speech, on the other hand, seeks to articulate a thought not yet constituted, and draws upon the sedimented meanings of words in such a way as to break them, transform them, find new meaning in them and thereby “inaugurate” as Merleau-Ponty says a new dimension of experience, a new way of seeing” (*Phenomenology* 57).

Similarly, Heidegger proposes that language, “by naming beings for the first time, first brings beings to word and to appearance. Only this naming nominates beings *to* their being *from out* of their being” (*Poetry* 71). Heidegger’s concept of language theorizes it as a thought-organizer. Positioning poetry as an exception, Heidegger, advocates poetry’s use of language as pure form that expresses deep immersion into lived experience. The Mexican poet Octavio Paz also outlines the tempestuous relationship between the poet and language by stating, “The poet is not served by words. He is their servant. In serving them, he returns to the plentitude of their nature, makes them recover their being. Thanks to poetry language reconquers its original state” (37). What Heidegger and Paz articulate is that by removing words from their familiar context, poets, in a sense resuscitate their unfamiliarity, the abstractness of their invention, their status as names for human objects and activity. In relation to criticism, the translation from first-order emotion to second-order speech, presents the critic with a conceptual jump, in which pieces of the live are lost in translation. Both Merleau-Ponty and Heidegger see language as an originary

process in which new configurations of meaning can be introduced, and Maclaren suggests that emotions are similarly mediated by language.

Maclaren takes on American philosopher Robert Solomon's cognitive theory of emotion as active judgment (or reaction), arguing that this model does little to account for the potential of passivity in emotional response. Solomon's revision to this cognitive theory suggests that emotional judgment or reaction can also manifest corporeally via kinesthetic judgment, and, therefore, can manifest as unreflective response. Maclaren continues from Solomon's revision exploring exactly what kinesthetic judgments consist of (using Merleau-Ponty's ideas of embodiment), arguing that although a turn to the kinesthetic is the correct investigative route for a theory of emotion, that more investigation is necessary to understand how kinesthesia and subjectivity are always intertwined, and how meaning-making involves the active processing of emotion that Solomon articulated. Maclaren further argues that Solomon's cognitive theory of emotion positions emotion as easily process-able to specific meaning, is applicable only to what she terms "emotional clichés," leaving out "authentic passions," which "reveal an even deeper form of passivity, a form of subjectivity that is fundamentally dispossessed by its world, such that subject and object are not yet fully distinct and there is not yet the kind of agent that could enact judgments" (49).

The comparison that Maclaren draws between the use of poetic language and our experience of emotion (between authentic passions and emotional clichés, or first and second-order emotions respectively), makes a helpful model for metacritical dance reviews. There is evidence within the reviews that suggests that the writers of modern dance experience these second-order emotions. In the process of writing dance, they must translate this experience to the journalistic tones of second-order speech. Traditional journalism often gives the impression that everything can be relayed via language and leaves no space for ambiguity. And yet, an

unmediated translation is a myth. Maclaren explains:

The reason we wrongly suppose that language or artistic expression translate an internal experience and that words are merely the vehicles for thoughts already possessed is that, upon finding the “right” word or the right brush-stroke to express ourselves, we have the sense that “this is what I meant all along.” It seems to us, then, that the meaning was already present, already fully determinate, already in our grips, and we needed only to match it up with the proper word. But in fact, this is a *retrospective* illusion: the meaning comes into its determinacy in the very finding of the word. Prior to that, the indeterminateness and amorphousness of that meaning is precisely what motivates us to search for some way of expressing it, some way of getting a handle on it. (61)

Considering this active negotiation of language in relation to dance criticism uncovers description as an active process of recovery and reinvention. Between the process of seeing and writing a performance, the critic brings an intellectual understanding to their experience of feeling which, in turn, organizes the experience by making choices about how to represent intangibility. It is inevitable that, in representing this translation, the memory of it is both stabilized and altered.

Although she is not specifically describing an encounter with art objects, Maclaren’s explanation that the space between experience and expression is unstable, describes the transition for the critic, who’s task it is to represent the performance through language. The critic is then made to wrest meaning from the experience and meaning from the abstract. In this process, the experience of emotion becomes something tame-able, for, in naming emotion, as R. G. Collingwood suggests, what initially bewilders us becomes manageable. Interpretation

“domesticates” experience (Maclaren 61). But because authentic experience was connected to indistinct emotion of modern dance, and involved the “unnamable,” the critic could no longer describe with legitimacy. Thus, authenticity was not only a concern for modern dancers during this era, but also for the critics describing and memorializing their dancing.

3.4 “Un-dreamt of Places”

After seeing Loïe Fuller dance in 1893, the French symbolist poet Stéphane Mallarmé remarks that she “acquires the virginity of un-dreamt-of places” (309). This, oneiric indescribability is exactly what metacriticism most forcefully brings forth to the historian reading her reviews. It is the shock of the new, which is itself a quintessentially modern experience. Certainly newness was a hallmark of modernism, but the absorption of new aesthetics into mainstream culture also became more rapid. The press was integral in this process, in which what was once authentic was quickly deemed imitative. In his book *All That is Solid Melts into Air* (1982), Marshall Berman posits:

To be modern... is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find one's world and oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction: to be part of a universe in which all that is solid melts into air. To be a modernist is to make oneself somehow at home in the maelstrom, to make its rhythms one's own, to move within its currents in search of the forms of reality, of beauty, of freedom, of justice, that its fervid and perilous flow allows. (345-46)

The metacritical tone, in its variances from frustration and despair, to fascination and excitement, illustrates this very perilousness. Even journalistic writing, with its documentary reliance on realist “photographic” record keeping, was susceptible to this unease. But

underlying these discourses of the critical act lies a vastly different experience than that of more familiar aesthetics. The “un-dreamt of” capabilities of aesthetic experience bring to light particular challenges for the body’s reaction to the aesthetic, for the viewer will have less of a framework of familiar experience to draw from and contextualize the movement within.

This shock of the new (although somewhat mitigated by romantic imagery discussed in Part Two) is most apparent in reviews through moments of metacritique. John Martin describes this moment when pure narrative representationalism in aesthetics is supplanted by abstraction:

[The artist’s] goal now, far from being the reproduction of the already familiar in the common daily round for no other end than the pleasure of recognition, became the production of the unfamiliar out of this same round, utilizing the pleasure of recognition only as the taking-off place for an expedition into untried emotional fields. Instead of dealing always with the objective surface of life... it was now possible for him to deal with essences, to penetrate ever deeper into the subjective tools of experience. (*Dance in Theory* 93)

This statement, made in 1939, presents a notion of the aesthetic that can be traced to the dance critic during the modern era, who was no longer merely relaying the visual details of the performance to their reader, but faced with translating performance’s intangible elements. Thus, the memorial implications of accessing the memory of these dance events through the document are complex. But at the root of metacriticism is an issue relatable to Fuller’s court case; that is, there is a desire on the part of the critic to communicate emotion in a manner that authentically or legitimately represents the performance. Narrative ballet and vaudeville correspond more fittingly with a model in which the means of creation is directly produced according to presumed audience affect.

The idea that one can own movement again refers to issues surrounding authenticity and

copyright that the Fuller trial and the preoccupation with “real” experience. There is a sense that because a performance would not be readily accessible to lingual description, it remains somewhat intangible to its viewers. It also engages with a feeling of ownership over emotions that arises by naming them. Experience and emotion are more manageable when we can assign a recognizable emotional category to them. The idea that modern dancers were eliciting unfamiliar emotional responses from their viewers is also reified through criticism. Emotional clichés, are emotional reactions that rely on familiar ways of meaning-making, while reinforcing ordinary modes of being. While “authentic passions” involve the articulation of unpredicted meanings and new modes of Being (Maclaren 46). Authentic emotion is that which can only be felt and identified by subjectivity.

It comes as no surprise that moments of aesthetic upheaval have particular strength to portray these unrecognizable views and emotions. Narratives of newness, for example, are ubiquitous within affect theory. Ahmed, for one, attributes affective involvement with being open to new experience; Anna Gibbs describes affects as “envisionings beyond the already known” (203); and Ben Highmore proposes that affective states offer “new sensual worlds” (135). The following review from *New York Spirit of the Times*, of Fuller’s first incarnation of her “serpentine” dance in the infamous *Quack M.D.* demonstrates the outstandingly original experience of watching Fuller, within the play, which was overall considered rather a bore:

Loie Fuller appears in white light which makes her radiant and a white robe which surrounds her like a cloud. She floats around the stage, her figure is now revealed, now concealed by the exquisite drapery which takes forms of its own and seems instinct with her life. The surprised and delighted spectators do not know what to call her performance. It is not a skirt dance, although she dances and waves a skirt. It is unique, ethereal, delicious. (qtd. in Current 35)

Because newness begets imitation, and depends on imitation for its longevity, the intersections of the avant-garde and popular culture are integral in modern dance. The desire to make the intangible permanent arises as an appealing contradiction. T. S. Eliot discusses a similar negotiation in relation to literary criticism:

I only affirm that there is a significant relation between the best poetry and the best criticism of the same period... the contemporary poet, who is not merely a composer of graceful verses, is forced to ask himself such questions as ‘what is poetry for?; not merely ‘what am I to say? But rather ‘how and whom am I to say it?’” (Eliot 30)

Certainly some metacritical reviews exhibit the discomfort inherent in feeling “authentic passions.” However, despite this slippery nature of this state, they also communicate much excitement in the possibility of experience outside the realm of the linguistic, indicating that although in the realm of the unfamiliar, aesthetic spectatorship could also provide a liminal venue for new experiences. This 1909 Duncan review from the *Trenton Evening Times* (New Jersey) illustrates just such thirst for new experience:

To describe the charm of this little woman’s revival of beauty, long-lost, is like trying to paint the ‘Sistine’ in words. When you have exhausted the supply of synonyms for grace, you have come to the spell-weaving soulfulness of her motion-interpretations and it was as potent as ever last night. (“Isadora Duncan’s Beautiful Art”)

Similarly, in a testament to Allan’s detachment from gesture, a critic writing for the Belgian publication *L’Indépendance Belge* remarks in an undated article:

Her attitude, movement and expressions looked similar to the art of dance and mime, but it was neither dance nor mime. It was, rather, a kind of passionate

personal conjuration, which not only gives life to the sound thoughts of the composer but also transfers the moods of the composer to the audience.... This charm cannot be analyzed, you just succumb to it, and then you gain some understanding. (Qtd. in Cherniavsky *Maud Allan* 27)

This concept of letting go of the type of hermeneutic meaning-making, as one would bring to a narrative performative work, to gain new insight into unfamiliar experience is further indication that modern dance presented the spectator with new “ways of seeing,” or rather approaching, dance.

When confronted with new aesthetic experiences, the critic’s habit of meaning making is temporarily disabled. However, there are still evaluative functions at work, occurring as passive judgment instead of active evaluation. Even if the evaluative language is not overt, the reader is still usually aware of the critic’s aesthetic position. While overt evaluation is put on hold, the reader still has a sense of whether the critic felt the performance was legitimate, or worth attending. In this way, many of the reviews exhibit a kind of passive or implicit judgment, in that they do not communicate the worthiness of the performance, but relay an enthusiasm in the work of translating the experience. Even reviews that seem only to describe are evaluative, portraying judgment in their stylistic attitude. The idea of inherent evaluation is consistent with the idea that critics of cognitive schema of emotion assert that evaluative judgment can take place in response to unrecognizable emotion.

As Pierre Bourdieu theorizes, taste and judgment are not disinterested, but influenced by cultural and social embeddedness. I elaborated on this idea earlier (see Part Two), exploring how physical practices influenced experiences of physicality in ways particular to their era, and subsequently impacted the writing of performances and bodies. Bourdieu’s evaluation of taste was a crucial intervention in the myth of disinterested journalism, which resulted in an

examination of how reviews act as mediators in culturally determined ways. But what he misses is the embodied nature of judgment, that is, the implied judgment that occurs in writing through stylistic description. In determining the significance of an aesthetic object or performance, one also engages in an emotional and kinesthetic evaluation of it based on their previous encounters with it or other reference points, even though this judgment may lend itself to first-order impression and not second-order expression.

The understanding of judgment as embodied has implications for dance criticism because spectatorship (the first step of dance criticism) involves kinesthetic empathy, which itself is a kind of passive evaluation in response to visual stimulus. Kinesthetic empathy is essentially an instinctual corporeal response through which we kinesthetically react to stimuli based on our previous memories of interactions with other stimuli. Accordingly, the emotional and kinesthetic feelings we have in our initial response to aesthetic impetus are caught up in the act of evaluating dance. The critics, whether their goal is to describe, interpret, or promote, are inevitably asking themselves if the experience of seeing and feeling choreography was valuable. Because modern dance evaluation is necessarily embodied, traditional criticism missed the point by portraying evaluation as universal conclusion, rather than subjectively embodied.

Ultimately, metacriticism reflects another important change in the shift in meaning that occurred from realist narrative to intangible imagery, in which the meaning in a work of art changed from residing in things to residing in our response to things. One of the obvious ways this manifests itself in modern dance criticism from this era is in its change in focus on the visual attributes of the dancer and their steps, to the emotive feelings they produce in the spectator. But it also presents itself in the mode of writing the critic can use to accurately describe the performance. From the critic's perspective, treating the performer's body as object is an easier writing task, which allows them to maintain an objective distance. But dictating

their response to a performance, which is itself the reaction that modern dance seeks to provoke, challenges this distance. Metacriticism illustrates how journalistic fact begins to break from visual fact, at least under the purview of the art review.

Metacriticism is also indicative of the embodied nuances of (dis)engagement. As Tim Armstrong expresses in relation to Gertrude Stein's automatic writing:

We are, perhaps, the most familiar with the positive modes in which the body enters writing, expressing the self as impulse, sexual being, or vehicle for the epiphany. But modes of disconnection are also an important part of this picture, as late nineteenth-century science fragmented the body into competing systems with their respective tolerations, limits, and interfaces. (187)

In writing such disjuncture, what is at stake in the critical "translation" from indistinct emotion to lingual description in dance criticism? Although I sympathize with the metacritics's Sontag-esque reluctance to dissect art, lest it be robbed of its mystery, there are certainly ways to write art that acknowledge and respect the limitations of such an undertaking. Metacriticism, in my reading of it, is an attempt to respect the intangible aspect of new aesthetic response, without sullyng it by naming. But metacriticism is a means to an end: while it is a useful task to interrogate criticism, eventually critics had to find ways around this questioning of their craft. In Part Four, I discuss what happens after the questioning phase of metacritical statements in modern dance reviews by identifying new types of description. Ultimately, metacriticism reflects the desire on the part of the critic to authentically write feeling, and the frustration in doing so within both the strictures of journalistic tone and the confines of language. Metacriticism, in its limitations, confines, and muteness, was the starting place for new print descriptions of the dancing body. The Metacritical intermission is a gap in communication, a "pregnant pause," or moment of embodied silence.

Part Four

“Poetry of Motion”: Writing Synaesthetic Metaphor

Among the monikers of modern dance, “poetry of motion” reveals how this new movement aesthetic reconceived the corporeal. Penned with regularity in the print-media reviews of modern dance “poetry of motion” is a metaphor that draws attention to the non-narrative realm of aesthetic experience and the potential for emotional and physical response. Not storytelling, but poetic evocation is the new focus. The phrase draws two metaphoric analogies. First, by comparing the modern dancer’s non-narrative movements with the poet’s figurative use of language, the phrase conjures up the immersive experience as a novel way of interpreting and writing dance. And second, in aligning poetry with modern dance—contrasting with traditional opera and ballet’s narrative structure—this phrase also points to the realms of language and movement as intertwined

Earlier (see Part Three), I outlined how misrecognition, doubt, or uncertainty in description entails a reflection on the use of language and genre, the very materiality of expression. Now I turn to exploring how critics adopted synesthetic metaphor to describe the multi-sensory experiences that modern dance instilled. This poetic turn, I argue, involved a focus away from documentary description into a performative engagement with poetic language, which, I posit, engages the reader not through a description of live event (although this is an element of it) but through equivalence—a translation of *experience*. As art historian Michael Schreyach outlines in his ambitious analysis of art criticism, successful criticism is a practice that “strives for equivalence, because it allows the reader to share the subjective position of the writer, whose technique ideally facilitates the passage from representation to experience” (19).

Modern dance criticism became increasingly focused on the sensorial. In their book *The Senses in Performance* (2012) André Lepecki and Sally Banes make a case for the sensory in performance as a site of “critical and performative power” (3) that provides a “privileged means by which to investigate processes where history and body create unsuspected sensorial-perceptual realms, alternative modes for life to be lived” (1). With this focus in mind, I begin to outline how the sensorial realms were communicated within the dance review through metaphor. In doing so, I also engage with George Lakoff and Mark Johnson’s theories regarding how the body creatively shapes language usage.

4.1 Synesthesia as Metaphor

I begin by exploring the critics’ turn to interpreting movement as one might read abstract poetry—that is, critics can be seen to let go of hermeneutic analysis to embrace an embodied interpretation—it is a *way of seeing* and *interpreting* that was novel for the 1890s critical spectator, but not unconnected to other social and performative practices of this era. This new mode of critical spectatorship and interpretation was communicated as inherently tactile and was connected with the fin-de-siècle culture in which these dancers became famous. In the 1890s an increasing fascination with multisensory experience, the subconscious, and altered consciousness influenced the dance review.⁵⁸ The hallucinatory resonances of the fin-de-siècle certainly echo within many of the European reviews of their dances, and although American dance critics may or may not have participated in the kinds of decadence associated with their European counterparts, they were certainly influenced by the reviews of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan as they gained renown on European stages. As the dancers returned to American stages,

⁵⁸ See, for example, Dani Cavallero’s *Synesthesia and the Arts* (2013).

seeds of the hallucinatory visions described by European critics, along with the poetic descriptions they incited, appeared also in the prose of American reviews. I suggest that this stylistic shift, adopted in American dance reviews, can be read as a doubled engagement; first, with the abstract movement presented on stage; and second with the dissonant multisensorial culture of the *fin de siècle*. It was in these dual resonances of the sensory that American critics, who were typically less tonally “interested” than their European colleagues, embraced novel dimensions in the interpretation of dance and the writing of the dance reviews. Physical boundaries were being extended in the late 1800s, facilitating exploration of outer and inner borders; so too were the non-physical boundaries of consciousness being tested within performative, medical, and psychoanalytic practices such as hypnotism and automatic writing. I liken critical descriptions of modern dance to accounts of the dancers regarding performance and choreographic process, concluding that depicting the equivalence of states of consciousness represents a move away from the narrative storytelling in tradition dance criticism.

What I refer to as metaphoric synesthesia becomes, I argue, a way for critics to describe their own kinesthetic empathy or bodily response. In particular, the haptic texture of the visual field was emphasized. For example, in Loïe Fuller’s dances “feeling colours” became a common phrase, whereas for Duncan and Allan “seeing music,” or making music “pictorial” became common idioms in reviews. The synesthesia evoked herein is metaphoric in that the critics are likely not synesthetes, but are using metaphor as a tool to describe the unfamiliar experience of the multisensorial. Consequently, metaphor operates in synesthetic correspondence that is not the neurological experience of literal synesthesia, but an imagined association. This synesthetic focus not only calls into question how the intertwining of the senses became an important concept in spectatorship in response to modern dance, but also how synesthesia became a way of describing haptic critical spectatorship.

Metaphor, as Mark Johnson has argued in his book *The Body in the Mind*, like language itself, has the ability to shape human cognitive understanding.⁵⁹ It is through metaphor, the author argues, that “we make use of patterns that [we] obtain in our physical experience to organize our more abstract understanding” (xiv), and we do so by grasping the unknown in the terms of the familiar. In this way, metaphor in the first modern dance criticism evokes the body in a manner that, I suggest, can also be theorized as an attempt to relay to their readers something akin to Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s “first-order” responses (discussed in Part Three). That is, instead of describing the experience directly, critics compared it to other sensations, visions, or sounds. In this way, their written responses retained an acceptance of ambiguity in understanding. By referring to specific works these women dancers presented, I examine how, in their critical reaction to them, reviewers were stymied in their attempts to objectively describe the immersive experience of these encounters. Instead, critics adopted synesthetic metaphor as a method of communicating haptic physicality, thus categorizing and concretizing sensory experience in specific ways. In this way, corporeal or synesthetic metaphors also engendered empathy for the reader, for these substitutions of one sense with another can potentially summon in the reader bodily memories that echoed the writer’s experience, making

⁵⁹ Metaphors can be, but are not always, powerful enough to constitute theories, and are not merely rhetorical devices. Many communication scholars agree that metaphor and metonymy play a role in our understanding of emotion, although they disagree on the exact nature of its role. See, for example, Holland and Quinn, *Cultural Models* (1987); Averill, *Inner Feelings* (1974), 1990; Averil and Kövecses, *The Concept of Emotion* (1983); Geeraerts and Grondelaers, *Looking Back* (1991); Lakoff and Kövecses, “The Cognitive Model” (1987).

the review an object possessing nearly talismanic capacities. Since dance criticism's central task is translation, the issue at stake is the process of translating felt feeling into print language.

Understanding Synesthesia

It was Francis Galton who first reported the condition called synaesthesia in 1880, when he noticed that some people experience sensations in multiple modalities in response to stimulation of one modality (Ramachandran 5). Experiencing a union or crossing of the senses, a synaesthete might, for example, hear colours or taste shapes. In this manner, for synaesthetes, the experience of metaphor becomes literal in meaning (for example a “loud shirt” or “warm hue”), highlighting the complicated relationship between sense experience and lingual description of it. But synesthesia is also evoked as an intellectual concept in aesthetics, both metaphorically and in familiar quotidian engagements. Cretien van Campen explores the connections between cognition and aesthetics, suggesting that synesthetic metaphors arise when we attempt to interpret experiences that combine sensory domains. When understood in this way, synesthetic metaphors become “figures of speech in which meanings are transferred from one sensory domain to another” (van Campen 92). Still, as van Campen sees it, synesthesia cannot be theorized as a mode of metaphor itself because, to synesthetes, “synesthetic perceptions are not verbal but experiential,” as he writes. He continues to explain: “Synesthetes do not have a theory that sounds are associated with colors, they simply perceive sounds in colors. Synesthesia is a way of perceiving and not a way of conceiving” (91). In other words, synesthesia is a literal reality, and not a substitution of a known experience to understand an unknown one.

The distinction between these two experiences of synesthesia relates to the idea of art as either felt or intellectualized, for literal synesthesia is felt, while metaphoric synesthesia occurs

in our attempt to say and understand experience intellectually. In writing synesthetic metaphor, the critic participates in the process of understanding aesthetic experience. And, similarly, dance reviews are performance residue that evokes the corporeal dimensions of language. Metaphoric synesthesia, when compared to cognitive synesthesia, is always a simile masked as a metaphor. It is as if one “sees music,” but, in fact, what is actually happening is an intertwined perceptual experience in which the dancer embodies the music so expertly that the body of the spectator responds. Early twentieth-century critical spectators, in watching Maud Allan, might describe her performance later as if it allowed them to “see music”; however, as I describe in more detail below, this idea was also a popular cultural metaphor during the era and, therefore, it is more likely that this metaphor was evoked in the spirit of the age to describe the kinesthetic empathy evoked during the performance.

But this idea is given even more nuance when we accept that the sensory domains are, in fact, not completely distinct from each other. In the *Phenomenology of Perception* (1945) Maurice Merleau-Ponty elaborates on the pre-reflective phenomenal field, calling for a new ontology of vision that acknowledges its corporeal origins. This concept involved interrogating the idea that senses exist as mutually exclusive modes of experience in favour of an approach that acknowledges the inter-sensory reality of perception,⁶⁰ and the understanding that experience is felt through the body. According to Merleau-Ponty, this state occurs prior to the delineation of the senses and the ensuing reorganization on the level of language, thought, or

⁶⁰ Perceptual studies are actually moving away from what David Howes identifies as the unimodal sense-by-sense approach. Howes suggests that synaesthesia might, in fact, provide a better model for conceptualizing perceptual processes than the conventional aforementioned model that has dominated research to date (“Cross-talk” 383).

idea. Thus, Merleau-Ponty states, synesthetic metaphors such as “loud colors” or “sharp cheese” are abstractions from the preconscious state of sensorially merged synesthetic experience. Merleau-Ponty outlines how synesthetic perception is part of the everyday and how synesthetic metaphors arise from unified perception that is not actively put into words, claiming that they are both *gestalts* that develop from the shift from preconscious into conscious perception. In other words, Merleau-Ponty contends that as we begin to become conscious of our environment we associate distinct sensory domains from the thick overlap of experience, and also begin to talk about this experience using language that reflects the five senses, thereby categorizing perception into recognizable experiences.

Continuing this theme of perceptual intersection, David Howes insists that, in fact, synesthetic experiences are part of everyday existence, even if we do not recognize them as such and that, in fact, perceptual experience of the senses can be culturally patterned. Howes insists, “Too often... the senses are considered from a purely physical and personal psychological perspective. Sensory experience is presented as physical sensation shaped by personal history.... with little notion of how sensory experience may be collectively patterned by cultural ideology and practice” (*Sensual Relations* xi). Sensation, he proposes, can be “the medium through which all the values and practices of society are enacted” (xi). Accordingly, just as the ways we study the shared use of language are culturally contextualized, kinesthesia can likewise be approached. Consequently, physical feeling is negotiated by (and intertwined with) language that reflects distinct sensory domains. Emotional feeling, like physical feeling, begins not as conscious idea, but as undetermined bodily states.

I propose that both of these understandings of synesthesia—both as a metaphor for the unfamiliar and as an everyday occurrence—have value in the context of dance writing. Metaphoric synesthesia reveals what metaphors hide. By investigating recurrent popular

synesthetic metaphors, and asking why they took hold in the popular imagination, I suggest that they reveal new spectatorship interactions that implicate kinesthetic empathy. In the following section, I also make the case that synesthetic metaphor allowed critics to both hide and reveal emotional and physical responses to movement without betraying their “objectivity” completely. However, by interrogating synesthetic metaphor in its aesthetically unfamiliar forms, while acknowledging it as an everyday perceptual negotiation allows an understanding of what metaphors reveal about the critic’s perception and reaction and how kinesthetic empathy is not merely an abstract or metaphoric idea, but an everyday reality. For, if we assign the experience of synesthesia (for both synesthetes and everyday synesthetes) with experience and synesthetic metaphor, as the attempt to understand this experience, we are closer to understanding the role of language in cognition. In relation to dance criticism, we can identify synesthetic metaphors as moments of “translation,” whereby metaphor is used as a tool to describe unfamiliar physical and emotional feeling. In this way, metaphors both obscure and reveal aspects of the critic’s corporeality.

4.2 Modernism and Synesthesia

Citing aesthetic and literary examples, Stephen Kern outlines the trajectory of synesthesia in the arts prior to 1890 in both Romanticism and Symbolism in the form of “musical paintings.” In relation to language, synesthesia was taken up by poets and writers such as Arthur Rimbaud, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Théophile Gautier, Joris-Karl Huysmans, and Charles Baudelaire. For example, in his 1857 poem “Correspondences,” Baudelaire writes of the comingling of “perfumes, sounds, and hues” (23). Similarly, German composer Richard Wagner used the term *Gesamtkunstwerk* (meaning a synthesis of the arts) to describe the effect he sought to achieve in his later work, in much of which he sought to unify light and sound.

Fittingly, multisensorial expression was simultaneously taken up as an interdisciplinary aesthetic by artists working in different sensory mediums and genres.

It was also during the 1890s that synesthesia caught fire in the *popular* imagination and, in keeping with the modern idea of testing boundaries, began to symbolize a way of challenging the norms of perception.⁶¹ Early twentieth-century modernist painters espoused synesthesia as an intellectual idea, and used it to stimulating artistic expression. Germany's Blaue Reiter group (including Vasily Kandinsky) were interested in the emotional and corporeal dynamics of color, for example. Aesthetic vocabulary began to reflect these ideas as well as musical terms such as "composition" and "tone" began to be used to describe painting and architecture. The Futurist Carlo Carrà, in his 1913 manifesto "The Painting of Sounds, Noises and Smells," depicts the connection between abstraction, emotion, and synesthesia as a way of rebelling against the categorization of the senses as distinct sensory domains. He writes:

The rrrrreddest rrrrrreds that shouuuuuut. Greens, that can never be greener,
greeeeeeeeens that screeeeeam, yellows, as violent as can be.... All the
colors of speed, of joy, of carousings and fantastic carnivals, of fireworks, café
chantants and music-halls; all colors seen in movement, colors experience in
time and not in space. (112)

Dada sound poetry's displacement of meaning is accomplished via different semantic modes, but what it reminds us is that corporeality is rooted in language's origins. Similarly, Irene Gammel and Suzanne Zelazo have theorized the sound poetry of the Baroness Elsa von Freytag

⁶¹ Of course there are also artists for whom synesthesia was a neurological condition. For example, Russian composers Aleksandr Scriabin and Nikolai Rimski-Korsakov both associated colored with specific musical notes.

Loringhoven as a “corporeal aesthetics,” arguing that her “word-like constructions” were both reminders and destabilizers of lingual meaning (258). They cite the American writer Maxwell Bodenheim, who wrote of the Baroness in 1920, “‘Else von Freytag Loringhoven’s ‘Klink—Hratzvenga’ has the virtues of so many languages and the deficiencies of none, since she can create sounds for shades of meaning that have no dictionary equivalents’” (257). The advantage, at least according to Bodenheim, was that everyone could experience this poetry on equal footing, because, there was “nothing to understand” (257). Underpinning such sound poetry experiments, of course, were new understandings of embodied interpretation.

In the context of modernity, scholars such as Walter Benjamin, Marshall McLuhan, Jonathan Crary, Don Ihde, and Martin Jay have explored how technologies have influenced, and sometimes refigured, the human sensorium. Although different in approach, the main premise these writers present is that the body interacts with technologies in ways that indicate a changing temporality. The association of synesthesia to technology has been outlined by these scholars in relation to specific technologies, mainly visual technologies, and is a noteworthy approach in relation to the definition of modernism as a series of epistemic alterations in knowledge, communication, and perception. Certainly technology plays a role in the viewing of spectatorship and stage technologies of the era; however, for the purposes of this discussion I investigate synesthesia as an aesthetic device by positioning kinesthetic empathy as a quotidian, but essentially synesthetic reaction to watching dance.

In his poem “Un spectacle interrompu,” Mallarmé describes what he terms “my poet’s gaze” (276) as an active viewing tactic. Felicia McCarren suggests that, rather than seeing only what is visible and thereby reducing all vision to what a metaphor of sight, Mallarmé “looks” also through other forms of perception (“Stéphane Mallarmé” 220). In a statement that mimics modern dance’s emphasis on “feeling,” Mallarmé’s poetic gaze is contingent on insight rather

than merely sight. In criticism this idea is often taken up, as previously described, in the difficulty of the task of description, but also involves a description of the experience as “energy” or “spirit.” The critic John Martin, for example, conceives of the spectatorship of modern dance as “points of view,” as he writes: “The mistake that is made is in looking for a standard system, a code such as characterized the classic dance” (*Modern Dance* 19). By doing so, Martin positions “poetry of motion” as a spectatorship point of view. In the following, I explore how this viewpoint influenced review writing in a way that deemphasized visual detail and highlighted kinesthetic response. Now I investigate specific synesthetic metaphors that recur in the dance reviews under investigation, detailing their relationship to corporeality.

Fuller’s “Orgy of Colour”

Loïe Fuller’s *Fire Dance* (ca. 1896) was among her most popular and enduring works, and inspired some of the most vivid metaphoric descriptions of her dances in reviews. The first incarnation was set to a Gabriel Pierné score, but Fuller later adapted it to Wagner’s march “Ride of the Valkyries.” The dance’s popularity can likely be contributed to Fuller’s development of a system of underlighting, in which stage lights, in addition to hitting her from beyond the stage, also lit her from below through a transparent stage door or underlit pedestal (**figure 4.1**). The effect, according to the reviews, was striking, in that it enhanced the contrast between light and shadow, giving the illusion of flames.

Reviews of this dance, then, are particularly revealing, as reactions to this work often highlight the corporeal dimensions of its viewing. For example, renowned music critic Henry T. Parker wrote of a 1909 performance of this work:

[The lights] project upon the gauzes, and upon the spectator’s fancy, images that now bear some resemblance to fantastic landscapes that again are mere riots of

luminous splotches or luminous bars, and that yet again seem like some ordered kaleidoscope of interplaying lights... Eyes had swam and fancy rioted in an orgy of luminosity—the gorgeous apotheosis as it were, of Loie of the nineties and fire dances. (“Loie Fuller and an Orgy of Lights”)

The same “orgy of colour” metaphor was anticipated a few years earlier by the reviewer Marcus Tindal.⁶² Writing for *Pearson’s Magazine* in 1901, he introduced this metaphor to describe Fuller’s dance.

The orgy of color was so wonderful as to leave objection mute. Light came from every side. La Loie danced upon glass, from which the vivid splendor of the headlights was reflected, while from wings, stage and orchestra wonderful, luminous streams seemed to flow towards her. With the rhythm of the music the colors changed, and where the white ruled before there was a kaleidoscopic vision. Violet, orange, purple and mauve movements succeeded in rapid succession until a rich, deep red dominated the dancer, and she became for one brief moment a living rose, with palpitating heart and flying leaves. Then the hues of the rainbow came from all sides and ranged themselves upon the ever-moving draperies. Every fold had its tint and scheme of color intensified by the surrounding darkness until the eye could scarcely bare to look. Just as the strain was becoming almost intolerable the colors disappeared, there was a white flash

⁶² Although he does not mention which dance he is describing, it is likely that Tindall is referring to Fuller’s *Fire Dance*, which was lit from below through a technology of Fuller’s that utilizes a glass floor that he mentions later in the review.

of appalling brilliancy, and La Loie faded under diaphanous drapery. (“Queen of all Dancers”)

The “orgy” that both Tindal and Parker describe is significant because throughout these passages both critics stylistically evoke a building energy. The colors seem to have their own agenda: the red menacingly dominates Fuller. In Tindal’s passage the intensity eventually builds to an uncomfortable climax for the viewer, and, ultimately, culminates in a flash of white light. In these intensely corporeal, and even carnal, descriptions of light, colour is represented as force that has a direct impact on bodies—both Fuller’s performing body, and by extension, the spectator’s. The metaphor of colour as sexual energy does not necessarily indicate a sexual response from the spectator, but certainly portrays a corporeal response—a bodily tension in response to light and colour.

The way Tindal has alluded to the physicality of Fuller’s colours, is a enlightening example of how metaphors were used (and are used) by critics to portray “feeling” stylistically. In the same article Tindal’s describes how Fuller responds to colour kinesthetically:

It is sad to think that La Loie, with her love of colour, has never seen herself in the light of her great lanterns as their rays ripple in waves of colour upon her dresses. When she is in the light she *feels* the colours, feels by instinct what movements go naturally with them, and by instinct knows the effect she has never seen. (“Queen of all Dancers”)

Tindal’s sympathetic proclamation of Fuller’s blindness to her own spectacle represents the kind of inverted empathetic response, in which the critic transposes feeling onto the dancer’s body, assuming how *she* must feel. However, this description also illustrates the interrelatedness of vision and touch in the popular imagination. Interestingly, light provides this opportunity literally as well: as every stage performer knows, stage lights can be sensed as heat or lack of

heat on the body, indicating to performers when they are in or out of their light. In a similar fashion, Fuller writes in her autobiography how she was inspired by the lights of the Notre Dame Cathedral. As the sunlight filtered through rose-coloured windows, she writes, it “vibrated” the entire church (*Fifteen Years* 63), the verb bringing attention to the haptic potential of light as heat that can be felt. Others remarked on Fuller’s physicality in relation to colour and light. In a Fuller-inspired poem published in *Le Figaro* in 1896, French Symbolist poet Georges Rodenbach elaborates on the tangible effects of Fuller’s colours in her *Fire Dance*:

Brusquely ripping through the shadows, she is there. And it is dawn!

From a mauve prelude that swells to lilac,

Having tailored her flounces out of the clouds,

She fades to paleness only to regain her colours

...

Then, as the volcano is filled up with lava,

It seems as though she has created the rivers of fire,

...

Where she has entwined our creeping desires like that twist together like coloured

serpents,

...

It is over;

Brusquely, the air is scarred.

It is in Rodenbach’s poem that the violent impact of Fuller’s use of colour, through her lighting techniques, and the afterimage the spectator was left with, is most apparent. Fuller theorist Cooper-Albright (drawing on the writing of Valerian Svetloff) contextualizes Fuller’s use of

light and colour within a larger context of nineteenth-century aesthetic perception by outlining connections between her dances and impressionist paintings, both of which illustrate a dependent relationship between colour and light. Of the impressionists, Svetlov says, “They learn that shadow is never black, but blue or purple or transparent, according to the light and the neighbouring colors, just as a pause in music is not mere emptiness, deadly silence, but silent tone” (57). As Cooper-Albright explains in her book on Fuller, colours are “mutable, and fade in and out of one another” (67), and, accordingly, the affective qualities of light and colour used by Fuller further emphasize the blurring of the distinction between subject and object. This shading is apparent in Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec’s 1893 lithographs of Fuller dancing, which depict this affect with alarming impact. In them the textures of darkness and light permeate the canvas (**figure 4.2**).⁶³ Another watercolour painting of Fuller by an unknown artist, *La Loïe Fuller Vivant Fleur* (1895) (**figure 4.3**) depicts her in mid-spin, with an array of arms at every point in her circular trajectory. Colours meld into each other and have no definite beginnings or edges. The arresting imagery of this painting captures an element of Fuller’s movement and colour that could not have been captured with photographic technology of this era, which was more adept at still poses and, of course, in black and white. What artist renderings and descriptions of visual textures indicate is a new way of perceiving space, and thus, words that describe texture function as assignments of the visual to a neuromuscular experience.

⁶³ Fuller was among the first theatrical performers to use a complete blackout of the stage between her dances. A feature that in contemporary theatre is commonplace, but was radical in Fuller’s time. This was also made possible by the introduction of electric light in theatres, replacing gas lamps.

In his history of the use of colour in early film, Joshua Yumibe explores how, before photographic colour, manually applied colour was either hand painted or tinted onto film footage. Of Yumibe's insights regarding the aesthetics of colour in the nineteenth and twentieth-centuries, he asserts that color impacted the way vision itself was understood, and thus, that it is corporeally affective (18-9). In his analysis of early film colouring techniques, he interprets Walter Benjamin's concept of afterimage as a "physiological metaphor" which "provides one way of viewing nineteenth-century literary interest in synaesthesia" (33), positioning the afterimage as a reaction against the effects of modernization on sensory perception. Yumibe concludes that the first color cinema (of which Fuller's history and popularity is indebted to) used color, hand-painted or tinted onto the surface of the film, in a manner that, instead of bringing the gaze into the surface, instead subverted depth perception to seemingly bring the surface of the film out to meet the eye, offering a different sense of embodiment than purely black and white footage (10). Similarly, Fuller did not apply white light to an already coloured dress, but instead made herself the canvas for the application of moving colour. The impact of colour was made more saturated in the theatre by the contrast of light of darkness.

In the *critical* afterimage, the review, the residue of performance presented emotion and intertwined with kinesthetic response. Mallarmé, in his description of the *Fire Dance*, even assigns emotional affects to them:

[Fuller's] fusion with the nuances of speed shedding their lime-light
phantasmagoria of dusk and grotto, such rapidity of passions, delight, mourning,
anger; to move them prismatic, with violence or diluted, it takes the vertigo of a
soul as if airborne on artifice. (307-308)

By identifying specific emotions in Fuller's quickly morphing use of coloured lights, Mallarmé highlights the effect of being overcome by emotions as a physical sensation (albeit invoking the

word soul instead of emotional affect). This notion that emotions act as physical forces has been identified by linguistics scholar Zoltan Kövecses as an organizing metaphorical concept that is inseparable from the language we use to describe emotion. Emotional metaphors, he proposes, are also relatable to the body because of their orientational demeanor. For example, happiness is up, sadness is down and each has their corresponding physical impacts. What is most revealing about emotional metaphors is the startling corporeal dimension that they portray in their associations. There is also a notion, as addressed by Kövecses, that because emotions are forces, and exert their “personalities” on us, we are at their whim. Furthermore, metaphors suggest emotions can become forces that turn a rational self into an irrational one. Emotional metaphors are particularly fascinating not only in relation to modern dance’s abstraction, but also within the context of dance production and its claims of emotional expressionism. The spontaneity assumed by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan within their choreographic process is one in which the force of emotion is the agent and the dancer is the instrument through which emotion is expressed. In addition, the emotional expressionism that these first modern dancers aimed to incite within their spectators indicates that the force of emotion can be spread, contagiously, synesthetically, to their spectators.

If we pay attention to synesthetic metaphors, they divulge the physically of emotion. But metaphors, when we become too accustomed to them in their popular usages, also allow us to take for granted their corporeal dimension. In her autobiography, Fuller notices this lingual phenomenon:

We say, “prostrated by grief,” but, in reality, we pay attention only to the grief; “transported with joy,” but we observe only the joy; “weighted down by chagrin,” but we consider only the chagrin. Throughout we place no value on the movement that expresses the thought. We are taught not to do so, and we never

think of it. Who of us has not been pained by a movement of impatience, a lifting of the eyebrows, a shaking of the head, the sudden withdrawal of a hand? We are far from knowing that there is as much harmony in motion as in music and colour. We do not grasp the facts of motion. How often have we heard it said: “I cannot bear this colour.” (67)

The collision of colour and emotion is even more apparent when the overarching metaphor of colour is also a force. Accounts of Fuller’s coloured lights, and in particular in Fuller’s *Fire Dance*, describe the experience of watching her as falling under the spell of colour, as though it had the agency to will the viewer into its force. For example, Tindal (quoted earlier) does not name the colours as emotions as some critics do; however, it is less the naming of emotions that indicate emotional responses throughout this corpus of reviews, but more in the allusion of colour as exerting force on the viewer. In his accounts of the rapid succession of colours, Tindal describes red as “dominating” the dancer, the prismatic rainbows as “arranging themselves” on Fuller’s draperies, and finally, as he writes: “Just as the strain was becoming almost intolerable the colors disappeared, there was a white flash of appalling brilliancy” (“Queen of All Dancers”).

Because, as Kövecses points out, the words that name emotions are but a “small fraction of our emotional language” (2), and that emotion is often difficult to express using language, it is useful to pay close attention to metaphoric invocations of emotion. As Kövecses continues: “It is impossible to conceptualize most aspects of the emotions in other than metaphorical terms” (17). “[Metaphors] are not mere words used in a non-literal sense. Rather, metaphors are conceptual devices used for important cognitive jobs” (17). For instance, Tindal, unlike Mallarmé, does not directly describe experience by naming emotion (using words such as anger,

or joy). Instead he expresses emotion by using phrases such as “appalling brilliancy” and “vivid splendor.”

However, Tindal’s account of Fuller feeling colors is, in fact, a metaphoric relation that also could be related to the idea that specific colours correspond to emotional states, a belief that was coming into popularity in the 1870s as a pseudoscience.⁶⁴ This idea, I suggest, is also in keeping with the ideology of modern dance of this era (discussed in Part Two), whereby emotions are felt and expressed in terms unrelated to a narrative trajectory. Beginning in the early 1910s, painters and sculptors, too, experimented by using colour free from familiar symbolic forms. In his book, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1911), Kandinsky discusses how painters can help the “modern man” revive emotional spirituality by using colour, because, he believes, there lies a natural association between colour and spiritual states. Included in this book are synesthetic techniques that attribute sounds, odors, and moods to colours (60).

In his 1912 monograph *Color Music: the Art of Mobile Color*, Alexander Rimington attempts to demonstrate a correlation between waves of light and waves of sound, asserting that certain colours of light correspond to specific light frequencies, or colours, which have the potential to elicit emotional states. Rimington’s pseudo-scientific association of colour and musical tones is interesting because it is indicative of a lay understanding of synesthesia as an everyday phenomenon, gesturing toward the theorizing of Merleau-Ponty. It is also telling that

⁶⁴ American War General Augustus Pleasonton published a book in 1876 titled *The Influence of the Blue Ray of the Sunlight and of the Color of the Sky*, which detailed how the blue light spectrum has healing qualities for plants, livestock and humans. And in 1877 chromotherapy was introduced by scientist Seth Pancoast in his book *Blue and Red Light; or, Light and Its Rays as Medicine*.

Rimington does not adopt a metaphoric theory of synesthesia, but rather argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that there is scientific evidence of this correlation. Finally, the scientific connection to notions of synesthetic in dance can be linked to Fuller's association with the French scientist Camille Flammarion, with whom she shared a fascination with the affective qualities of colour. She remarks in her autobiography:

Continuing his experiments on the human body, Flammarion had panes of different colors set in the windows of his observatory. Each person who was sufficiently interested in his experiences not be afraid of the annoyances of sitting still in light of green color for an hour or two, was able to feel the varied influences that color conditions induce in the system. It is a fact, for example, that yellow causes enervation and that mauve engenders sleep. (*Fifteen Years* 114)

The notion of feeling colour is thus integral in both the creation of Fuller's dances and their spectatorship.

In one sense, the metaphor of sight as kinesthetic feeling is actually not a metaphor at all, for part of our recognition of visual texture requires a bodily memory of touch. For example, upon perceiving an object as sharp we recognize it as such by seeing it and touching it. The metaphor of feeling colour, is a description of such haptic vision. It pronounces a multisensory experience that is familiar, one that can be experienced within quotidian reality invoked as memory. In a way, the very notion of kinesthetic empathy is dependent on the haptic potential of the visual field. It frames our very orientation and interaction with objects. We may be drawn to certain textures and repelled by others, but this does not necessarily make our experiences literal. As a metaphor, "feeling colour" also reveals a novel way of understanding the new aesthetic experience offered by modern dance by associating the experience of the new with a

familiar sensations. In the rest of this section I outline some less quotidian synesthetic experiences that are expressed metaphorically in the body of reviews that are the focus of study herein. Talking about the kinesthetic, and even affective qualities of colour was a mode for critics to discuss kinesthetic empathy, while deferring the corporeal affect onto either the body of the dancer, or the distraction of the lights. Paying close attention to the difference between expressive and descriptive emotional expression is, in modern dance reviews, paramount to understanding how the “objective” critic portrayed the intertwining of emotional and kinesthetic feeling, particularly as it corresponds to non-narrative movement expression and spectatorship.

Allan’s Visual Music

From Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee in Europe, to Arthur Dove and Georgia O’Keefe in America, and to film pioneers Viking Eggeling and Hans Richter, the idea of musical analogy in painting became an influential aesthetic concept in the late nineteenth-century, particularly in relation to colour. Among the first modern dancers, Maud Allan’s reviews most strikingly relay the concept of “seeing music.” This metaphoric aural hallucination was inspired from how Allan created her works as accompaniments to already composed musical pieces, what she called her “musically impressionistic mood settings” (Cherniavsky *Salome Dancer* 73). Trained as classical pianist, Allan came to dance late (in her early thirties), having no formal training. Although using music as inspiration was, as still is not, an uncommon starting point for dance performers, the idea that she was “translating” music into movement was also reinforced in the titles of her dances, which were often simply the given song names. Among her most famous non-narrative works were *Spring Song* (1903)—named after the Felix Mendelsohn allegretto, *Funeral March* (1903)—a section of Frédéric

Chopin's *Piano Sonata No. 2*, and her *Peter Gynt Suite* (1909) set to Edvard Greig's score to the Henrik Ibsen play by the same name.

The doctrine behind visual music was, aligned with the modern synesthetic project of sensory unification, and consequently, the unity of the arts. But visual music was most famously taken up by painters and other artists, who used abstraction in attempt to free visual art from representation (then aligned with imitation), or at least pictorial exemplification. Of course, the project of non-representational visual art involves the suspension of disbelief in key ways, which led, ultimately, to a subversion of the canvas as vehicle for expression. In a comparable manner, the emergence of modern dance addressed these issues of representation (for example, in eliminating much of the set design that narrative ballet relied upon). But dance never totally surpasses representation; as previously elaborated, because the medium of dance is human, the viewer negotiates their kinesthetic empathy in constant relation with and to another body.

Nonetheless, the project of modern dance was an appealing vehicle for the synesthetic endeavor of making music pictorial because of its close relation to the musical score. Music was, as David Howes point out, considered ideal for abstraction because of its status as the “most spiritually exalting and purest form of art on account of its ethereality, nonobjectivity and emotivity (or direct appeal to the affects)” (*Sensual Relations* 59). It was this non-objectivity that visual art strived for and this demonstrates the role synesthesia played in the development of modern art. Although not as obvious as the term “poetry of motion,” the modern dance moniker “natural dance” holds within it certain meanings in relation to the multisensory. Part of music's appeal as a synesthetic experience is the idea that it is a pure art, in which the potential for abstraction is absolute. The idea of dance as natural is dependent on a similar notion—that the medium should be the focus of art, and that it the medium should directly appeal to the senses, thereby emphasizing the experience of the perceiving spectator, instead of the art object.

Poetic evocations of synesthesia rely upon metaphor, using unlikely linkages to create vivid imagery. Within modern dance reviews of the latter 1910s, the twentieth-century metaphor of dance movement as a musical experience made visible persisted, evolving into the sub-metaphor that related the dancer's body to a musical instrument, an idea that persists within current modern and ballet dance training. A critic in the *Trenton Evening Times* in 1909 writes of Duncan as follows: "One can only accept her rendering of it as a literal translation of the music's meaning... but here again, her every movement and pose seemed part of the melody. She does not dance to music—she dances music" ("Isadora Duncan's Beautiful Art"). Likewise, a 1910 Allan review from the *Chicago Daily Tribune* employs this metaphor:

Miss Allan believed the vibrations of the body are harmonious akin to the vibrations of music. The dance she goes through is just an interpretati[on] by means of movements of the body of the soul.... If the compositions are played beautifully she dances beautifully. If a flageolet busts, she limps. If a trumpet is out of tune an intricate gyration is likely to get tangled in the middle; while if the whole orchestra is bad soul visualizing runs amuck and Miss Allan gives way to just ordinary tears. ("Art Warms Barefoot Dancer")

The positioning of the dancer's body as an instrument is an altered version of the Cartesian body-as-machine or tool metaphor, which was developing with modern industrialization and body efficiency practices such as bodybuilding and Laban technique. This metaphor is a striking instance of how metaphor can reflect and shape our cognitive perception and lived experience. The body as instrument metaphor conceals the ideology of dualism that the body-as-tool metaphor insists upon and is consistent with a Heideggerian theorization of the modern body as technological agent.

The dancer as music or musical instrument metaphor can also be theorized as a gendered version of the notion of artistic genius as the domain of the white, male modern artist. Because the majority of the reviewers were male music critics, often the musical component of the dance performance was given as much, if not more, of a focus in the reviews. Although this was often a focus simply because the reviewers would have been more knowledgeable about music than dance (and therefore had more to say about the music than the choreography), it also reinforces the notion that dancers are interpreters of the musical score. This notion deemphasized the talent and craft of dancers, while highlighting the talent of the musicians or the composer, who were most often male. This scenario may have been another factor inhibiting their legal authorship of movement. The fact that none of these early dancers was successful in their attempts at copyrighting movement (as epitomized by Fuller's 1892 court case; see Part Three) also indicates the lack of ownership and control they had over their movement and image. Certainly their claims for the spontaneous expression of movement impetus did little to advance their claims of movement ownership, as in the Fuller trial, for example.

Despite its gendered bias of artistic narrative, the dancer-as-instrument metaphor places dance in the same artistic realm as music, whereas it was previously thought of as mere musical accompaniment. As a "pure" or unaltered means of artistic expression, dance, it was believed, portrayed the kind of physical and emotional feeling that listening to music incites. In the previously cited review Marcus Tindal continues to write of Fuller:

[O]n her white dress all beautiful colours clash and mingle and run riot in harmonious confusion, like the notes of glad, glorious music.... When the spirit moves her to dance, La Loie is like some great musician, who, drawing his bow as his thoughts prompt over the strings of his instrument, passes from idea to

idea, from melody to melody. Every dance suggests another. (“Queen of all Dancers”)

Similarly to Allan, Fuller herself even remarks on the attempt to create visual music as an “Attempt to materialize the evanescent, exclaiming, “I seek to create a harmony of sound, light, and music.... Music is the joy of the ears. I also want it to be a feat for the eyes, and with that aim, to make it pictorial, to cause it to be seen” (qtd. in Current 211), a proclamation that matches the modernist synesthetic goal of unification of the sensorium. In a visual evocation of this metaphor, a watercolour painting of a Fuller performance signed “F. Gautier, 1895” (**figure 4.4**) depicts Fuller amid a score of music, with notes and treble clefs swirling around her body, as if the music itself were her costume.

Ultimately, I argue, the harmonization of the senses that dancers were trying to achieve was dependent on rhythm, which provided a multisensorial experience of simultaneousness through seeing, hearing, and touch. This was an idea closely connected with the physicalization of space being explored in scientific research during the 1800s. For example, sounds waves were discovered as vibrations picked up by the sensitive movement of hair in the ear canal and light was being studied as waves of vibration picked up by the eye. Similar to Fuller’s desire to incorporate the senses in a perceptual harmony, Allan, in her switch from pianist to dancer, muses on the connection between kinesthetic and aural perceptions rhythm. In a 1910 *Boston Daily Globe* interview she describes a conversation she had with the Belgian music critic Marcel Remy: “We discussed the idea that vibrations of the body are identical with tone vibrations and I began to work out my ideas, though I took no lessons in dancing. This was really the birth of the idea of dancing with me” (“Miss Allan’s Dancing New”). As a synesthetic meeting point of the visual, the aural, and the kinesthetic, experiment in rhythm united these

sensory domains. Another 1910 review of Allan's performance in the *Los Angeles Times* addresses the kinesthesia of visual and musical rhythm:

Rhythm is the measurement system of vibration: it is natural and universal; sound is the audible result of vibration, as light is the visible result.... If it were possible to sufficiently increase the vibration we could see the notes, for they would appear as light. Our ears receive the impressions of certain limited sets of vibration, and our eyes receive the impressions of certain others, but all are alike in character. Rhythm is important to the eye and motions performed in perfect time are always pleasing to the musical sense.... Music is not a visual art, and that is why the Allan dancing has become a fashion. ("Maud Allan Returns Supreme Exponent of Visual Harmony")

The desire to make the invisible (music) seeable (through dance), as described above, can be read as a reflection of technological and scientific advancements of seeing—via macro and micro technologies—that instilled a trust in visual information. But, in fact, in most of modern dance rhythm was integral to the conversation that modern dance was a “natural” way of moving. In the following passage, published in the *Logansport Reporter* (Indiana) in 1909, Duncan recounts moments of multisensory engagement, derived from nature, during her choreographic process:

[I] once saw the relation between the rhythm of the mighty sea and the fragile dancing of the girl... everything around her was dancing; the waves at her feet, the clouds above her, and the winds too; because the rhythm of the dance is everywhere in nature... the rhythm of the universe will contain elemental emotions of the soul. ("Maidens Dance")

The kinesthetic empathy Duncan recounts in this quotation portrays a relationship with rhythm that positions it as a multisensory meeting point for experience. As articulated by the Senegalese poet Leopold Senghor (1906-2001), this correspondence brings attention to corporeality:

Rhythm is the vibratory shock, the force which, through our senses, grips us at the root of our being. It is expressed through corporeal and sensual means; through lines, surfaces, colours, and volumes in architecture, sculpture or paintings; through accents in poetry and music, through movements in the dance. But, in doing this, rhythm turns all these concrete things toward the light of the spirit. In the degree to which rhythm is sensuously embodied, it illuminates the spirit. (qtd. in Johnson “Black Performance” 450)

Senghor’s quote outlines the relationship between rhythm, alterity, and synesthesia in a way that modern dance reviews hinted at metaphorically within this corpus. In the preceding passages of poetry, autobiography, and review writing, rhythm is evoked visually and aurally on the pages. This effect is accomplished by the critic by echoing the movement, thereby presenting to the reader a performative “equivalence” by embodying onomatopoeic cadences of the movement. In doing so, the critic enacts an altered performance that both refers to the live audience and addresses the reader audience.

Duncan’s Philosophical Translations

The allusion that dance is like language, or rather, that it can be comprehended within the parameters of lingual understanding, is one I have questioned throughout this dissertation. The understanding of dance as solely textual is, I suggest, subverted by Isadora Duncan’s dancing recitations. As early movement and prose experiments, these performances

incorporated her brother and sister, Raymond and Elizabeth Duncan; Raymond “translated” the movement into prose, and Elizabeth performed the prose as piano accompaniment for Isadora’s dance performances. What is fascinating about Raymond’s translation is not so much the idea that dance and language can correspond (this was a popular notion at the time), but that he uses an inverse process to demonstrate this correspondence—composing words using movement as the primary impetus. Certainly this flips the traditional correspondence of narrative in ballet, in which the storytelling is the impulse of creation. In an 1889 *New York Times* article describing one of these performances the reviewer elaborates on how this correspondence is relayed:

It is the philosophy of life, which they express through the poetry of motion, they say. Dancing it is called in ordinary parlance for lack of a word better understood.... Motion is the one way to express the thought of the world, they believe, and they are gradually reducing it to a science. Not an exact science, but more a spiritual science. (“Philosophy in the Dance”)

Unlike the metaphor of dance as poetry, which compares dance to a system of abstract word usage, the reviewer’s statement suggests that dance can be translated as philosophical thought.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ Interestingly, Duncan was, for a short period between 1922 and 1923, married to the Russian poet Sergei Yesenin (1895-1925). Although they did not speak a common language, their ideas regarding aesthetics were similar. Yesenin writes in an Imaginist manifesto: “Words have become used up, like old coins, they have lost their primordial poetic power. We cannot create new words. Neologism and trans-sense language are nonsense. But we have found a means to revive dead words, expressing them in dazzling poetic images. This is what we Imaginists have created. We are the inventors of the new” (qtd. in Ponomareff 36). This notion of words being

The underlying assumption in this analogy is that dance can be translated into poetry, but, unlike language, can be understood across cultures.

A 1910 *Oakland Tribune* article claims of Duncan, “she came into possession of a universal vocabulary or language, the only language that can speak to all nationalities equally and in their own tongue—the language of motion... [S]he speaks spontaneously in the language of grace” (“Duncan Dance All that is Artistic”). Such statements, while over-estimating the cross-cultural reach, reveal a bias of Western theatrical dance performance tradition, which assumes its corporeal communication can be “read” and interpreted universally. In this way, the metaphoric positioning of dance as language, or as a form which can be translated and understood as language, is fundamentally at odds with the “poetry of motion” metaphor. For although both assume an affinity with lingual structure, one insists that there is the possibility of translation, and the other presents the futility in such a premise. Ultimately, the idea that there can be universally comprehended translation between dance and language is indicative of how lingual understanding organizes both our sensory perception, and more importantly, how we perceive it operating. The concept of dance as translation of language or language as a translation of dance, I contend, infiltrates the way critics wrote about modern dance.

Philosopher Peter Kivy examines the relationship between music, language, and cognition in a manner that can be applied to non-narrative movement. He asserts that the relationship between music and language is analogous (or metaphoric), rather than equivalent (214). Kivy suggests that, although some music can be rhythmically syntax-like, it is void of semantics, which is the discerning factor of its lingual correspondence (216). In other words,

“used up like old coins” is echoed by others such as writer Gustave Flaubert, who dismissed what he called “decrepit metaphors.”

because music does not necessarily imply narrative, nor need to be understood to be felt or perceived, it can never operate in a direct correlation with language.⁶⁶ Again, the thoughts expressed in Fuller's assertion that her dances must be *felt* and not *understood*, or felt in order to be understood, is a notion expressed in relation to the relationship between music and language. When considered in relation Western theatrical dance, it is notable that theatrical ballet, which was influenced by liturgical music and operatic traditions, has a direct relationship with language, particularly opera, in which words are orated through song.

Kivy's assertions are similar to my argument, outlined throughout, that modern dance breaks from narrative telos. However, what Kivy downplays is the impact of the syntax-like rhythm, which, in music, and therefore in dance that is set to music, often takes on the contour of the human breath. A spoken sentence must break eventually in order for the speaker to breathe, and often this is accomplished with the aid of punctuation. Similarly, musical scores, performed by bodies, have pauses and rhythms that mimic the parameters of human lung capacity. This is particularly true of scores with brass or wood wind instruments in which the cadences and lifts of breath dictate sound and rhythm to some extent. In addition, as Lakoff and Johnson note: "syntax is not independent from meaning, especially metaphorical aspects of meaning. The 'logic' of a language is based on the coherences between the spatialized form of the language and the conceptual system, especially the metaphorical aspects of the conceptual system" (138).

⁶⁶ Kivy goes on to outline how even though music is not a language it can encompass cognition. He somewhat problematically terms this cognition non-conscious and describes it similarly to Merleau-Ponty's first-order expression.

The rhythm of syntax in language, and its correspondence to our bodily rhythms, should not be underestimated. Traditional ballet illustrates the correspondence of language, music, and movement by punctuating the end of the musical phrase with a still pose, like a period. In an 1896 *New York Times* review of Oscar Hammerstein's aerial ballet, the critic notes that the dancers "paus[e] now and then to form pictures," continuing: "Tableau after tableau is formed, each one more beautiful than the preceding" ("A Ballet in the Air"). This quotation indicates both a rhythm and use of space in which tableau perspective and still poses punctuate the performance. In addition, the impetus of the choreographer for traditional ballet is often initiated from narrative and music. Ballet was a system of meaning making suited for this task, as it relied on language, both structurally and conceptually, as an organizing structure. Although much of the first modern dance indicates a rhythmic shift from this lingual paradigm, certainly there are still traces of it to be found in the syntax-like phrasing of music and movement. Later, in the 1930s, Martha Graham would base her technique on the rhythms, capacities, and emotional resonances of breath. In fact, John Martin, Graham's media champion, argues that the phrasing of ballet often mimics the familiar structure of storytelling, in its syntax and repetition (*Dance in Theory* 50). Similarly to the musical rondo, narrative storytelling can take on the structures of ABA. In this way, the narrative features of ballet is seen not just in the storyline of the plot, but also in the manner in which the temporality of the phrasing mimics the semantic phrasing of Germanic language.

In some reviews, the association of language and movement was expressed by critics indirectly. The following unsigned excerpt from a 1910 *Chicago Tribune* article alludes to the dancer as a different type of instrument—the pen. In articulating how Allan's hands moved like punctuation the critic writes: "They slip out at you and punch the commas and italics, then dart back and bump into her teeth, frequently get a strangle hold on each other and add to the gayety

of things in general” (“Art Warms Barefoot Dancer”). This atypical synecdoche, which substitutes the pen for the dancer, is a familiar analogy in relation to the writer. Foster takes up this idea in her lament in the lack of acknowledgement of the writer’s physical circumstances during the process of writing and the subtraction of the corporeality from analysis (“The Dancing Body” (135-36).

Ultimately, “poetry of motion” both adheres to and diverges from the allusion of movement as a language. In pointing out the unavoidable relationship between perception and understanding (particularly for the dance critic), this metaphor also problematizes it by pointing out that language will always be an inadequate tool for decoding unfamiliar form. The way critics take on the relationship between language and movement is integral to how they write dance. On one hand, the critic who expounds and interprets movement perceives of a direct relationship between movement and prose and on the other they are utilizing metaphor to refer to unfamiliar bodily responses. But, as the first modern dance reviews make clear, this model no longer facilitated an accurate portrayal of the experience. Critics began to take on other functions that included speaking for, representing, and even advocating for experience. These two views of the body’s relationship to language developed different and corresponding metaphors in the canon of dance criticism (one illustrating “poetry of motion” the other of dance as “idea”).

As Lakoff and Johnson suggest, metaphors are more than simply poetic decorations, but ways of meaning-making that harness language, actively organizing perception, “allow[ing] us to focus on different aspects of mental experience” (27-8). As a result, critics adopted synesthetic metaphor as a method of communicating haptic physicality, thus categorizing and concretizing sensory experience in new and specific ways. Accordingly, corporeal or

synesthetic metaphors also solicit the review reader's empathy, for the substitution of one sense with another summons a bodily recollection in order to make sense of unexpected accordances.

4.3 “Rocked in the Waves”: Synesthesia and Consciousness

Modern dance originated as an interlude of expression that echoed the era's preoccupation with the unconscious. Modern dance reflects this fascination. Fuller's first incarnation of her Serpentine dance generated out her role in the play *Quack M.D.*, which involved her portrayal of Imogene Twitter, a woman undergoing psychiatric treatment who, while hypnotized, performs a skirt dance. Fuller then abstracted this narrative of hypnosis in her subsequent choreographies, thereby heralding the impetus of modern dance from altered consciousness. This notion of tapping into a diffuse gaze, or altered state is integral, I insist, in the conceptualizing of modern dance movement creation and impetus, as described by Fuller, Duncan, and Allan in print media. This notion of consciousness, as I argue, operated not only within the creation of modern dance, but also in its spectatorship and criticism. By surveying some of the consciousness exploration techniques that were becoming popular in performative, medical, and psychological contexts, I connect modern dance impetus to how these physical and emotional practices were presenting or performing new ways of framing perceptual encounters. Thus, I now turn to analyzing visual, literary, and review sources for evidence of hypnosis, both literal and metaphoric.

Although the dance reviews under investigation herein do not often address the issue of hypnotism directly, many of them evoke it in their decidedly modernist fascination with the limits of the body, and, more specifically, the limits of awareness of the internal “body,” what Tim Armstrong calls the “rendering-conscious of the states of interiority” (5). While the audience of modern dance was not literally hypnotized by movement, hypnosis is, at times,

evoked stylistically and rhythmically by critics in the prose of the review. In reviews, this sense of the unconscious is written into the texts, I argue, giving the reader the sense that the critic, as spectator, is drawn into the rhythm of the dancer in an ardently physical, yet simultaneously supernatural terms. Sometimes the dancer is hailed as magical, ethereal, captivating, and spellbinding, whereas in accounts written by the dancers documenting their choreographic process, they allude to tuning into an unconscious energy in a manner not dissimilar to accounts of hypnotic method.

The era's preoccupation with exploring the limits of human consciousness can also be contextualized within the turn away from narrative storytelling. This rhythmic style often occurs in passages which read the dancer symbolically, as a Rorschach-like object. These descriptions, aside from bringing attention to the non-narrativity of modern dance, highlight the interpretive function of criticism, but also draw attention to its limitations. Their oneiric quality suggests an experience of consciousness that mimics the semi-somnolence of hypnosis. And yet, it is safe to assume the spectator is not literally hypnotized; rather, these accounts suggest a metaphoric description of trance as a feeling state. In describing the dancers as "hypnotic," "captivating," or even "bewitching," critics, with a whimsical nudge, suggest that the spectator is coerced by her rhythmic spell. As reviewer Paul Adams suggested of Fuller: "In this... luminous dance, forms lose their precision." He continued: "One must follow the undulation of the lovely lines, be rocked in the waves made by these robes transfigured by ever-changing colored projections" (qtd. in Garelick 44). The French novelist Francis Miomandre also evoked the rhythms of the sea when describing Fuller as "something elemental and immense, like the tide or the heavens, whose palpitations imitated the most primitive movements of life ... the vibrations of the first cell" (15).

Performative Hypnotism and Hypnotic Performances

In the play *Quack M.D.*, hypnosis is presented as an acted performance, with Fuller embodying the character Imogene Twitter. But performance is also integrated into the practice of hypnotism in a more literal manner within the tradition of performative hypnotism, in which a hypnotee is put into a trance for an audience of spectators. In the 1880s, public demonstrations of hypnosis toured as part of vaudeville sideshows or magicians' tricks and had the mystique of the occult. As art historian Debora Silverman suggests, it was during this era that the public at large became progressively fascinated by the idea of the insentient domain the psyche (11).

Although employed for thousands of years in folk medicines, hypnosis, or "lucid trance," began to interest the medical community in England in the early 1800s. During this time, "[t]he prestige of such lay hypnotists was admired and envied by the medical community and many of their techniques and maneuvers were adopted" (Finn 17). After 1837, a small group of physicians began to experiment with these techniques in small medical and psychological studies (Bramwell 5) and during the latter decades of the nineteenth-century hypnosis was readily available to patients, practiced by doctors and psychologists who touted its benefits for patients who had undergone both physical and emotional trauma. Described as "hyperaesthesia of the senses" (Bramwell 5), hypnosis was used in aiding in pain relief, reducing anxiety or blood pressure, and directing the consciousness of the patient out of physical tension and into direct focus. In the psychiatric community, Josef Breuer and Sigmund Freud experimented with hypnosis as a method to treat "hysterical" female patients, claiming that under hypnotic regression, patients could experience cathartic release.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Freud later abandoned this technique.

Hypnotism is also connected to synesthesia in its focus on sensory domains. Fuller's stage lighting techniques, in particular, share certain similarities with specific hypnosis techniques in use during this time in both medical and performative contexts. One such technique utilized mirrors to subject the hypnotee's eye to strobe lights. The theory behind this method of hypnotism is to tire out the optic nerve in order to induce hypnosis.⁶⁸ Other techniques used aural or touch stimuli by applying pressure to the body in rhythmic patterns to induce trance and lull the hypnotee. By narrowing attention the patient is, hypothetically, able to concentrate intensely on a specific thought, memory, feeling, or sensation while filtering out unrelated distractions. Although inducing trance was not Fuller's goal, at times her stage technologies utilize similar methods to those of hypnosis practitioners in the 1880s. In Fuller's *Mirror Dance*, for example, she utilizes mirrors to double her image and to reflect and refract the lights at high speeds. In 1893, while working at the Folies, she patented an underlighting pedestal which, when used in her fire dance, lit her dramatically from beneath her silks. That same year she invented a device which utilized mirrors to transform the stage into a faceted gemstone.

Hypnotism, as it was popularly depicted in the 1890s, suggests that by focusing on one sensory domain, the hypnotee can access a portal to alterity, which, in turn, demonstrates the interconnectedness of sensorial corporeality and consciousness. In fact, medical studies on hypnotism undertaken in 1909 suggest that the hypnotee, by concentrating on a singular sense, can heighten sensory potency. The surgeon James Braid, an eminent early medical practitioner

⁶⁸ Used widely in the psychiatric medical community, hypnotic techniques tiring the optic nerve were later deemed detrimental to the health of the patient. Fuller herself suffered from painful vision loss due to sustained exposure to bright electric stage lighting.

of hypnosis, reported that one of his subjects was said to be able to identify people by smell while blindfolded, a feat not available to this subject while in quotidian consciousness. This heightening of the senses was considered by many in the medical community to have a positive effect on a patient's health. Historian Michael R. Finn remarks:

Abstraction from the externally oriented senses was a positive, not negative phenomenon, permitting a powerful inner concentration that enabled an individual to become a "personne extase" [a human ecstasy]. Not only did such views insist that the instinctive and intuitive side of the mind was the more powerful, they also argued for... "a rehabilitation of delirium" which flew in the face of a booming development of medical expertise in madness whose proponents were determined to differentiate precisely between healthy and morbid mental states. (99-100)

That there was a simultaneous interest in hypnotism within both aesthetic and medical practice indicates a general fascination with how the subconscious informs perception. In the latter 1800s hypnotism represented this convergence of sinister occultism and medical experimentation.

Just as hypnosis can be induced by a concentration on a single sense, recent research indicates that under hypnosis a patient can experience synaesthetically. In a study conducted in 2009, Cohen Kadosh and his colleagues used posthypnotic suggestion to prove that subjects who are not identified as synaesthetes can be encouraged to have synesthetic experiences. Although it would be hyperbolic to claim Fuller's performances induced hypnosis in her spectators, reviewers such as David Adams (quoted in Part Two), who claims to be "rocked by waves," frequently indicate a subtle, trance-like state. The rhythmic component of these descriptions is indicative of its role in altered consciousness or bodily awareness in this scenario

of spectatorship, while also pointing to the power that rhythmic structure has in human experience. Certainly rhythm, as a meeting place of the visual, the corporeal, and the aural, inspired artists of this era.

The impact of gendered dominance should not be overlooked in performative and medical hypnosis. Females, considered more susceptible to hypnotic suggestion (and external control), were often the “patients” of hypnotic experimentation, which was administered predominantly by male doctors. The familiar trope of a threatening, dark, male figure, who hypnotizes a naïve and beautiful woman, plays into fears and fascinations in relation to “orientalist” stereotyping. George du Maurier’s 1894 popular novel *Trilby*, published serially in *Harper’s Monthly*, has been attributed to the origin of this typecasting (see figure 4.5). As depicted in many popular illustrations, du Maurier’s sinister Svengali, hypnotizes the talentless Trilby, transforming her into a captivating singer. Trilby, who can only sing beautifully while under the power of Svengali, performs under his amnesiac trance. The audience seems similarly captivated by her voice, and by extension Svengali holds power over them as well. Hypnotism is, in this way, a contagion. If Trilby were a dancer, Svengali would have absolute choreographic control over her mind and body.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ The French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot was one of the first medical proponents of hypnotism, which he perceived as “the perfect vehicle for eventually understanding hysteria” (Finn 95). He conjectured that by posing a suggestion to a hypnotized subject, it would be possible to reproduce the exact symptoms of a hysteric” (Finn 95). In fact, the medicalization of “hysterical” women often included hypnosis, used in conjunction with shock therapy to treat women. Both treatments were thought to “unify a dissociated personality and restore movement

A typical performative hypnotism scene follows suit. Faithful to du Maurier's depiction of the hypnotizer (usually a nefarious man with a "foreign" accent) he waves a pendant or stopwatch before the patient's (or victim's) face. The plot is dependent on this ambiguity. The hypnotizer propositions the hypnotee, saying "looooooook into my eyes," prolonging vowel sounds for dramatic effect. In many representations, the "hypnotee" begins to sway, mimicking movement of the object of her gaze. In these depictions eye contact is crucial: by focusing on the eyes of the hypnotist, the "hypnotee" is bewitched, her body now in control of the hypnotizer. This portrayal of the relationship between hypnotizer and "hypnotee" as sexually charged is one in which the patient, ordinarily female, is at the mercy of the hypnotizer's gaze. As Deirdre Barrett explains, "...film reserved unbridled murderous or sexual eye contact—or an ambiguous combination of the two—for the mesmerist" (79). In animated films this eye contact was communicated visually by showing jagged rays emanating from the eyes of the hypnotist—a literal depiction of Laura Mulvey's "male gaze,"⁷⁰ in which she investigates how women are objectified in film because men are most often in control of the camera.

to a hysterically paralyzed female patients" (Merwin 84). See also Felicia McCarren for more on the relationship between the hysteric and the dancing body in the case of Loïe Fuller.

⁷⁰ A woman labeled hysterical was seen as "pathological." The symptoms of this diagnosis could manifest in a wide array of "irrational" physical and psychological symptoms, such as sexual desire, emotional outbursts, and other symptoms that are now better understood in the context of female health as normal. Locating consciousness in hypnosis is a complex task. Although depictions of hypnosis often portray the hypnotee as passive and susceptible to coercion, modern practitioners deny the hypnotee's lack of agency, claiming that under hypnosis patients will not participate in actions they are not complicit in.

In the following excerpt, Loïe Fuller describes the process of acting out her scene in *Quack M.D.* in a Trilby-esque fashion:

Dr. Quack made a mysterious entrance and then began his work of suggestion. The orchestra played a melancholy air very softly, and I endeavored to make myself as light as possible, in order to give the impression of a fluttering figure obedient to the doctor's orders. He raised his arms. I raised mine. Under the influence of suggestion, entranced—so, at least, it looked—with my gaze held by his, I followed his every motion.... transfixed in a state of ecstasy, I let myself drop at [the doctor's] feet, completely enveloped in a cloud of the light material. (*Fifteen Years* 31-32)

Similarly, Maud Allan explains her process of movement generation in a 1910 article in the *Chicago Daily Tribune*:

When I dance I just take a big breath and close my eyes and listen to the music. Then everything goes by itself, I never practice. My soul pulsates with the beauty of the music, its beating is transmitted to my body and I break into the dance with an abandon that is spontaneous and always as fresh as a daisy. While I'm dancing I know nothing but the surge of the music. ("Art Warms Barefoot Dancer")

Although it is difficult to discern how much of these writings were in the service of cultivating a celebrity mystique around her art, Allan's account of this performance, when read beside her account of how she discovered her serpentine aesthetic, provides a narrative of

transcendental discovery, as though she were in a hypnotic state during performance.⁷¹ That Fuller claims to have been transfixed while discovering her aesthetic is further indication that her mode of performance was not acting, as is common with narrative character portrayal and it also further maintains the assertion that transcendence was an idea that removed the aesthetic of modern dance from the realm of work (as argued in Part Two). Fuller herself may have been exposed to hypnosis via her friend, the astronomer and spiritualist Flammarion, who employed hypnosis during séances, in the hopes of summoning spirits of the dead. In her autobiography she remarks of Flammarion's interest in the occult, "He counts among his assets some discoveries of the greatest interest, most of which have no relation to astronomy" (113).

In Fuller's spectatorship the experience of alterity indicates a profound connection between visual aesthetics and corporeal response. Evidence of such a connection surfaces in some reviews, describing a deep kinesthetic empathy that goes beyond a general sense of bodily mimesis into what seems a phenomenological interaction with the performer. In fact, performative hypnotism depends on a visual conjoining, as the eyes of the hypnotizer and hypnotee "touch." Svengali's power lies in his gaze, as Trilby is held in its energy. Interestingly, this hypnotic energy is expressed by du Maurier as wave-like, much like sound waves (259), bringing attention to the synesthetic capabilities of the senses. Svengali's eyes appear muscularly focused, while the woman's appear hazy and powerless. Not only is the hypnotee a symbol of the unconscious (and therefore the interior) self, but there are visual power dynamics at play. Thus, in hypnosis, both as a performative spectacle and as a medical

⁷¹ Many of Fuller's filmic imitators perform dances in which they spin repeatedly in small circles. This technique is similar in aesthetic to Sufi Dervish dancing, a meditative practice through which the dancer attains a transcendental state.

practice, the female body is implicated as both a site of sickness (pathology, hysteria, sexual perversion) and of catharsis (nature, healing). This visual dynamic in pop culture depictions of hypnotism, I argue, drew attention to the corporeal dimension of the visual field by depicting control with the possessor of the gaze. There is the suggestion of assault involved, but it is an assault of the eyes. The fear in this familiar plot plays to a fascination of the unknown and unconscious.

Despite its citational invocation of hypnosis, modern dance subverts this gendered paradigm. The unequal visual dynamism implicates the spectator in a way of seeing which reverses the power dynamic inherent in *Quack M.D.* For example, Fuller, although portrayed in a Trilby-esque fashion in European and American presses,⁷² in reality controlled even the minutest detail of her performances, and worked with a crew of lighting men and stage hands in her employ. Similarly, Duncan describes the process of movement generation and performance as a *self-induced* trance. Meanwhile, Allan's most famous work, *The Vision of Salomé*, is one in which she fashions herself into a threatening female Svengali of sorts, harnessing the stereotypes of Eastern exoticism and femininity to reverse the power of the gaze. If reviews are any indication of the spectator's experience, the viewer, it seems, was subjected to a kind of metaphoric trance. Some reviews even relay spell-like trances similar to filmic and literary portrayals of hypnotism in popular culture of this era.⁷³

⁷² Interestingly, Fuller's short-lived version of the myth of Salomé, one of her forays into narrative form, was not well received by critics, who claimed that in this performance, her mystique was lost. Giovanni Lista describes this attempt by Fuller at storytelling as a "collapse of magic into the banal" (192).

⁷³ See, for example, the film *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920).

Felicia McCarren outlines how this gendered gaze also relates to the association of women's bodies to interiority, suggesting that Fuller subverts this paradigm. She states, "Fuller's work responded to the medical and cultural linking of dance and hysteria by using the clinician's own tools: hypnosis and electricity" (*Pathologies* 167). A previously quoted *Boston Daily Globe* review from 1910 remarks of Allan's performance, "It seemed the creation of sudden vitalizing energy which ran its course through quieter movements until a new period or phrase began" ("In Classic Dances"). Another critic writes of Duncan, "she endeavors to present to us the vibrant atmosphere, the pulsing ecstatic quickening of all life, the langubrous [sic], delicious dolce..." (qtd. in Daly *Done Into* 93). In descriptions, the impact of the dancer holds the viewer's captivation.

In 1913, Isadora Duncan, in an article published in *The Washington Post*, describes her idea of modern dance as a kind of theatre in which this sort of intangible energy radiates from her moving body. In it, she advocates for a theatre architecture that will facilitate the kind of kinesthetic empathy she wishes to instill in her audience, calling her dance:

... a form of a theater in which my magnetic force can go forth from me covering the people in uninterrupted rays as the sun's rays covers the earth, that form in which a simple tone of voice, going on the natural currents of its sound wave will stir the hearts of a vast multitude sitting before me in places one not more fortunate than the others, in which the emotion I give will flow from one to another, infecting compelling waves of emotion going from me to them and returning to me. ("Oh! Shame")

Echoing the sort of contagious trance in du Maurier's *Trilby*, Fuller nonetheless sabotages his narrative by taking ownership of her performative gaze. Similarly, an 1897 excerpt from a *The World* (New York) quotes Fuller as saying: "we should consider the eye and mind of each

spectator a negative on which we impress our thought” (“Pantomime as a Feature”). Because there is no Svengali, or even choreographer for early modern dancers, Fuller’s (and her follower’s) autobiographical approach to movement generation and performance escapes the outside influence of control that the hypnotizer and choreographer exert upon their performance. There is no acted hypnosis under the dictation of a director and no induced hypnosis of a performative or medical practitioner. In becoming their own choreographers, modern dancers were able to avoid metaphoric and literal hypnosis of outside intervention. Still, as I contend, in order to maintain the concept of divine genius and their status as spontaneous interpreters, these performers publicly maintained the notion of self-administered reverie.

This reversal of gendered viewing, that is, male spectatorship and female performance, was also taking place at the level of audience demographics. Vaudeville houses, traditionally only open to women accompanied by men, were beginning to relax this border and women were permitted to attend the theatre without a male chaperone. As argued by several dance historians and theorists,⁷⁴ Fuller unsettled the heterosexual model of nineteenth-century dance performance, in which a female performer seduced the stereotypically male audience. With Loïe Fuller’s performances on the vaudeville stages we see the inauguration of the matinee performances for women and children at the Folies Bergère (Garelick 33), which, despite its lascivious reputation, occupied a space between the avant-garde and popular nightlife. This trend continued in America when, after four years in Paris, Fuller makes a brief appearance at Koster and Bial’s in 1896. As Fuller historian Clare de Morinni recounts:

Something of the transformation of the audience which had taken place in the

⁷⁴ See Coffman’s “Women in Motion” (2002), Garelick’s *Electric Salome* (2007), McCarren’s *Dance Pathologies* (1998), and Townsend’s “‘Alchemic’ Visions” (2001).

Folies Bergère now occurred in New York, where the newspapers suggested Saturday matinees for ladies, an unheard-of innovation, in order that the feminine portion of New York society might watch Loie in her four dances, *La Nuit, Le Feu, Le Firmement, Le Lys du Nile*, without ‘protection’ of male escorts. (212)

Remarks on changing audience demographics can be found in reviews as well. This 1895 review, originally published in *The New York Sun* was reprinted in other papers, (such as the *Des Moines Daily News*) and it indicates how the press may have had a role in bringing this shifting audience demographic to smaller city centers and theatres. The critic writes, “When Loie Fuller appears for the first time the audience greets her with breathless silence.... The women, who make up more than half of these nightly assemblages, are held tongue-tied” (“How Loie Dances”). And, in an article entitled “Pointers from Gay Gotham: Elderly Women Who Go Into Ecstasy Over Loie Fuller’s Dance,” printed in *The Courier* (Louisville, Kentucky), a critic declares: “dear old souls with grey hair who peered over their spectacles at the goings on upon the stage with an expression of mingled admiration and alarm. They seemed out of place at the music hall.” In a watercolour painting of Fuller, by an unknown artist in 1895, Fuller is pictured performing before an audience entirely comprised of men (**figure 4.6**); however, this audience demographic of the vaudeville stages Fuller performed upon was slowly shifting, a trend which soon migrated to American theatres as well.

This phenomenon of women-only matinees, which began with Fuller, impacted the audiences of other dancers. A 1909 *Boston Journal* critic exclaimed of Duncan’s audience: “The majority of the big company was feminine, but the patter of small gloved hands can express appreciation and delight as strongly as the bang of masculine palms” (“Boston Applauds”). Correspondingly, a 1913 *Chicago Tribune* article entitled “Moral standard in

Music Halls” indicates that these shifting boundaries were also a cause of anxiety for some:

One of the ‘commisioners’ explains of the ‘corseterie parade’ at a music hall in Picadilly, where a group of chorus girls parade through the audience displaying someone’s corsets camisole fashion, ‘usually seen in corsets or in shops.’ The manager contends that this display of lingerie is intended solely for women at the afternoon performances and that he cannot prevent men and boys from coming in if they pay for tickets.

As discussed in Part Three, the introduction of women to the theatre coincided with its participation in advertising, much of which was marketed toward women, who were (as in depictions of hypnotism) considered more susceptible to suggestion.

Ultimately, the fascination with subconscious expression is evoked within modern dance as metaphor. That is, neither the audience nor the dancers were accessing the unconscious in a literal manner, but were using the notion of the subliminal and clairvoyant as a metaphorical tool through which to call forth and perform movement. Its gendered meanings aside, the fascination with the unconscious, which appeared in narratives of hypnosis and aesthetics, is indicative of the desire to access a liminal state of the subconscious and the belief that this state offered potential for aesthetic experience to affect the viewer in a manner that profoundly implicates the body as a site of empathetic response.

Writing the Ambiguous Self

The facility of metaphoric description to communicate ambiguous “feeling” and indistinct formal elements is also evident within literary practices as a writing of the *self* that appears in dance criticism. In his book *Modernism, Technology, and the Body* (1998), Tim Armstrong investigates the automatic writing practices of Gertrude Stein and André Breton as

facilitating “rapid alteration of states of consciousness” unavailable to memory (198). Involving a preparatory stage similar to that of hypnosis, the writers who practiced it, Armstrong claims, “became their own experimental subjects, transforming their own literal and literary corpus” (8). Making a convincing link to these forms of writing and Freud’s dabbling with the interior states in his early work, Armstrong writes: “For Freud, automaticity and distraction are similarly creative” (77). Interestingly, Freud also links distraction to the occult, citing telepathy and medium-ship as reachable states for the unconscious mind. According to Armstrong, “At its most general, distraction is, like hypnosis, a technique for circumventing the censoring devices of the ego” (Armstrong 195). I bring attention to this assertion as a way of making connections between the critic’s interpretive engagement and the purported subconscious state of creation that modern dancers assumed. Thus, I compare the techniques of automatic writing, accounts of the dancer’s creation process, and reviews describing their work to find common threads of surrealist traces within the depiction of consciousness.

Automatic writing provides a similar intervention to narrative fiction as modern dance offers an alternative to ballet and it is, therefore, not unexpected that modern dance review writing stylistically evolved to reflect these concerns with writing the subjectivity of experience. Similar to Duncan and Fuller’s statements regarding the transcendent potential of modern dance via spontaneous expression, André Breton advocated for writing with speed to enhance a detachment from sequential logic: “Write quickly, without any preconceived subject, fast enough so that you will not remember what you’re writing and be tempted to reread what you have written” (29-30). He thought that automatism revealed the actual functioning of thought and describes its amalgamating effect “it is a device to link inner and outer worlds and to reunify the self” (30). Although writing in the 1920s, Breton’s advocacy of the unifying capabilities of automatism echoes the physical culture movement emerging in the late 1800s.

The issue at stake is not the popularly held belief that automatic writing, improvised dance, or modern dance spectatorship facilitated an experience with the subconscious mind or the occult (as hypnosis might), but rather that techniques such as automatic writing highlight the detachment and ambiguity between utterance and intention—they highlight poetry of motion. The unconscious is evoked metaphorically in much of this negotiation, as a mode of thought in which “feeling” is privileged over active interpretation. Thus, modern dance and automatic writing share a tolerance for ambiguity, between word and understanding, movement and interpretation, in which the writer is the medium of their own unconscious. Although modern dance reviews are written with a more accessible tone than Breton’s surrealist prose experiments, they reflect similar aspects of distraction as an alternative to narrativity, in which the ideology is to captivate by holding attention. In reaction to dance reviewing the meaning of criticism in lieu of narrative logic shifted from that of stable meaning to shifting sensation.

Interpretation taps the unconscious in many descriptions of Fuller’s continuous shaping. As she quickly morphed, critics echoed her speed by listing recognizable shapes—a bird, a vase, a butterfly—similar to the impulsive reading of a Rorschach pattern. Certainly, photographs of Fuller echo these shapes. In a series of photographs taken by Frederick Glasier in 1902 she resembles this Rorschach shaping, her silks creating a symmetrical and ambiguous, yet suggestive silhouette (**figure 4.7**). However, as dance studies scholar Ann Cooper-Albright has suggested, one of Fuller’s most important aesthetic interventions—her enigmatic shapes—actually brought the audience’s attention not just to the shape as it would in a pose, but to “her very act of shaping” (46). The viewer is never quite able to discern her image with conviction; as soon as a familiar shape is discernible, she is moving into something else. As a result, although critics list these sightings within a flurry of movement, there is no attempt to pin down

a meaning or a stable image. The images are fleeting and mirage-like. The French dance critic Roger Marx (Father of Claude Roger Marx), writing for the *Revue Encyclopedique*, wrote of her:

Out of the night, the apparition escapes; she takes form, becomes alive. Under the caress of the electric beams, she breaks away from the background of mourning, abandons the dazzling whiteness of a diamond to don all the colours in a chest of precious stones ... This exquisite phantom runs, flees, returns, and wanders through the multicolored ripples of the electric rivers. She sweeps across the stage with the lightness of a butterfly, skips, then alights like a bird.... Now Loie Fuller swoops around, turning, her skirt swelling and enclosing her like a flower's calyx. (107-8)

Marx's description takes on the style of committing the ambiguity of a dream to language. Not only does he utilize synesthetic metaphor in his account of the "caress" of the electric light, but in the latter sentences he uses the familiar imagery of Fuller—a flower, a bird, a butterfly—which he describes in terms of distinct rhythmical movement. The butterfly sweeps; the bird swoops; the flower swells. Similarly, Mallarmé touches on familiar images, but concentrates on their becoming and disappearance as much as the shape itself, as he writes: "[She] illustrates many spinning themes from which extends a distant fading warp, giant petal, and butterfly, unfurling, all in a clear and elemental way" (308). The assignment of familiar images in a metaphoric allusion, combined with the textural kinesthetic sense of movement that both writers summon indicates the intertwined relationship between interpretation and feeling in the task of recounting spectatorship.

In reading dances for images, modern dance critics shared some stylistic commonalities with Symbolist poetry by both using metaphor and by evoking a musical style of verse, instead

of rote description. Certainly some of the reviews even evoke the hallucinogenic resonances of the fin de siècle in which, as B. H. Ackerman suggests, hallucinogenic drugs and synesthesia were intertwined in aesthetic perception (291). Much of the change in dance criticism occurred after Loïe Fuller's return to America, subsequent to the influence of Fuller on European dance criticism, which was occasionally published in American presses. European critics had a great impact on how modern dance was written stylistically in American presses, as it was in Europe they became celebrities. There is a great difference, for example, in Fuller's reviews before her departure to Paris, and after her return, at which point American reviews seemed to take on the hallucinogenic atmosphere of fin de siècle Europe. In this way, the influence on European dance writing was echoed within more puritan sensibilities of the American press. Although a comprehensive comparative analysis of reviews from both regions is beyond the scope of this dissertation, Allan Nevins' study of American newspaper history, demonstrates the early influence of the European periodical on nineteenth-century American papers which began to emphasize editorial-style news pieces. But in the 1900s, contrary to the democratic flavour ascribed to American democracy, newspaper journalism developed a fact-over-opinion emphasis (Nevins 15). Although many reviewers followed this model of "objective" reporting, others seemed to take a poetic turn. A longer section of "The Lancer's" 1910 review of Maud Allan in the *Los Angeles Times* pokes fun at the psychedelic resonances written into her review canon:

One of my sportive literary friends told me excitedly that her weird, beautiful, horrible Peer Gynt Suite is like the distorted dreams that come with the fumes of absinthe. He said you could see Maud Allan dance the Peer Gynt Suite and reel with all the intoxicated unearthly, chaotic sensations of opium. ("A Cynic")

Contrary to Symbolist imagery, which fixes itself to an object, modern dance never settles in any recognizable shape. Perhaps this is why Fuller was so compelling and unsettling to Mallarmé. His discomfort is revealed in his description above and in his metaphoric attempts to assign Fuller's movement to familiar shape. The attempt to assign meaning to Fuller's unfamiliar movement vocabulary never quite succeeds. In describing what she resembles during fleeting moments of movement these descriptions are missing the point, that because she never arrives at a pre-conceived shape, instead continually morphing and plastic that, by identifying what she may look like for a split second, gives the impression that she moves from pose to pose, while in fact one of the most striking ways she diverges from ballet is that she almost never stops moving. She was described in the *Architectural Record* as "... the indistinct form of a woman, clothed in a confused mass of drapery... a subtle materiality, taking the form of a golden drinking cup, a magnificent lily, or a huge glistening moth, wandering in obscurity" (qtd. in de Morinni 129).

The sense of movement was heightened by her moving light projections. The eminent *Boston Evening Transcript* music critic H. T. Parker writes of Fuller's use of lights, "They project upon the gauzes, and upon the spectator's fancy, images that now bear some resemblance to fantastic landscapes that again are mere riots of luminous splotches or luminous bars, and that yet again seem like some ordered kaleidoscope of interplaying lights" (86). In fact, Fuller's use of coloured lights, set to music and movement, are the precursors to the mid-1960s liquid light shows, in which coloured gel lights were set to musical rhythms. As a Western tradition, the light show was a venue for consciousness exploration and psychedelic drug use, the premise of which was that they provided an immersive synesthetic experience of vision and sound, similar to early film, but less narrative in form and content. As a popular spin-off from abstract cinema, the light show brought the concept of abstract shape and movement to

a broader audience and exposed, as David Howes suggests, “a major shortcoming intrinsic to the medium of painting: its immobility or static character” (*Sensual Relations* 19). He continues:

The light show offered a neutral place in which high art and popular culture, abstraction and representation, the scientific and the spiritual, the electronic and natural, and the visual and aural could all be collaged together in a vast swirling eddy of overlapping sensations. It was the ultimate synaesthetic experience, one that attempted through the hallucinogenic to blur the distinction between sound and image, interior and exterior. (159)

In a manner that seems precursory to this phenomenon, the experience of Fuller’s dances approximate early versions of the 1960s light show. In a lecture on radium written by Fuller in 1911, she remarks on its ability to render the invisible visible, but her fascination for “peering beneath surfaces” was further piqued by Edison’s fluoroscope – an early version of an x-ray machine that made use of phosphorescence to make skin appear transparent. Fuller encountered this device in Edison’s laboratory in 1896 and later devised a dance using phosphorescent salts to make her costume glow-in-the-dark.⁷⁵ The critic Julius Meier-Graefe describes this dance:

She disappears and all is dark, but something moves in the darkness, it is tiny brilliant points that dance, it is a dance of lights glittering like stars. They form

⁷⁵ During her period of experimentation with phosphorescent salts Fuller accidentally blew up her Paris home, singing her eyebrows off and voiding her insurance policy. In addition, many of her students who helped with these experiments later fell victim to cancer. Fuller’s friends, the Polish scientists Marie and Pierre Curie, eventually dissuaded her from pursuing these experiments further (Garelick 53).

large, brilliant circles that merge into luminous mountains side by side,
crisscrossing, nothing but these points of light dance, not an iota of human
movement—it takes one’s breath away. It is a mystical dance. (qtd. in Lista 328)

The connection of the light show to scientific innovation is even clearer in Fuller’s unpublished essay titled “Prelude to Light,” in which she muses;

[Colours] shift, ever changing, till the brain grows dizzy with only looking at
them.... we are beginning to see that we can only direct to great use and beauty
the decomposition of rays of light. We know that color is in fact, a condition of
light rays, but to play upon it for orchestrations of harmony to the eye as music is
to the ear seems far far away into the unknown world, and so it is, but since
science has produced powerful lenses that can magnify and bring to our
imperfect sight a perfect sight, we are enabled to see and learn the wonders of
decaying light, in the microscopic world, a world not yet made use of for
beauty’s sake. (Qtd. in Garelick 178)

The implications of Fuller’s statement and Howes theorizing about 1960s light shows is that
clearer sight provided by scientific innovation actually provides views of the realistic abstract,
in the shapes of the microscopic (atoms, cells) and the macroscopic (stars, planets).

The metaphors in modern dance reviews both reveal and obscure the corporeality of the
dancer. When attempting to find a familiar shape in abstract movement, the body of the dancer
becomes a metaphor of the human body. The viewer is perpetually negotiating their likeness to
the dancer because, in the words of John Martin:

The dancer does not work with an objective instrument like a piano or a palette
of colors; [s]he is herself the instrument. This makes it impossible for [her] to
escape from connotations of the realism of human behavior, even though as a

dancer [s]he necessarily departs entirely from representationalism and all possible suggestions of pantomime. (*Dance in Theory* 32)

But metaphors such as these also reveal associations between the unconscious and the synesthetic, revealing how we order and make sense of abstract understanding through language. In this way, modern dance in this era can be theorized, I suggest, as metaphor, because it was almost solely concerned with expressing internal subjectivities of the dancer. As Mark Johnson contends, the world is not perceived objectively but rather grasped imaginatively. By doing so, we make use of the patterns of our physical experience to make sense of abstract understanding. In the case of synesthetic metaphor the role of the body in shaping this perception is even more acute. Metaphors, he contends, are generated in embodied experience and thus becomes more than an expression of knowledge, but a mode of comprehension. Or, in the case of spectatorship, metaphor provides a way of seeing and feeling with the body.

Ultimately, this corpus of early twentieth-century dance reviews expresses metaphor as allusion to subjective response, despite that it was often relayed as fact. However, metaphors that point out subjectivity, such as “poetry of motion,” provide the writer an opportunity to transcend rote objectivism through imaginative portrayal of embodied perception. Corporeal metaphors, such as the ones often found in dance reviews, are particularly meaningful in their ability to portray perceptual textures not readily available to lingual portrayal. By using them, critics were able to make statements about their subjective corporeal response to performances by alluding to emotional and kinesthetic feeling, thereby opening the critical prose to embodied meanings. Like modernist literature, dance reviews were dependent on bodily metaphor.

Conclusion

Critical Paradigms: Memory and Possibility

Throughout this dissertation I have engaged with recovering the embodied nature of description, interpretation, and judgment, as it was written in reviews during the emergence of modern dance in North America. In this way, I have explored how these texts document the intangible by reading them from the inverse perspective of traditional dance studies—from within. In doing so, I have drawn attention to how the medium of the review, and its genre conventions, both documents live performance and simultaneously performs criticism, while also bridging the audience of the live with the reading audience. This study of a large corpus of reviews has facilitated conclusions about how these performances were corporeally mediated by writers from specific vantage points and, subsequently, how these reviews came to inform historical interpretations of these works through a “double removal” from the live event.

Reading from within has meant acknowledging the dance review itself as simultaneously documentary and performative by way of its negotiation of two audiences. Theorizing the dance review in this way has allowed a consideration of the liminal opportunities it can provide between these categories, revealing its multiple purposes over time. These issues of framing, through bodies and media, are particularly prescient for a consideration of live performance, which is always transient, and, even in the face of new media formats, such as video, brings with it archival uncertainty. Despite such instability, I have interrogated reviews as operations of archival potency, investigating how they memorialize, albeit by leaving out the opinions and voices of those less visible in society. I have juxtaposed reviews with the sometimes overlapping and congruent, and other times, resistant voices of Fuller, Duncan, and

Allan, as they react critically to critics, thereby contributing to their own memorialization via print media, while also fuelling the critical dialogue.

The art historian Michael Schreyach notes that some art movements inspire criticism that mirrors its object, by producing an “equivalent” to it that intends to elicit a similar response from its reader that the writer had in viewing the original work (6). Such criticism, Schreyach insists, seeks to collapse the distance between a supposed expert, espousing wisdom to an unenlightened audience; it aims to act upon the reader rather than inform the reader (17). Throughout this dissertation, I have established that some modern dance critics did exactly that, with the result that they refashioned the dance review as a genre of newspaper writing. These new responses, this dissertation has shown, were reflected in the critics’ new tactics for writing the dancing body, which at once rendered problematic the putative objectivity of journalistic criticism and revealed the limits of traditional dance criticism’s focus on intricate technique and narrative plot line. In the attempt to translate experience through the frame of the body—a culturally mediated body—the modern dance critic “translated” the feeling of dance, in a performance of critique.

More generally, as we have seen, modern dance reviews revealed themselves as a site of re-invention of performance criticism in popular print media, echoing the modernist era of aesthetic transformation. But they were also surprisingly resistant texts, which sometimes troubled the notion of modernist form, space, and “objective” journalism, rendering problematic the conventional role of critical spectatorship. This is evident in the types of writing that emerged in this review corpus—from the pregnant pause of metacriticism, to the pervasiveness of synesthetic metaphor, both of which I have read as reactions against the traditional objectivist writing of journalism. Through these types of writing, dance reviews from the modernist era

document the important role of print media in negotiating this shifting corporeality that is still un-reconciled in contemporary newspaper journalism.

As documents, dance and performance criticism cannot be conceptualized as merely a relay of the event or object, but as re-tellings that serve as repositories of public memory from a particular point of view. In *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984), Pierre Bourdieu discusses how these ready-made meanings that language and gesture offer can “be slipped into, like a theatrical costume, to awaken, by the evocative power of bodily mimesis, a universe of ready-made feelings and experiences” (476). For example, the monikers of what would later be known as modern dance, but was then referred to as “natural dance” or “poetry of motion,” were, in fact, metaphors perpetuated by the press that positioned these performances in particular conceptual and sociocultural structures. The press did not simply ingest these metaphors, it operated on them and negotiated them.

With this study of the modern dance review, I hope to provide a template for other studies, for there are many new avenues that can be opened up by conjoining dance and performance criticism, as I have done throughout. This dissertation has been an exercise in bridging dance criticism and performance studies, as the two fields, I have argued, have much to gain from each other. Moreover, the theoretical considerations of gender open new questions and invite future studies. For example, is it possible that some of the anonymous reviewers were women? Perhaps there are unknown “George Eliots” in the dance review canon, writing under the shroud of anonymity using pen names. Such an interrogation would facilitate further conclusion regarding the voices left out of the dance review genre.

Other, more general, questions present themselves: what ultimately is the social role of the critic then and now? In his book *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance* (2005), Gavin Butt addresses the erosion of contemporary critical discourse in the postmodern

era, arguing that because criticism is typically positioning itself as either aligned with or against the dogma of received wisdom, that the act of turning away, for the postmodern critic, criticism involves renouncing the critical act itself. Furthermore, Benjamin Buchloh identifies an incongruity within the critical act and late twentieth-century capitalist culture due to the encroachment of the corporate on the avant-garde (301). Is the critic in danger of being reduced to “consumer advocate?” In the scope of historical analysis, this issue is not specific to postmodern critique, as I have suggested throughout this dissertation. Fuller, Allan, and Duncan all participated within the economy of the theatrical display, and we see within their legacy the origins of the conflict between the avant-garde and its absorption into commodity fetishism.

How productive are critical engagements for the artist? John Christian Jorgensen has outlined that the Danish choreographer August Bournonville (1805-1879) regarded the ballet critic as a necessary enemy, which drove him to enhanced perfection (61). As I have documented, the significance of critical aesthetic dialogue is prescient in these moments of negotiation and exploration and opens up discourse of interaction with performance works. More recently, the debate surrounding performative photography within performance studies has led to a redefining of the definition of performance and spectatorship. This recent debate highlights some of the same concerns as the modernist dance critic’s invocation of metacriticism, highlighting the limitations of media to document the live, but also its power in extending dance in writing, projecting it into discursive circulation. As modern dance critics wrote the bodies of Fuller, Duncan, and Allan they performed their concerns within dance writing itself. Looking at past contexts of critical inquiry powerfully substantiates and reinforces the status of the dance review as an enduring mediator of performative memory in public life.

Appendix

Review Transcriptions

Note on Transcription:

The transcribed reviews are a representative selection from the overall review corpus of over 300 documents, which were culled from The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dance Collection Danse, Toronto Public Library, and University of Toronto Robarts Library Archives. The ten reviews that have been transcribed were selected because of their vivid descriptions and the amount of prose quoted within this dissertation.

Transcription Principles:

The following reviews have been transcribed with the errors intact. Any inconsistencies or errors have been noted in square brackets.

Transcription Samples:

1. Isadora Duncan. “Oh! Shame on America!” *The Washington Post* 14 Mar. 1913: 4.

Isadora Duncan Leaves Us – We Have No Appreciation of Art – Americans are Money
Worshippers, Unintelligent and Beyond Hope of Artistic Redemption

By Isadora Duncan

The Well-Known American Dancer and Idealist

I am going to an island in the Greek Archipelago to live on bread and onions and
worship beauty. Because my own country doesn't want me I am renouncing America forever. It
has shown me it doesn't want me by allowing me to lose my fortune here because it does not

know art. This season I have lost \$40,000. The last time I paid a visit to my own country I had to borrow my passage money back. In Europe the government fosters my art by giving me aid. In this country I would be permitted to become bankrupt so far as aid from the rich and powerful is concerned.

Back to Greece

Those who would have to power to foster art in this country do not do so, because they are not intelligent. Intelligence and taste for the beautiful are the same. Our government does not have it, nor do the persons of great wealth in the United States.

Therefore, I and my children are going back to Greece. There are blue skies and olive groves. We will go every day to the Pantheon. We will enjoy the beauties of the view from the Acropolis. We can live cheaply and happily there, instead of expensively and sorrowfully here. I will found a colony of artists. It will be a peaceful colony and will be a mild living protest against the horrors of war. For artists are the light and leaven of the world. We will all dress as did the ancient Greeks, and do as they did. I had dreamed of doing this for New York.

Emotions Atrophied By Gold

It is the fault of the government and the rich that you have no art here. It is not the fault of the masses. One day I took my children to the People's Theatre on the East Side. The Children danced, and Schubert's last symphony, the unfinished one, was played. The great audience sat there and listened soundlessly to the end, the tears streaming down their pale faces. Though they were hungry they understood! And enjoyed! Art appeals to the feelings! The masses restrain their emotions. In the classes the emotions are atrophied by the chase for gold.

I look at that wall along the Hudson, the homes of your millionaires. I call it a wall of desecration. To me it is the symbol of the city, the poseur among cities, claiming what it has not.

What an Awakening!

I brought these beautiful maidens over here. Some of them I have had for ten years. Beautiful little German maids, some of them, and I would not leave them behind, for in the streets of Paris, if they had been overheard to speak German, they would not be safe. Not, as my friends advise, in the second cabin, because I want them to see and have the best. And what happens in my own inhospitable country? They are detained at Ellis Island for eight days! Horribly un-Greek Ellis Island! What a blow to their sense of beauty! What an awakening from their dreams of America!

And then I lost \$40,000!

I gave exhibitions of their dancing at the Metropolitan Opera House. I had to pay \$1,000 a night. I must pay \$1,200 a night for the music! And \$800 for the printing! I had some striking posters announcing the Dionysian, and I was unable to have them printed! They say they are not—decent! So art is rewarded. It is the history of great art that its apostles suffered. Beethoven was a very poor man. Schubert was a very poor man. Both were bitterly unhappy. I should not repine for myself, but I mourn for my country and the hopelessness of its future in art.

The Dancer of the Future

You have children, yet you do not appreciate the wonder of their beauty. Release your children! Release them by letting them dance by the time they are 6 years old. Not until this is done will you realize the possibilities of womanhood.

Oh, she is coming, the dancer of the future! The free spirit, who will inhabit the body of the new women. More glorious than any woman who has yet been! More beautiful than the Egyptian, than the Greek, than the early Italian, than all women of past centuries—the highest intelligence of the freest body!

Your first need is to free your children by letting them be taught to dance. Children are more wonderful than we. They are the true gods and goddesses of earth. For they have the power of living in an idea. We are utterly unconscious of self. My little girls, 8 of the original 40, live always in an ideal, the ideal of beauty. Their faces are like angels, transfigured.

Wanted to Abolish Disharmonies

I had thought to aid your children. It was my purpose to open on the floor beneath my studio a shop where Greek robes and veils and sandals should be sold. I would have freed the children of New York and other communities. Not only the children, but the elders.

I wanted, not only New York, but all America, to adopt the old free Greek dress. I would have had all your automobiles made in the shape of the beautiful old chariots. The chauffeur, instead of sitting unhealthily on the small of his back, would have stood upright in the classical, virile, decorative attitude of the ancient charioteer. Your traffic policemen on Fifth avenue would have stood there in classic robes waving, instead of a club, the thyrsus. Can you imagine Fifth avenue under such conditions? No sordidness, no disharmonies, but thousands of men and women in Greek dress, coursing along in their auto-chariots, their chauffeurs finely, vibrantly erect, the traffic police with their acorn-tipped wands! Oh, it would have been beautiful!

Subway Passage to Styx

Could there be gangmen, thugs, other denizens of the slums, if the slums had been turned into gardens and these people all clad in the flaring tunics and peplums of the great Greeks? There could not have been. The disharmony between such clothing and such acts would have been so great as to have been impossible.

The subway—with its utter lack of politeness and consideration, its brutal, inhuman guards, its dreadfulness. Imagine a transformed subway with these guards in flaring robes, all

grace and ease and courtesy, its occupants old Greek—ah, it would not have been like the passage to Styx, but one to Paradise!

And so I dreamed of an America transformed. I talked with your multimillionaires who listen to my plans for spreading the gospel of beauty, because you have permitted expenses to remain so great that you cannot meet them and keep enough money to feed myself and my children. This land of the free is a cruel country, monetarily cruel.

Art Should Be Free

I have offered you music and dancing and you would have it not.

In France the government aided my art and the rich gave for its continuance. The government gave me the use of the Trocadero. Here I pay a huge rental. Europe makes its art free to all. When I gave my exhibitions in the People's Theatre free, I met such response as made me happier than I have been since I came to America.

Art should be free. It should be without money and without price. Music is the wellspring of the arts. Everything that is good comes from music. Great artists in music would work without money. They are priests. Yes, I am sure they would be willing to forgo their salaries, huge as they are. Those artists who sing at the Metropolitan Opera House for enormous salaries would surely forego the price of their efforts. They know that music belongs to the people.

“Rich Should Endow Me”

What could the rich and the government do? The rich could stop importing antiquities into this country and endow myself and others who want to liberate their children and free them to roam at will in a land of beauty. The rich and the government could provide classic amphitheaters everywhere. I understand there is an amphitheater in California, the Greek Theatre, at Berkeley. I am glad that I have never seen it.

And they could make the style of dress I advocate compulsory. Soon every one would be transformed for the better.

The theatre is not for the rich but for the poor. It is essentially a democratic institution. There should be no boxes, no galleries. There should be a half circle which an artist could include in a sweep of her arms and where the seats are practically on a level no auditor interfering with the hearing or vision of another. I offered to convert the Madison Square Garden here into such an amphitheater and produce there great music and dancing exhibitions, but the rich whose aid I asked listened and never came back.

And They Never Came Back!

I reminded them that Plato had said that everything in life depends upon music, dancing and poetry. I repeated to them the vision of the Greek Theatre and my vision of a Grecian New York—and they never came back.

My vision of the Greek Theatre. That architectural form in which the greatest number of people can see, hear and feel at the same moment, with the same intensity and equal proportions, that form which enables me to take a vast audience into my arms, the form of a theatre in which all the people sitting there will feel the significance of a simple gesture in equal vision of form and proportion, a form of theatre in which my magnetic force can go forth from me, covering the people in uninterrupted rays as the sun's light covers the earth, that form in which a simple tone of voice, going on the natural currents of its sound waves will stir the hearts of a vast multitude sitting before me in places, one not more fortunate than the others, in which the emotion I give will flow from one to another, inflecting all compelling waves of emotion going from me to them and returning to me.

Grieves Over Indifferent Country

And so was the Greek theater built. And so should other Greek theatres be built in America, without boxes or galleries or balconies or parquets, an essentially democratic institution where all people are equal and art is [word indecipherable].

In these theatres, besides the classic music and classic dancing, plays by Sophocles and Aeschylus should be given. It should be given every night, and all should be free.

I would have inaugurated this work. I tried to. You heard me but heeded not. The public was interested. Artists, musicians, sculptors gathered worshipfully about me. It is always so everywhere. The artists always understand.

[type in the remaining paragraph is indecipherable]

2. Sterling Heilig. “Nature Dancing a Revolt Against Art.” *The Kansas City Star* 31 Oct. 1909.

Loie Fuller’s dancing girls coming to America. Learned their movements from wolves. Prince Troubetzkoi, Rodin and Flammarion patrons of the new dance which is described as a glorious mix up.

What is this nature-dancing shortly to be sprung upon America by Loie Fuller? The troupe of beautiful and wild young creatures who will let themselves loose on the classical boards of the New York Metropolitan Opera House has been much seen privately by the great world of Paris.

On Camille Flammarion’s chateau lawn at Juvisy staid academicians and mathematicians delighted in their fluttering Greek draperies. At Mrs. Clarke’s garden parties in the avenue Henri-Martin Massenet agreed publicly with Loie’s theories—so she says. In Rodin’s spacious grounds at Meudon the great old sculptor showed nature dancing and this

troupe with fine enthusiasm, to invited guests. And at Prince Troubetskoy's country place the princess herself danced wild with them in the open fields.

The part of the princess is the beginning and end of the "aristocratic composition" of the troupe—so naively boasted by inspired stories in America. In truth, they are capable dancing girls, dancing for a living. For example, one of the foremost, Sachetto by name, was a prima ballerina at the Scala of Milan when Loie picked her up. As Whiting Allan told me of her:

"She is a trained dancer, but also a natural dancer. She is dancing on her own ideas largely now; and, with Loie, she believes that the old school of turned and trained toe dancing and dancing in unison is going to be abandoned."

But if the girls are not aristocrats, the princess is. And so is the prince. And so—he says—are his wolves from who they learned so much!

You will not have heard of those wolves, nor of Troubetskoy himself, I imagine. Loie Fuller will want all the credit of nature-dancing; so in America neither the prince nor the princess, nor Meva, the Man of Nature, will be mentioned. It is an injustice that I am going to rectify; because the prince and Meva are too busy now, teaching vegetarianism to their wolves.

Vegetarianism Enters Into It

Troubetskoy, who is at least the joint inventor of nature dancing, is an ardent vegetarian.

"To eat beef is to sin against love," he says. "You must kill a cow. But the bull loves a cow as I love my wife. Why if I ate beef, I could not look the princess in the face!"

It is on principles like these that nature dancing is built up. The prince's cousin Pierre is the best known of the Troubetskoy's in America, where he married Amelie Rivès in 1896. He still lives much of his time at Castle Hill, Albemaria County, Virginia, the life of hard, clean sport that distinguishes the prince in Paris; but the prince has gone away [sic] ahead of him as an artist and thinker.

When the prince takes a fancy to people he begs them to “purify themselves,” and invites them to his field and forest surrounded villa.

“Kindly eat no meat for three days, and take the 10:40 train for Fontainebleau,” run his invitations. “I smell death and corruption in meat eaters,” he explains; “and so will you when you have lived a week with us.”

All last summer he received guests barefoot, in a flannel shirt and pants; and the princess had difficulty getting him into shoes, coat and collar for the present photograph.

“The living body must breathe through a million pores,” he says, “the whole skin must bathe in air; we must absorb radiations of Mother Earth and palpitate in the bombarding ions of the sun!”

Loie Fuller, with a half formed dancing troupe upon her hands and half formed theories in her head, sat upon the lawn, his guest. With her were half a dozen of her girls; among them a tall, angular creature designed for tragic dances of the type of Loie’s “Tears.” She is dark, with a forbidding face of ineffable sadness—the reverse of what you would expect in a dancer. Another—whom Whiting Allen says will become the rage in America because “she is the most remarkably beautiful girl, both in face and figure I have ever seen”—appeared a very nymph of light and laughter. Her name is Hoff; and at rehearsal she seemed scarcely fourteen.

On the Prince’s Lawn

The prince, having fed the girls on seed cake and champagne cup, sprawled with them upon the lawn. Upon pan-pipes he played a gay, lilting dance of dove like notes. Up sprang Miss Hoff, her feet responsive.

“Sit still,” whispered the prince; and he played on the leaping, lawless, tender dance air. From the forest sprang a great grey shape, and then another and another. Before the astonished

girls, the prince's wolves jumped high, turned, rolled, gamboled and darted—to the music of pan-pipes!

“That is dancing!” said the prince, and played on.

“Yes, it's dancing!” came a voice: and in among the leaping beasts the girl of the sad, dark face weaved and turned in a wild impromptu—which Troubetskoy insists was the first real nature-dancing.

Loie Fuller and Whiting Allen of the Metropolitan Opera probably will not agree with this; so I will give you, briefly, their concrete story as Allen told us at the Grand Café in Paris this summer. As you will see, it is rather the story of the finished product.

Loie Fuller, with a ballet troupe on original lines, opens a season at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, at the beginning of the regular November period. She is not employed by the Metropolitan, but she goes to it with her own company, on terms that constrain her to perfect novelties, in scenic effects, lights, and dance composition. The latter is absolutely original in being done in an ensemble; but the basic idea is found in the work her girls have been doing in Europe—the work she taught Miss Duncan and Maud Allen.

No Trained Dancing

Loie has forty young girls whom she picked up all over the world, American, Scotch, English, Irish, German, Italian and Spanish. She selected them principally either because they knew nothing about dancing or because they had been willing to forget all they had previously been taught; because it is Loie's theory that dancing is a natural expression of the emotions.

The moment you attempt to give dancing a trained element, naturalness disappears. Nature is truth; and art is artificial. For example, a child will never dance of its own accord with the toes pointing out. Rodin, the sculptor, agrees with her absolutely in this toe theory and its anatomical consequences. The great old revolutionist in art delights in nature dancing; and

Massenet is so much its partisan that he has given Loie permission to use any or all of his music without royalty, as a result, she is going to put on several of his compositions.

She says:

“I do not teach these children. They teach me. I devise the dances, determine on the emotions I want to express and select the one I think best equipped, temperamentally and physically, to embody them in dance and gesture. I say to one: ‘Express such and such a joy,’ to another, ‘such and such a sorrow,’ or such and such a fear, and it is they who do it, to the music. Or I say: ‘Chase a butterfly.’”

That butterfly idea, says Whiting Allen, turned out so beautiful that, starting with one girl, Loie is now having all the girls do it in an ensemble, according to their different ideas.

This go-as-you-please principle is to characterize all the ensemble work of the new ballet.

“No two persons do the same thing at the same time in real life,” says Loie, “and there is no reason why they should in dance.”

“What a glorious mix-up it will be!” exclaims Prince Troubetskoi, teaching vegetarianism to his wolves in philosophical leaisure. “I almost feel like going over to New York to see it!”

“I have no objection to noise and trouble in their time and place,” said Meva, the Man of Nature, thoughtfully forcing open a wolf’s jaw hinge with a powerful thumb. Into the red hot cavern the prince jammed a soft ball of corn meal and dog biscuit soaked in milk and Leibig’s extract.

Meva is the prince’s choicest guest. In particular he is the hero of that epoch-marking cartoon of Guillame at the moment when Count Boni de Castellane lost the Gould millions. Meva, long-haired, hatless and barefotted, in his single robe-like garment of white cotton,

confronted the curled daring of Fashion in the Avenue of the Bois, his habitual severity tempered by a proselyting softness: and Boni, in immaculate frock, coat, silk hat and side-creased pants over sky-blue topped patent leathers, murmured wistfully:

“ I feel a leaning toward the simple life myself!”

Before meeting the prince Meva lived by selling a book on Natural Hygiene on the streets of fashionable watering places, with rare apparitions in Paris. Now the prince is looking after him for life. His great discovery is the medical value of the radium-effluvia of the earth—by seeping out.

“What a glorious mix-up it will be!” the prince repeated. “Forty fine girls careening round the New York Metropolitan Opera stage to its crashing orchestra of ninety-two pieces!”

“Each one according to her own ideas!” mused Meva.

“Amid the spotlights of a hundred trained electricians!”

“Meva,” said the prince, “They are going to give a Midsummer Night’s Dream with superhuman thunder and lightning of Loie’s invention.”

“And a Wagner night with the music of flutes only—eighty flutes!” replied the Man of Nature.

“The Afternoon of a Faun.” By Debussy, author of “Pelleas and Melisando”—with the whole strength of the troupe chasing butterflies.”

“No rules, no art, all nature!” cried the prince. “The world is moving. The good is coming. Hand me another bread-ball, won’t you? This wolf seems still hungry!”

“We are making a mistake to flavor the with meat extract,” said the uncompromising Man of Nature.

“Bah. We must begin with slight concessions to old habits,” the prince answered. “Even Loie is giving artificially composed music. Later, when the world is educated up to fit, each member of the orchestra will play according to his own ideas!”

3. Clive Marshall. “To Rear a ‘New, Clean, Healthy Race’.” *Oakland Tribune* 13 Jan. 1918.

Isadora Duncan’s remarkable dream of a greater mankind and especially of a greater womankind. Enthusiastic comments by three great sculptors, Rodin, Borglum, and George Grey Bernard.

Dear God! How simple it all seemed,
Till once again
Before my eyes the red type quivered: Slain:
Ten thousands of the enemy
Then laughter: Laughter from the ancient sea
Sang in the gloaming: Athens! Galilee!
And elfin voices called from the extinguished light:
“Spokoino! Notch! Gute Nacht!
Bon soir! Bon soir! Good night!”

The eminent American dramatic poet’s lyrical memory of Isadora Duncan’s beautiful Dionysian, at Bellevue, near Paris, where she imparted her art to happy children, standing out appealingly against the tragic background of the great war, come to us with intimate significance, now that the inspired dancer and six of her eldest pupils are in America; now that the war itself has impressed upon leaders in art, education and national culture the vital relation that her “dance of the future” can have to the New Womanhood, the new motherhood and,

consequently, to the betterment of the race. Profound observers of the great world cannot foresee that out of the smoking wreck of war will arise grave and stupendous problems of reconstruction, and to this era the dance brings a message of bright promise. Where, in times of tranquil peace, it was an abstract potentiality, it is now a definite promise. And with it more than any other plan of regeneration is Woman concerned—she represents its organic entirety.

The Dionysian, which was both a temple and a home, has been surrendered by Miss Duncan to the compassionate service of the Red Cross and now shelters 200 wounded soldiers; but the central purpose to which it was dedicated, still alive and enthusiastic of support, is to find expression in the United States. The great Rodin, who saw in the very beginning that the Dionysian was not of France alone, but of the entire world and all peoples, “moving upward into the sunlight of the new centuries,” admitted that the most fruitful field might be in the new country where great and trying tasks were assumed with passionate enthusiasm and untiring purpose.

“Miss Duncan,” remarked the greatest of French sculptors, in discussing the gift of the fair American and the future of the dance as established by those to whom she would have transmitted the art, “has achieved feeling without effort. She has drawn from nature that which one calls not talent, but genius. She has perfectly unified life and the dance. She is natural on the stage, where nature is so seldom seen. She preserves in the dance the perfection of line, and, at the same time, is as simple as the antique, which is the synonym of beauty. Suppleness and feeling—these are the qualities which are the innermost soul, even in the dance: it is art supreme.”

Percy Mackaye is one of many eminent personages in the arts who have expressed their “enthusiastic support of the Dionysian idea ... and have formed themselves into a committee the better to do all in their power to spread the educational influence of this idea throughout

American and elsewhere.” Some of the other notables who have thus pledged themselves are John W. Alexander, Carl Bitter, John Sloan, Ernest Peixotto, Paul Manship, George Grey Bernard, Robert Henri, Van Deering Perrine, Bolton Hall, Abastenia St. Leger, Eberle Janet Scudder and Mrs. Sally James Farnham. The three last names women sculptors have an exulted and enduring place in the world’s art.

The Dionysian in America

The Dionysian in America was opened in New York last month and the conspicuous national figure there was Gutzon Borglum, Master-sculptor. He spoke on the child and the dance and the six girls rhythmically illustrated his talk. Mr. Borglum discussed the dance that was not yet a dance, and his analysis, in a few words, of the art of Isadora was a quick flash of illumination.

“Miss Duncan,” he remarked in the beginning, “is really a great voice, bringing a golden leaven to our life and art. And art is a medium of expression from rare souls, created to enable them to transmit their profounder perceptions to the world. Isadora Duncan is not a dancer in the vulgar acceptance of the term, but a supreme artist, who has taken physical movement and rhythm and use them as a medium to develop the complete psychology of emotion. This she expresses with such harmonious and revealing swiftness that it becomes a dance—a Dance of the Soul.

“The fortune of war has brought her here. The country should not suffer her to go away, but hold her and learn from her inspired art, putting her to the task of incorporating a great school of child life, there to teach the beauty of movement and the emotion back of the action.”

The war, more than any other conceivable influence, has operated to bring “the dance of the future” as a solvent of the big, human and racial problem that must come with the final peace, and which, even now, is occupying the minds of the world’s most serious thinkers. It is a

beautiful note of rehabilitation. It is probably the most exquisitely profound expression of the feminism that is already giving the world a new a glorious aspect.

“The dance of the future,” explains Miss Duncan, “will be a new movement, a consequence of the entire evolution of which mankind has passed through. To return to the dances of the Greeks would be as impossible as it is unnecessary. We are not Greeks, and, therefore, cannot dance Greek dances. But the dance of the future will have to become again a high religious art as it was with the Greeks. For art which is not religious is not art; it is mere merchandise.

Miss Duncan’s Look Forward

“The dancer of the future will be one whose body and soul has grown so harmoniously together that the natural language of these will have become the movement of the body. The dancer will not belong to a nation, but to all humanity. She will not dance in the form of nymph, nor fairy, nor coquette, but in the form of Woman in its greatest and purest expression.

“She will realize the mission of Woman’s body and the holiness of all its parts. She will dance the changing life of nature, showing how each part is transformed into the other. From her body will shine radiant intelligence, bringing to the world the message of the thoughts and aspirations of thousands of women.

“She shall dance the freedom of women. Oh, what a field is here awaiting her! Do you not feel that she is near; that she is coming, this dancer of the future! She will help womankind to a new knowledge of the possible strength and beauty of their bodies, and the relation of the bodies to the earth nature and to the children of the future.

“She will dance the body, emerging again from civilized forgetfulness—emerging, not in the nudity of primitive man, but in a new nakedness, no longer at war with spirituality and intelligence, but joining itself forever with this intelligence in a glorious harmony.

“Oh, she is coming, the dancer of the future—the free spirit who will inhabit the body of New Women: more glorious than any Woman that has yet been: more beautiful than the Egyptian, that the Greek, the early Italian—than all women in past centuries: The highest intelligence in the freest body.”

A Sculptor's Eulogy

Here is the enthusiastic comment by George Grey Bernard, sculptor of the much discussed statue of Lincoln:

“Isadora Duncan holds within her genius the greatest art of this age, an art fitted, like the science of Edison, to open the untold dreams of man. Indeed, no greater art ever existed in any age, and none is more needed by our young earth, where feet and lives drag heavy weight.

“Isadora Duncan has rediscovered those laws of the Greeks, made evident in all their arts, especially made visible to us through their plastic arts of sculpture and architecture. How much greater should our harvest be could we but build on these living laws of supreme harmony the beauty Miss Duncan's science unfolds! If understood and put to use by our people it would weld us in body and spirit, it is the law ‘from the centre [sic] of the universe’ toward the circumference.

“If our new life in our new world allowed less of the strenuous, and more of a truce with life, more of the building within, and less of the building without, allowed to the beautiful something beyond a commercial value, could see a truth as strongly as we desire fiction, what an awakening in the arts and fire in all the hearts of those who love the beautiful would come through one woman's gift to us.”

4. Lancer, The (Henry Carr). “A Cynic on Maud Allan.” *Los Angeles Times* 13 Apr. 1910.

I have it from all my friends that we now know since Miss Maud Allan has danced, what Mendelssohn meant by the “Spring Song.”

Mercy, if you could know how this has worried me and how relieved I feel—now that we know!

I imagine that the shade of Mendelssohn is also relieved; because I don’t believe he knew. I imagine that if Mendelssohn could have been there last night he would have muttered, “Ach, de Lieber,” and sunk down into a heap in his orchestra chair.

When it was first announced that Miss Maud Allan was coming, I admit that I received the news with calmness, in spite of the fact that her press agent honored me with the announcement that H.R.H., the Duke of Clarence, or somebody, had seen her dance and said it was frightfully clever.

But yesterday morning when I saw my calm young friend, Julian Johnson, the dramatic editor of the times, go to a clench with the dictionary and claw the recesses of his soul for adjectives to tell how wonderful the lady was; and when I read in one of the morning papers that she resembled a piece of kelp; and in another that she had prehensile feet and enveloping hands; and in another that her dance was hadeisaical, I became wild with enthusiasm.

“If,” I said to myself, “if there is any young lady who looks like a piece of kelp with prehensile feet and enveloping hands, dancing in a hadeisaical manner, lead me to her.”

So last night I saw Miss Allan dance.

I thought it was all very wonderful and very beautiful, and very esthetic and awfully hadeisaical; but it was a little too high-browical. It left me in sort of a daze.

As a soul lifter, Miss Allan's dancing is marvelous; but for an evening's entertainment, kindly pass me George M. Cohan, who sings through his nose about "The 'Gran' Old Rag."

Those who go to see Miss Allan in the jaw-dropping hope of seeing something immoral will be as disappointed as they deserve to be. Miss Allan's gown is about the size of a handkerchief; but she does not impress you as being a woman without clothes on. She impresses you as risen above clothes. She seems to have cast off all base material things—including clothes.

She impresses you as being clothed in her aura—and her hadeisacality.

It is a fact that she seems, too, like a beautiful fairy; she is too sylphlike and airy and beautiful to be real. No one can imitate her; no one can ever dance again as this girl dances. When Maud Allan stops dancing, the chapter is closed. I know this because I saw one of the dancers who have sought to steal her ideas. The imitator reminded me of a frisky bovine.

Her dance is not a dance of bare legs and wonderful arms that undulate like snakes, or a lithe, slim, bare, young body; her dance is a dance of creative imagination, of sinuous dreams made tangible.

One of my sportive, literary friends told me excitedly that her weird, beautiful, horrible Peter Gynt Suite is like the distorted dreams that come with the fumes of absinthe.

He said you could see Maud Allan dance the Peter Gynt Suite and reel with all the intoxicated, unearthly, chaotic sensations of opium.

I own there is something haunting and rare and delicate about it all; but I must confess it seemed unhealthy and exotic.

In addition to the Peter Gynt Suite and the Spring Song, which Miss Allan danced the opening night, she also gave her rendition of the "Beautiful Blue Danube" waltz last night.

Her idea of what Strauss meant by the “Beautiful Blue Danube” was a lovely half-clothed girl in filmy pink, floating about the stage like thistle-down.

What I think Strauss meant was a golden young war god riding to battle in the first sweet light of dawn—drunk with the beautiful lust of combat—flushed with the fight.

What Strauss thought he meant, was a blue dancing river. Either Miss Allan or myself may be right; but it is obvious, of course, that Strauss was wrong; because the Danube isn’t blue anyhow, but a dirty yellow. So that settles that.

An audience of the best people of Los Angeles crowded the house. Miss Allan has rarely has a more sympathetic or intelligent one.

I tried my best to do what every high-brow seemed to be doing. When she was dancing I leaned forward in my seat with my lips half opened and a look of rapture divine on my face; and when the curtain went down, I drew a long sigh.

So I don’t believe anyone knew I was longing for George M. Cohan.

5. “Art Warms Barefoot Dancer.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 23 Jan. 1910: 1.

Maud Allan says simple Greek costumes are sufficient.

Fumes at her “imitators.”

Other, she says, copy her soul throbbing creations.

Maud Allan, a barefoot dancer, a California girl, who went to Europe, discovered poetry of motion, thought it lovely, decided to be its high priestess, and practiced her devotion so skillfully, that members of the nobility worship at her feet, is in Chicago to visualize Chopin and Grieg for patrons of the classic and for the curious who happen to have the same admission price.

In her suite of rooms as the [word indecipherable] hotel, last evening she explained to some benighted callers the true inwardness of her particular brand of poetry, said right out what she thought of Gertrude Hoffman and Ruth St. Denis, and took off a shoe and stocking so an artist for *The Tribune* could sketch her foot.

Miss Allan is all wrapped up in her art. She admitted that to be one of the reasons why she discards so much conventional raiment.

“Don’t you get awful cold?”

“On the contrary, when I’m clad in that simple Greek frock I feel warmer than with ordinary clothes on.”

Talks Three Ways at Once

As a conversationalist the danseuse easily has the better of an ordinary linguist. She talks three ways at once. A whole souled western drawl seems all the time trying to break through the shell of an English veneer. Every now and then—when the owner grows excited—it gets out in the open and cavorts around until she grabs it and pushes it back under its covering of rolled r’s and forgotten h’s.

Then she talks with her eyes. These are great, round, green, brown affairs that melt and flash and twinkle and flash and sometimes seem to go out altogether. They die that way when she is most eagerly discussing the soul of motion. But while the eyes and voice are getting along pretty well with a duet comes a pair of sinuous, tapering hands doing the obigato of the conversation in a manner bewildering if not terrifying.

They slip out at you and punch the commas and italics, then dart back and bump into her teeth, frequently get a strangle hold on each other and add to the gayety of things in general. Meanwhile the visitor is parrying for an opening.

Tells What She Wears

“What do you have on in the dance where you don’t have—er—that is—”

“You mean the ‘Spring Song?’” Miss Allan interrupted. “Well, in that I wear that simple Greek frock. It’s caught about the waist and part of it reaches to the knees. The upper portion lies loosely over the shoulders. It’s sort of a dirty champagne color. White is too harsh. But you know, I don’t make a specialty of costumes.”

“What do you wear in the Peter Gynt numbers?”

“Well that starts out with the cold, gray dawn, you know. It must be mistylike and vague. I have about me a lavender colored affair with waves of white chiffon gathered near the waist. This gives the effect of cloud and the slightest trace of color conveys the impression of a flicker of sunlight breaking through the mist. It’s beautiful.”

Vibration of Body Like Music

Visitors admitted that it must be hurried on to get at explanations of the poetry of motion idea. Miss Allan believed the vibrations of the body are harmonious akin to the vibrations of music. The dance she goes through is just an interpretatic [sic] by means of movements of the body of the soul through which Chopin and Rubinstein experienced when in the throes of composition.

If the compositions are played beautifully she dances beautifully. If a flageolet busts, she limps. If a trumpet is out of tune an intricate gyration is likely to get tangled in the middle, while if the whole orchestra is bad soul visualizing runs completely amuck and Miss Allan gives way to just ordinary tears.

“Why, once when I was in Russia the orchestra leader was angry at me for some reason or other and played horribly. First I cried and then I made up my mind I wouldn’t. I ran right down at him, waved my hands, and told him he had to play it all over again, and the audience clapped.

Carried Away by Music

“When I dance I just take a big breath and close my eyes and listen to the music. Then everything goes by itself. I never practice. My soul pulsates with the beauty of the music, its beating is transmitted to my body and I break into the dance with an abandon that is spontaneous and always as fresh as a daisy. While I’m dancing I know nothing but the surge of the music.”

A surge of something else welled into the brown eyes when Ruth St. Denis and Gertrude Hoffman were mentioned.

“Don’t say dance, it’s just plain Denis,” she exclaimed, petulantly. “She’s Irish. And as for Gertrude Hoffman—well, she came and saw me and went away and copied everything I did. But none of them do it as well as I do. That’s why I don’t like to be imitated.

“That’s why I’ve given up my Salome dance. That was a sacred conception to me. But a lot of these imitators have just dragged it down until it’s—it’s—well, you know what it is,” and tears were dangerously close to thought of the degradation to which Salome has been dragged.

Reveals One—Just One—Foot

But Salome was forgotten with the request that Miss Allan take off her shoes and stockings.

“O, just one will do, won’t it?”

This was agreed. Off came a tiny shoe and stocking, and one of the feet that have twinkled and twirled and fascinated lovers of the dance the world over became a model for the *Tribune* artist.

First drafts proved [word indecipherable].

“I’m nervous,” explained the picture maker.

Miss Allan comforted him and the drawing went on. Half way through Miss Allan interrupted:

“Do you really think that hump is there?”

The artist squinted at the foot, and then at the picture, back and forth again, and then agreed the hump must go.

Finally the foot was finished.

“Come over and see me tomorrow,” Miss Allan said with a smile.

6. “Drama and Music: La Loie Fuller and Her Dance Creations.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 21 Apr. 1896: 6.

La Loie Fuller, high priestess of the classic dance, began her week’s engagement at the Boston Theater last night. There was a full house and tremendous enthusiasm.

Five years since she was here, and what a change!

They say she is just the same plump, muscular, chummy, adorable sort of girl off the stage as ever, but her artistic personality and her performance are both different now from then as the bud to the full-blown rose.

She comes back—our cute American Loie who used to lecture on temperance out west and then danced in her bare feet at the popular summer resort in the east—a full-fledged \$3000 star, redolent with the traditions of the Folies Bergere and a French handle on her name.

She comes back, too, the finished student. Paris, which appears to crush or inspire every adventurer who goes there, has seen her one idea blossom into a whole empire, has cheered her, has petted her until from twirling a few yards of silk in the calcium she has come to be mistress of the mysteries of color and drapery.

But though La Loie is Parisian made it is refreshing to find that she is something more than a mere novelty. From recent importations Americans had come to think that a girl who was a bit unique might reach the pinnacle of fame over there. With Loie, however, we have something more to say after the show is over than “So delightfully odd!”

Her dancing can hardly be called dancing. It is rather a spectacle, but one which appears to every sense quite as much as to the sight. It is symphony, a tragedy, laughter and landscape. There are waterfalls and a sunny sky one moment, fog and a billowy sea the next. A suggestion of purple down is swallowed in a pillar of fire, which in turn melts in the gray of twilight and then comes nothing—nothing unless the applause brings a momentary vision of the siren’s wholesome face bathed in a single sphere of light.

The machinery and apparatus which the artist carries about create half the allurements of the spectacle.

First the rising curtain revealed silent blackness. While the orchestra played a thing which resembled the last goodnight twitterings of the birds La Loie’s draperies were wafted into a shadowy column of light. Then began the dance “La Nuit.”

While the was the most up-to-date and the least expressive of all it took best with the exception of “The Lily of the Nile.”

In “La Nuit” Loie resembled a huge moth fluttering above a prism. She kicked some—the only kick of the evening—which sent into showers of colors the spangles on her black lace gown.

The electro calcium showed to splendid effect. They are not calciums at all, but powerful are lights in a box, on the top of which is a wheel cover with discs covered with different colored pieces of isinglass. Every box contains 22 lights and is duplicated on each side of the stage above and below.

“La Danse Blanch,” the Parisians favorite, which was not in the program, was the second number. This was the simplest of all, showing the effects of the lights on a pure white gown.

“La Firmement” or the sun dance, in which a stereopticon was used, was gorgeous and thrilling. Most of the time La Loie’s face was unseen, but the soft swayings, the full glorious billows and then the gentle curves of her skirts, sometimes bathed in morning light, again bordered with the rays of the sun, then changing to moonlight flickerings, told the whole story of a day.

In “Le Fen” the artist stood in a flood of light shading in all tones of red and yellow, and shook her skirts until they became so like fleeting, flickering but savage flames that the audience half expected the yellow locks and the face above would be devoured.

“Le Lys du Nile” came last. La Loie managed the 500 yards of nebulous silk with matchless skill. The whole history of the river seemed embodied in this wondrous spectacle. At first La Loie suggested the angel suggested the angel with outstretched wings beckoning the children of Israel. On the dance went, the light falling in kaleidoscopic changes on the mountains, valleys and cascades of silk until at last all these forms were blended until they assumed the shape of a giant lily. There was a grand, dazzling display of shifting colors, and the bog flower withered into a twinkling, the leaves falling apart to disclose “La Loie.”

Of course, it was all done splendidly, and it should have been, to repay the audience for sitting through two hours of bad variety in order to see it.

La Loie’s company included Charles D. Kellog, Hines and Remington, Julius Witmark, Sherman and Morrissey, Will H. Fox, Charles D. Kellog and Miss Fannie Wentworth, the female Grossmith, who did a really clever act.

La Loie is announced to come on at 9:30 each evening.

In the boxes last night were miss Fannie Davenport, Melbourne MacDowell and Miss Julia Arthur.

7. “Evolution of La Loie’s Dance.” *New York Herald* 27 Aug. 1893: 36.

Compared with It All Others Seem Old Fashioned and Commonplace.

Its Discovery was Accidental.

She Traces Its origins Back to Bible Times, more Than Four Thousand Years Ago.

Miriam was its Author.

Supple Loie Fuller has found a Nile. While earnest students of the drama have been waiting the coming of a great American playwright she has stolen in upon them with a wonderful dance which has set them all thinking.

Miss Fuller left us two or three years ago a clever little woman with a lot of debts and one or two lawsuits, and we heard that she had gone the way of all burlesquers—to Paris.

She comes back to us La Reine Loie, a star danseuse who has driven all Paris wild with delight, and she exults upon her native heath as the discoverer of one of the most lucrative of modern properties—a new dance.

La Loie has signed the death warrant of the high kick and the throbbing wobbles of the Spanish school.

She has made them all alike seem stupid, commonplace and old fashioned, and by her dainty swervings amid clouds of opalescent drapery she has aroused American enthusiasm and evoked the cheers of a New York audience in August.

“Something entirely new!” the public cries delightedly, watching the pliant form wheeling amid rose mists and violet shadows and fluttering in a gauzy aureole beneath soft

lights, yet ever the central figure of the floating shimmer—warm, human and beautiful with life and motion.

We nineteenth century infants rejoice in the novelty of a dance in which the feet are subservient to the waving arms, the floating drapery and the bending body; and yet it is as old as the hills, so old that its resurrection give a touch of possibility to the wildest theosophical theories, and impresses one that the Kiralfy ballet girl joke is not so funny as it would seem.

An Old, Old Dance

La Loie traces her dance back just four thousand years, to Bible times, when Miriam, the sister of Aaron the high priest, danced before Pharaoh during her captivity, and after the destruction of the Egyptians “took a timbrel in her hands, and all the women went out with her with timbrels and with dances.

Old prints and book snow in Miss Fuller’s possession show beyond all doubt that the dance of waving drapery only half concealing the figure has lived and died and been born again in a modernized and civilized form.

There are the uplifted arms, the wrists fastened to misty robes, the sandal-shoes laced across the instep, the ungirdled waist, the swaying attitude—all faithfully reproduced in the dance which New York is talking about, with the exception that Miss Fuller has supplemented a suit of pink tights beneath her robe as a symbol of progress.

In the book “Herculaneum and Pompeii” there are also illustrations of the girl dancers who graced the bacchanalian orgies and with their cymbals drowned the cries of the victims of the revelers.

Their dancing, as shown in these pictures, partook nothing of the French, Spanish or Italian modes, but was undisputably [sic] the dance in which La Loie flutters about the stage,

representing by her various motions the flower, the serpent and the butterfly, as the bacchanalian girls did the emotions of the heart.

How She Dances

Artists, scientists and thinkers have gathered in the audience at the Garden Theatre during the week past to watch the wonderful effects produced by Miss Fuller and her floating skirts. The artistic effects are cleverly arranged, the music is dramatic, weird, sensuous and dreamy by turns, seeming to follow the motions of the dancer and to be suggested by her as she flashes about.

The back of the stage and the wings are draped in black. The lights in the house are low, the stage is darkened, the great violin throbs a few dark, expectant notes, the audience is very still.

A wraithlike figure glides through the blackness of the wings and stands motionless. A ray of clear light falls upon it, and you see La Loie, with red-gold curls about her saucy face, standing with uplifted arms, holding high above her head a skirt upon which serpents are woven in glittering hues. Then she begins to move.

She glides with stealthy undulations of her drapery from side to side; she writhes and undulates amid the coils of silk which entwine her; she darts her head between the waves of silk and glitters and scintillates under the changing lights.

The music is uncanny and ends in a fierce chord. The lights go out.

Now the orchestra strikes a gay and tripping measure.

A violet light shines upon the entrance.

Enter La Loie, wreathed in a wonderful gown, which, when upheld, represents the colors of a butterfly's wings.

She trips daintily to the footlights, flutters the outstretched wings of silk, patters about on nimble toes and flashes here and there in constantly changing lights—royal purple, deep crimson, gorgeous amber, tender pink and pearl and opal—a dream of almost supernatural beauty.

Most Wonderful of Dances

The lights vanish once more; a sigh breaks the stillness of the auditorium. Low, passionate waltz music sounds from the darkness of the orchestra, as “La Loie” comes upon the stage in a gown of pure white, which falls to her feet in straight lines.

This is the most wonderful of all the dances. The figures produced by the swirling drapery are indescribably beautiful.

At times the form of the dancer is entirely obscured and there is but a pyramid of gorgeous mist or a pin wheel of iridescent light. The music swells to a livelier measure, and amid the wavering, silken shadows there are glimpses of a woman’s form, a smiling face, an uplifted arm and graceful, motionless limbs.

Clouds of rose and gold float about the fairy-like form, and the music grows dreamy and tender. Sunrise seems around her, and she appears to be literally floating in the air. Wheeling figures dance upon the gown, changing with every motion.

The dance ends in a whirl of color, which is lost again in utter darkness, from which Miss Fuller issues smiling in response to the plaudits she has awakened.

There is a popular delusion that the successful actress or star danseuse is to be found between black silk sheets, sipping her morning chocolate at twelve o’clock, but I found Miss Fuller up to her eyes in business letters and telegrams at nine o’clock one morning last week when I called to ask her in what form and under what name she had lived and danced four thousand years ago.

A Novel Interview

What an interview that would be! To learn what size wreath Bacchus took and how Pharaoh wore his hair!

But the piquant little woman didn't know. It might have been as Isis or as the daughter of Herodias, or perhaps as Miriam herself.

"I discovered the drapery dance through an accident," she said, "and have studied and improved my rendition of it to its present form.

"A friend of mine had sent me from Calcutta a Nautch girl's dress and I put it on. I began to pose before a large mirror and to dance about, holding the edge of the voluminous skirt in my hands. The strong sunlight shining through a stained glass window fell upon me and the air caught the silk and it floated about me in graceful and fantastic forms.

"I felt like another Stanley.

"I had discovered a dance.

"It took me many weeks to educate my arms, limbs and body to the dance. The graceful manipulation of the soft drapery is an extremely difficult matter to acquire and tiresome. It was dreadful at first, but I persevered and can do six dances in a performance now with comparative ease, although I feel the exertion when I have finished and the enthusiasm of the dance has deserted me."

"When I grew to learn the beauty of the dance I studied the literature of dancing, and in the "Bibliothèque Nationale," in Paris, I found Miriam, The sister of Aaron, recorded as the first drapery dancer. The dance, as then given, was purely Oriental and consisted more of swaying of the body and the moving of the arms than of any motion of the feet. The dances represented emotions and every national event was symbolized in that way.

“The feet were first used in dancing at a comparatively recent date,” continued Miss Fuller, with the air of an archeologist, “only a few hundred years ago, and the Nautch girls of India have stolen their dance from dervishes, who twirl their skirts about them and fall in an ecstasy of religious fervor.

“The effects of light and the geometric figure cast upon me are a recent addition, and there are almost limitless possibilities in this feature.”

Miss Fuller designs all the wonderful gowns she wears during her dance. The “rainbow” dress is one of the prettiest. It is of ivory white silk, with an edge of graduating rainbow tints, one merging into the other.

The “flower” dress of gauze, garlanded with blossoms, is also a Frenchy looking costume, in which the little dancer looks radiantly lovely.

La Loie goes back to Paris in a few weeks. “I like New York,” she says naïvely, “but Paris has been kinder to me.”

8. “Isadora Duncan’s Beautiful Art.” *The Trenton Evening Times* 2 Nov. 1909.

What Philadelphia thinks of Classic Dancer Who Comes to Trenton Soon

Leigh Mitchell Hodges, in the North America of today, has this to say of Isadora Duncan, the classic dancer who comes to the Taylor Opera House with Damrosch’s Orchestra on November 22:

A few Months’ absence seems only to have increased Philadelphia’s enthusiasm for Isadora Duncan, who danced the music of the masters as played by Walter Damrosch’s New York Symphony Orchestra at the Academy last evening.

And impossible as it may seem to the entranced by her last winter, the intervening summer has ripened her art to a still lovelier fruitage, which drew unstinted applause from a house really packed.

To describe the charm of this little woman's revival of beauty, long-lost, is like trying to paint the "Sistine" in words. When you have exhausted the supply of synonyms for grace, you come to the spell-weaving soulfulness of her motion-interpretations and it was as potent as ever last night.

With Damrosch's music as a fitting frame for her exquisite message, she once more danced Beethoven's "Seventh," investing the splendid rhythm of this "apotheosis of the dance" with some such vision as must have stirred the soul of the composer to bring forth this most glowing of his "immortal nine" symphonies.

One can only accept her rendering of it as a literal translation of the music's meaning and the breadth of her classic art is revealed by the ease with which she tripped from these rhythmic, delicate musings of Chopin.

A wilder, freer spirit characterized her conception of a group of Grieg's Norwegian dances, but here again, her every movement and pose seem inseparably part of the melody. She does not dance to music—she dances music.

And the audience made her dance more than was on the program, just as her audiences always do.

The work of the orchestra left nothing to be desired. Dancer and conductor are equally fortunate in this combination, for each complements the other. The instrumental part of the program, which included Tschaikowsky's [sic] "March Slav" and the first movement of the Beethoven symphony was brilliantly performed.

9. “Maud Allan Returns Supreme Exponent of Visual Harmony.” *Los Angeles Times* 10 Apr. 1910: II16.

When a poor music student from California can evolve a phase of art that will make the critics of two continents devote the pages of valuable space to its discussion, when the crowned heads of England, Germany, Russia, France, and Spain command this girl to perform before their households, and bestow honors upon her, when her home theatres are crowded to see her perform—well, there must be something more than luck in it all. There must be genius.

That’s the story of Maud Allan, the San Francisco girl who went abroad to study music some years ago, took a side turn into Terpsichorean investigation, and won all England by her remarkable performances.

Miss Allan will dance at the Auditorium tomorrow night. Tuesday night and Wednesday afternoon she will have the assistance of the principal portion of the Symphony Orchestra, under the direction of Harley Hamilton.

Maud Allan has undoubtedly proven that the relationship of music and dancing lies in rhythm. In music rhythm is the principal thing: it is essential, fundamental. In dancing it is everything. Rhythm is the measurement system of vibration: it is natural and universal: sounds is the audible result of vibration, as light is the visible result. As sounds grow higher in music they become more and more refined to our ears until we lose them altogether. If it were possible to sufficiently increase the vibration we could see the notes, for they would appear as light. Our ears receive the impressions of certain limited sets of vibrations, and our eyes receive the impressions of certain others, but all are alike in character. Rhythm is important to the eye and motions performed in perfect time are always pleasing to the musical sense. That is the main reason why people everywhere take delight in watching good dances. Even among the most primitive nations the dances are performed with careful regard to rhythm, while the

accompanying musicians have little or no thought of doing anything more than keeping the time. Rhythm and pitch are alike based on rigid mathematical laws from which not even the slightest deviation can be made with success, but the underlying principle of music is the rhythm.

A simply classical musical program from a symphony orchestra will ordinarily appeal to only those who possess musical training, for the impressions can be received only through the ear. An operatic performance of whatever class the music may be, makes impressions through the senses of sight, as well as through the sense of hearing, and so will attract the greater number of devotees. The imagination is more readily aroused by means of the eyes than by means of the ears, and so when beautiful music is illustrated or interpreted by means of an appropriate dance, skillfully performed, the well trained eyes of the public lend aid to the ears that are not so well trained, and it is almost as if the music were made partially visible in addition to being heard. The reasons suggested seem sufficient to explain from a musical standpoint, and without consideration of other arts, the popularity of the classical dances that have come into vogue and for which Miss Allan stands as a premiere exponent. Music is not a visual art, and that is why the Allan dancing has become a fashion.

Maud Allan's greatest success in the country seems to be in the Peter Gynt suite, which she is said to interpret in a manner that shows not only a thorough understanding of Grieg's beautiful music, but also of Ibsen's play.

[newsprint is here indecipherable]

Her opening programme seems devoid of the famous "Salome," as it includes the Chopin Valse in A Minor, the Mazurka in G Sharp Major and the Mazurka in B Flat, the Mendelsohn "Spring Song," the "Peter Gynt" suite and the Rubenstein "Valse Caprice." But of the "Salome" there is no mention.

10. “Philosophy in the Dance.” *The New York Times* 17 Apr. 1889: 14.

It trips and trills and sways as illustrated by Miss Isadora Duncan.

Up in a big studio in the Carnegio building the other morning the notes of Mendelssohn’s “Midsummer Night’s Dream” were tripping and trilling forth from the piano, and a slender figure that might have been Aurora, a delicate pink-tipped Spring flower—anything dainty and delicate and sweet—was tripping, trilling, and swaying over the smooth boards of the large room.

It was Isadora Duncan, whose translations of music through the dance have filled so many ennuied society people with delight this past Winter. There was also Miss Elizabeth Bloren Duncan, whose clever recitations have accompanied the dances; Mrs. Duncan, who has accompanied at the piano, and Raymond Duncan, who has translated the dances into the words which have been the subject of some recitals.

The Duncans, who are California people, have brought what they say is a new science as well as a new art to the East. It is the philosophy if life, which they express through the poetry of motion, they say. Dancing it is called in ordinary parlance for lack of a word better understood.

Motion is the one way to express the thought of the world, they believe, and they are gradually reducing it to a science. Not an exact science, but more a spiritual science. Zola has said that art is nature seen through a temperament. That is what the Duncans believe of the art of motion.

Someone has said to Miss Isadora:

“Teach me to dance exactly as you dance.” But she answered:

“That is impossible. To dance as I dance you must have lived as I have lived. You must have lived in the mountains of the West; you must have studied the art galleries of the Old World; you must have lived exactly as I have lived to dance as I do. I show certain things in nature so that they will be recognized; but I must do it through my own personality. To show the same things exactly you must show them through your personality or they will not be true.

She teaches others to dance, not as she dances, but to show the things she shows with exactness, each one through her own temperament.

The likeness of miss Isadora to Aurora, to Spring flowers, to everything dainty and fresh as she dances the “Midsummer Night’s Dream” is not a misplaced simile. She represents as she dances the awakening of the cowslip in the quivering light of the moon, the waving of the harebell in the wind, the peapod swaying on the vine, the spirits of the flowers as they dance around the old oak tree, and Queen Titania in the exercise of her sovereign rights. Every motion expresses the thought of the musician and the poet. And there is the power and sweetness of the night, as it symbolizes the night of trouble and sorrow, and rest and recuperation at last as the dancer sleeps. That is philosophy.

The thought of the artist, not only what he expressed, but the best that he intended to express, is what the dancer tries to bring out through his and her personality. When there are no words to the music the idea of the dancer is to introduce words after the fashion of the old Greek chorus, that the recitative may help the audience to an understanding of all the delicate points.

The philosophy of life seems a large sentence to give as a motive for the rhythmic dancing of such a lithe, rosy, graceful, young figure, but since the world has grown more civilized the deep meanings and morals to be taught are not expressed dogmatically, but delicately hinted at, that only they who seek may find.

The Duncans feel that they have discovered that music is an attempt to picture the human body in motion. Certain chords represent certain movements, and with the movements the chords are rounded out until they seem to have gained several notes. They believe that movement possesses the possibility of carrying great emotions to people, that there is the same or a more powerful thrill of appreciation carried by a symphony of movement as by a symphony of sound. They have learned to detect a dischordant note in movement as quickly as in music, and what they are working to do is to express within movement the truths of life in a harmonious symphonetic whole.

To Miss Isadora Duncan is given the credit for the origin of the thought. She was only a child in California and she has been marvelously successful in her study of music, but she exhausted herself through it, and for a year and a half she was confined to her bed with the promise that even when she was better she could not devote herself to music for a long time at least. Then with her head full of music, which longed for expression, she began to dance with her fingers upon the bed cover little rhythmic tunes.

When she was able to be up she began with her sister little expressive pantomimes, then there were classes in dancing for little children, and the children were thought to express little poems in the dances. There was the physical exercise and there was a mental education, and with it a lesson in the appreciation of the beautiful. And so the idea grew until it came to be called an act which is still developing.

There is a real study for the dances. Great works of art are helpful. Every piece of fine statuary gives an emotion that the dancer is able to apply. [words indecipherable] in his illustrations of the Rubaiyat has given wonderful studies of the hands, and from morning until night the lithe, slender, pink-tipped little Aurora dances—with her head, with her arms, with her feet, with her lips—as she works out her dainty translations of the philosophy of life.

“And she never tires,” says Miss Duncan.

And the costume?

Every one asks about a costume, always. The costume is a trouble. It must be entirely subjective. It is difficult to find a material that is not suggestive, that does not have a character, a meaning in itself. There are gauzes and gauzes, and pretty soft lace is sent from abroad. But nothing is yet just right. Gray gauze over pink is perhaps the best, and there is always the faint impression of the dainty, little, pink-tipped Aurora, who dances and dances and of the flowers and the moonlight and the soft rippling water and the wandering Narcissus, and the philosophy of life seems a sweet and beautiful thing.

Works Cited and Consulted

1. Archival Documents

“A Ballet in the Air; Dancing Novelties and Remarkable Midgets at the Olympia.” *The New York Times* 13 Sept. 1896.

“A Classical Dancer.” *The Era* 14 Mar. 1908.

“A Dance Poetess.” *The Springfield Republican* 25 June. 1905.

“A Dancing Marvel, Loie Fuller’s Performance will be Given Tonight.” *Oakland Tribune* 14 Nov. 1896: 10.

“A New Creator of Dance, Miss Margaret Morris.” *Black & White* 11 Mar. 1911: 334-5.

“A New Dancer, Canadian Who Will Stir London.” *London Daily Mail* 7 Mar. 1908.

“A New Dancer, Maud Allan at the Palace Theatre.” *Pall Mall Gazette* 7 Mar. 1908.

“A New Fangled Dance, Loie Fuller Originated it, but Another Woman Copied It.” *Idaho Statesman* 29 Mar. 1892.

A. F. “Maud Allan in Chopin’s ‘Funeral March’.” *Musical America* 29 Jan. 1910.

“Actors Inspired by Electricity.” *The New York Times* 30 Aug. 1903: 9.

“All London is Agog Over Maud Allan’s Barefoot Dance.” *Manchester Examiner* 12 July. 1908.

“All Things Beautiful, To the Sunny-Hearted, Frank, Loveable ‘La Loie’.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 23 Apr. 1896: 6.

Allan, Maud. “Miss Maud Allan on London and Dancing.” *The New York Times* 3 May. 1908.

---. “Most Daring of Dancers Tells Story of her Life.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 5 July. 1908: 7.

---. “The Scriptural Idea of Salome.” *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* 13 Feb. 1910: 3.

“Allan in a Temper.” *Los Angeles Times* 8 May. 1910.

- “Amusements.” *The New York Times* 24 July. 1870.
- “An Ill-Mannered Audience.” *The New York Times* 17 Aug. 1893: 4.
- “And Now a ‘Passion Music’ Dancer.” *New Castle News* 26 Feb. 1909.
- “Arrival of La Loie Fuller.” *The Washington Post* 28 Mar. 1896: 3.
- “Art Notes.” *The New York Times* 29 Mar. 1903: 7.
- “Art Warms Barefoot Dancer.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 23 Jan. 1910: 1.
- “Artist Portrays Poetry in Motion.” *Toronto World* 6 Oct. 1916.
- “Artistic Dancing at the Princess.” *Montreal Gazette* 3 Oct. 1916.
- “As to ‘Salomania’.” *Logansport Pharos* 14 Sept. 1908: 7.
- “Ashes of Dancer stay in France, her Adopted Land.” *Times Weekly Edition* 5 Jan. 1928.
- “At the Theatres.” *The Washington Post* 20 Oct, 1896: 4.
- “At the Vaudeville Shows.” *The New York Times* 30 Dec. 1900: 20.
- Atchinson, Adele. “Some Freakish American Abroad.” *Logansport Journal*. Aug 1, 1907.
- Ball, Helen. “Miss Maud Allan Behind the Scenes.” *Toronto Telegram* 6 Oct. 1916.
- “Bakst Admires Isadora Duncan.” *Duluth News-Tribune* 3 Sept. 1916: 5.
- Bell, Archie. “Isadora Duncan is Coming.” *The Ohio Plain Dealer* 17 Feb. 1911.
- Bell, Archie. “Orchestra Plays Exquisitely as Isadora Duncan Gives Dance.” *The Ohio Plain Dealer* 22 Mar. 1911: 3.
- “Berlin Bars Barefoot Dance of Isadora Duncan.” *The Philadelphia Enquirer* 7 Jan. 1906.
- “Bilked by Loie Fuller, Large Audience Pays to See her Just Fifteen Minutes.” *The Salt Lake Daily Tribune* 11 Nov. 1896: 8.
- “Boston Applauds Isadora Duncan, Symphony Hall Filled With People Anxious to See Her Dance.” *The Boston Journal* 18 Nov. 1909: 6.
- “Calcutta Police May Bar Allan Classical Dances.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 5 Sept. 1913: 10.

“California’s Great Orange Crop, Grace of Isadora Duncan.” *Portsmouth Herald* 24 Mar. 1903.

Carpenter, John Ava. “About the Plays and Players in London.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 30 Nov. 1913: G2.

---. “Famous Salome Dancer May Appear in America.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 15 June. 1908: 3.

“Carry on Loie Fuller’s Life Work Instead of Building her Monument.” *Kokomo Daily Tribune* 1 Feb. 1928: 9.

“Chat of Paris.” *The Washington Post* 24 Nov. 1901: 23.

“Chicago Police Bar Maud Allan.” *Los Angeles Times* 26 Nov. 1916: 15.

Clarke, Malcom. “Miss Isadora Duncan’s Style of Posing Divides Berlin into Warring Factions and Brings Her a Huge Fortune.” *Oakland Tribune*. 9 Sept. 1906: 19.

“Clergy stirred by High Art Dance.” *Oakland Tribune*. 29 Aug. 1908.

“Color Scene for Ball is Perfect.” *Oakland Tribune* 27 Apr. 1913.

“Critics are Answered, Loie Fuller and her Company of Dancers Arrive in Boston for Series of Performances.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 3 Jan. 1910: 7.

D. F. “Some Gossip From Paris, Sensational Success of Miss Loie Fuller’s Dance.” *The New York Times* 22 Jan. 1893: 2.

“Dance a Religion, Says Miss Duncan.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 1 Mar. 1903

“Dance Expression of Nature, Noted Artist Explains Her Work.” *Oakland Tribune* 6 May. 1916: 16.

“Dance on Sands, as in Arcadia.” *Evening Independent* 23 Sept. 1909.

“Dancer and Wizard, Loie Fuller Visits Edison at Llewelyn Park.” *Los Angeles Times* 1 Nov. 1896: 18.

“Dancer Illustrates a Recital.” *New York Journal* 27 May. 1898.

- “Dancer to be at the Mason, Loie Fuller and Her Big Troupe Coming.” *Los Angeles Times* 15 July. 1915: II6.
- “Dancer Warned Off Stage.” *The New York Times* 8 June. 1908.
- “Dances For King on Sabbath Day, Isadora Duncan Entertains British Royal Family With Nimble Feet.” *The Ohio Plain Dealer* 9 Aug. 1908.
- “Dancing and the Dancers.” *The New York Times* 8 Mar. 1909.
- “Dancing Lacks in Art Values, Fuller Depends Too Much on Mechanical Effects.” *Los Angeles Times* 22 July. 1915: II6.
- “Dancing Schools.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 14 Aug. 1910: J6.
- “Dancing Visual Music Declares Maud Allan.” *San Francisco Chronicle* 28 Apr. 1910.
- “Death of Loie Fuller, A Famous Dancer and Teacher.” *Times Weekly Edition* 5 Jan. 1928.
- Dille, Marie. “Women Who Lead the Way, Isadora Duncan—Pioneer Dancer.” *Edwardsville Intelligencer* 24 Nov. 1915.
- “Discovered a New Dance, It Made La Loie Feel Like Another Stanley.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 19 Apr. 1896: 34.
- Dix, Dorothy. “Woman’s Way: Dorothy Dix Talks.” *The Daily Picayune* 21 July. 1901.
- “Drama, Maud Allan Dancing.” *The New Age* 11 Apr. 1908.
- “Drama and Music: La Loie and her Dance Creations.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 21 Apr. 1896: 6.
- “Dramatic Season Begins in Earnest.” *The New York Times* 16 Aug. 1908.
- Duncan, Isadora. “Oh! Shame on America! Isadora Duncan Leaves Us.” *The Washington Post* 14 Mar. 1913: 4.
- “‘Duncan Dance All that is Artistic’ – Mrs. Boynton.” *Oakland Tribune* 3 Feb. 1910.

- “Duncan Dance Her Ideal: Raps Fraternities (Calls ‘em Pigs)—And Society.” *Oakland Tribune* 27 Oct. 1909: 10.
- Ellis, J.O.B. “The Drapery Swirl.” *Idaho Statesman* 4 Nov. 1893.
- “Evolution of La Loie’s Dance.” *New York Herald* 27 Aug. 1893: 36.
- “Famous Dancer Says Motion Should Harmonize With the Spirit – Clock Should Not Regulate Exercise.” *Rochester News* 5 Oct. 1916.
- Flitch, G. Untitled. *The Boston Daily Globe* 18 Apr. 1896.
- Fuller, Loie. “Memoirs of Loie Fuller.” *Lexington Herald* 27 Dec. 1908.
- . “Memoirs of Loie Fuller (I, II, III).” *Lexington Herald* 29 Nov. 1908: 1,8.
- . “Memoirs of Loie Fuller (IV, V).” *Dallas Morning News* 6 Dec. 1908: 3-4.
- . “Memoirs of Loie Fuller (VI, VII).” *Lexington Herald* 13 Dec. 1908: 1,5.
- “Gay Colors in Fashion.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 26 Oct. 1893: 12.
- “Gossip.” *Daily Kennebec Journal* 11 May, 1896.
- “Gossip From the San Francisco Weeklies, A Pioneer’s Daughter.” *Oakland Tribune* 22 Aug. 1908.
- “Gossip from the San Francisco Weeklies: Imitates the Grecian Maidens.” *Oakland Tribune*. 29 Aug. 1908.
- “Gossip of Paris.” *The Washington Post* 6 Nov. 1896: 22.
- “Guileless Loie Fuller.” *Daily Nevada State Journal* 15 Jan. 1897.
- Graves, Ralph. “The Outlook and Retrospect, La Loie Fuller’s Return.” *The Washington Post* 17 Oct. 1909: SM2.
- . “The Passing Show.” *The Washington Post* 24 Apr. 1910: MT2.
- Hartley, Randolph. “Isadora Duncan Dancers, The Season’s Supreme Artistic Event.” *Altoona Mirror* 17 Apr. 1920: 2.

- “Has the World Gone Mad?” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 10 Jan. 1909: F4.
- Heilig, Sterling. “Loie Fuller’s Parisian Success.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 7 Jan, 1894.
- “Her Calcium Man Paralyzed, Dance Starts in Darkness Because an Assistant was Remiss.” *The New York Times* 8 Mar. 1896: 24.
- “History of the Dance, ‘La Loie’s Development of the Idea of Poetry in Motion.” *The Washington Post* 10 Oct, 1909: SM2.
- Hodsdon Boutelle, Grace. “Maud Allan and Her Dances.” *Pall Mall Magazine* July 1908: 699-709.
- “Horrors of War Obliterate Sorrow, Strange Paradox in Life of Isadora Duncan, Guest of Eleanor Duse.” *Oakland Tribune* 27 Sept. 1913.
- “How Loie Dances, Behind the Scene Glimpses of the Iowa Wonder.” *Des Moines Daily News* 27 Mar. 1896: 5.
- Hubbard, W. L. “A Performance of the Vision of Salome.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 7 Feb. 1910.
- . “Music and the Drama, Miss Maud Allan’s ‘Vision of Salome’.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 5 Feb. 1910: 8.
- . “Music in Motion is Dancer’s Art.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 24 Jan. 1910: 3.
- “Huffy Isadora Duncan Refuses to be Measured by News Reporter.” *Waterloo Evening Courier* 28 Mar. 1911: 7.
- “Ill Mannered Audience.” *The New York Times* 17 Aug. 1893: 4.
- “Illumination of the Dance, Loie Fuller and her Muses Seen.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 10 Dec. 1909: 6.
- “In and About the City.” *The New York Times* 17 Jan. 1893: 10.
- “In Classic Dances, Maud Allan Makes First Appearance in America.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 20 Jan. 1910: 3.

“Intimate Correspondence by Rath.” *Logansport Daily Reporter*. 1 Dec. 1909.

“Is Paris Fooling the American Woman?, Isadora Duncan’s Protest in a Paris Show.”

Indianapolis Star 31 Oct. 1915.

“Isadora Duncan a Stoic.” *Miami Herald Record* 10 Aug. 1913.

“Isadora Duncan and Terpsichorean Goddesses Give Performance in N.Y.” *Eau Claire Reader*

25 Nov. 1914: 4.

“Isadora Duncan Back from the War.” *Kane Republican* 3 Dec. 1914: 3.

“Isadora Duncan Dancers to Open at Helig Wednesday.” *Oregonian* 7 Dec. 1919.

“Isadora Duncan Dances, American Girl Gives Fine Program at Academy.” *The Philadelphia*

Inquirer 7 Mar. 1911.

“Isadora Duncan Dances.” *Syracuse Post-Standard* 29 Sept. 1908: 7.

“Isadora Duncan, Danseuse, To Appear at Columbia.” *Oakland Tribune* 18 Nov. 1917: 33.

“Isadora Duncan Finds Solace for Grief Among War Scenes.” *Syracuse Herald* 10 July. 1913:

20.

“Isadora Duncan Gives Up Dancing.” *Colorado Gazette Telegraph* 16 Sept. 1913.

“Isadora Duncan Has Captured Paris.” *Augusta Chronicle* 22 May. 1904.

“Isadora Duncan Looking for a Kind-Hearted Millionaire.” *South Carolina Paper*. 26 July.

1908.

“Isadora Duncan Offers Three Glimpses of Her Unique Art.” *Oakland Tribune* 25 Nov. 1917:

39.

“Isadora Duncan Raps Maud Allan.” *The New York Times* 9 Aug. 1908.

“Isadora Duncan Reappears.” *The New York Times* 10 Nov. 1909: 9.

“Isadora Duncan Says She Owes Success to Father.” *The Boston Journal* 7 Aug. 1908.

“Isadora Duncan Shocked.” *South Carolina State* 5 Sept. 1915.

“Isadora Duncan, The Newest Classical Dancer.” *The Seattle Daily Times* 15 Aug. 1908.

“Isadora Duncan Will Appear Here, Noted Dancer Engaged for Single Performance by Harry B. Loeb.” *The Times Picayune* 12 Oct. 1916.

“Isadora Duncan’s Art.” *Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette* 30 Apr. 1917.

“Isadora Duncan’s Beautiful Art, What Philadelphia Thinks of Classic Dancer Who Comes to Trenton Soon.” *The Trenton Evening Times* 2 Nov. 1909.

“Isadora Duncan’s Childish Assistants and Some Other New Dancers.” *The New York Times* 2 Aug. 1908: 8.

“Isadora Duncan’s Odd Theories About Bringing Up Children.” *Indianapolis Star* 31 Jan. 1915.

“Isadora Shocks the Naughty Parisiennes.” *Fort Worth Telegram* 8 June. 1903.

J.B.C. “‘La Loie’ Flitting About Her Hotel Room.” *Musical America* 11 Sept, 1909.

Johnson, Philander. Untitled. *The Washington Star* 17 Oct. 1909.

Kelly, Kitty. “Flickerings From Film Land, Miss Allan Vies with the Glaciers.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 5 July. 1915: 14.

“Kicked Off Parnassus!” *The Washington Post* 8 Oct. 1911: 4.

Kingsley, Grace. “At the Stage Door.” *Los Angeles Times* 20 July. 1915: III4.

“La Loie and Her Dances.” *The New York Times* 25 Feb. 1896: 5.

“La Loie as Vegetarian.” *Black and White* 6 Feb. 1897: 174.

“La Loie Fuller.” *Illinois Daily Inter Ocean* 5 Apr. 1896.

“La Loie Fuller and her Company.” *The Washington Post* 12 Oct. 1909.

“La Loie Fuller Coming.” *The Washington Post* 26 Sept. 1909: SM3.

“La Loie Fuller Not Insane.” *Daily Republican* 5 June, 1896.

“La Loie Fuller Here with Spinthereoscope.” *New Jersey Telegraph* 2 Sept. 1909.

“La Loie Fuller in Moonlight Dance.” *New Jersey Telegraph* 21 Aug. 1909.

- “La Loie in Perihelion.” *Chicago Tribune* 12 Apr. 1896.
- “La Loie Interprets Law.” *The New York Times* 3 Sept. 1893: 9.
- “La Loie Talks of Her Art.” *The New York Times* 1 Mar. 1896: 10.
- “La Loie, To Appear for One Night.” *Hayward Review* 15 Nov. 1896.
- “La Loie’s Paris Theatre.” *The New York Times* 26 June. 1900: 7.
- “La Loie’s Salome Dances.” *The World* 16 Feb. 1896.
- “Latest Amazing Love Affair of Isadora Duncan.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 25 June. 1922.
- “Literary Paris and its Doings, ‘La Loie Fuller’ in ‘Dazzling’ Reminiscence.” *The New York Times* 19 Dec, 1908: BR788.
- “Loie Before Society, Her picture Poses Charm a Fashionable Gathering.” *The Washington Post* 29 Mar. 1896: 4.
- “Loie Fuller.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 19 Apr. 1896: 34.
- “Loie Fuller.” *Black and White* 8 Sept. 1900: 392.
- “Loie Fuller.” *Oakland Tribune* 10 Nov. 1896: 6.
- “Loie Fuller and Her Muses Return.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 4 Jan. 1910: 4.
- “Loie Fuller as a Baby Toddled to the Tune of ‘Pop Goes Weasel.’” *Evening World* 3 Jan. 1928.
- “Loie Fuller at the Garden.” *The New York Times* 11 Aug. 1893: 4.
- “Loie Fuller Coming Back: The Beautiful Serpentine Dancer Will be Seen in ‘Salome’.” *The World* 19 Jan. 1896.
- “Loie Fuller is Here.” *The New York Times* 23 Feb. 1896.
- “Loie Fuller is Here, Woman of Many Draperies Returns to Her Old Home.” *Illinois Daily Inter Ocean* 13 Apr. 1896.
- “Loie Fuller May Marry.” *The New York Times* 25 Feb. 1893: 3.

“Loie Fuller of Serpentine Dance Fame is Going Blind.” *Kentucky Morning Herald* 4 Apr.

1899.

“Loie Fuller Shows Her Dancing Girls.” *The New York Times* 1 Dec. 1909.

“Loie Fuller Tells Dancing Secrets.” *Duluth News Tribune* 20 Feb. 1910.

“Loie Fuller Tells of her Many Adventures with the Serpentine Dance.” *The New York Times* 8

Nov. 1908: SM11.

“Loie Fuller Tells the Secret of Artistic Dancing.” *Coshocton Daily Tribune* 18 Dec. 1909: 6.

“Loie Fuller, The Serpentine Dancer Behind the Scenes.” *Blade* 11 Apr. 1896.

“Loie Fuller to Aid New Boston Opera.” *The New York Times* 14 Feb. 1909: C2.

“Loie Fuller Writes, The Wonderful Dancer’s Remarkable Rise to Fame.” *Waterloo Courier* 1

Apr. 1896: 10.

“Loie Fuller’s 30 Dancers.” *The New York Times* 4 Sept. 1904: 7.

“Loie Fuller’s Ballet.” *The New York Times* 4 Oct. 1909: 9.

“Loie Fuller’s Dancers in New York.” *The Washington Post* 5 Dec. 1909: SM2.

“Loie Fuller’s Jump into Popularity Through Free Advertising.” *The Washington Post* 28 Feb.

1892: 14.

“Loie Fuller’s Latest Dance.” *London Sketch*. n.d.

“Loie Fuller’s Narrow Escape.” *The New York Times* 16 June. 1895: 5.

“Loie Has Changed Her Mind.” *The New York Times* 4 Sept. 1893: 5.

“Loie’s Fire-Like Dance.” *New York Sun* 24 Mar. 1895.

“London Society Women Dancing like Maud Allan.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 9 Aug. 1908:

D5.

“M. H. Hanson to Tour Loie Fuller.” *Musical Leader* 20 May, 1909.

MacFadden, Byrne. “That So-Called Aesthetic Dancing.” *The Dance* 1926: 9, 55.

“Maidens Dance on the Sands, They are Pupils of the Famous Dancer Isadora Duncan.”

Logansport Reporter 20 Sept. 1909: 5.

“Making Girls Greek Goddesses.” *Cleveland Plain Dealer* 10 Oct. 1909.

Martin, John. “Maud Allan Returns From England.” *The New York Times* 8 Sept. 1935.

“Maud a Pupil of Isadora?” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 6 Feb. 1910: B4.

“Maud Allan.” *Cincinnati Post* 12 Feb. 1910.

“Maud Allan.” *London Opinion* 21 Mar. 1908.

“Maud Allan.” *Musical Canada* c. Nov. 1916.

“Maud Allan.” *Variety* 29 Jan. 1910.

“Maud Allan Again Entrances Audience.” *San Francisco Examiner* c. Mar. 1910.

“Maud Allan as Salome.” *The Washington Post* 2 Mar. 1910: 9.

“Maud Allan Coming.” *The New York Times* 9 Jan. 1910.

“Maud Allan Dances to Romantic Music.” *Musical Courier* 26 Jan. 1910.

“Maud Allan Protests.” *The New York Times* 15 Jan. 1936.

“Maud Allan Repeats ‘The Vision of Salome’.” *Musical Courier* 9 Feb. 1910.

“Maud Allan Returns Supreme Exponent of Visual Harmony.” *Los Angeles Times* 10 Apr.

1910: II16.

“Maud Allan Tells of Slum Dancers.” *The New York Times* 13 Jan. 1936.

“Maud Allan Tonight.” *Ottawa Citizen* 29 Sept. 1916: 3.

“Maud Allan, the Dancer.” *San Francisco Examiner* c. Mar. 1910.

“Maud Allan to Surely Go On.” *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune* 10 Feb. 1910.

“Maud Allan Wants to Capture America.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 5 July. 1908: G2.

“Maud Allan Wins Triumph.” *The Washington Post* 5 Feb. 1910: 2.

“Maud Allan’s Bare Feet Twinkle for New Yorkers.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 21 Jan. 1910: 6.

“Maud Allan’s Farewell.” *Musical Courier* 10 Mar. 1910.

“Maud Allan’s Graceful Dance.” *Hartford Courant* 8 Mar. 1910: 6.

“Maud Allan’s Interview.” *Musical America* 25 Apr. 1908.

“Maud Allan’s ‘Salome’ Barred from Chicago.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 25 Nov. 1916: 1.

“Maud Allan’s Salome Dance, An Exhibition that Does Not Seem to Shock London.”

Charleston News 9 Aug, 1908.

M. C. H. “Maud Allan in Canada.” *Musical Courier* 26 Oct. 1916.

“Merely Comment.” *Footlights* 21 Mar. 1896: 4.

Metzger, Alfred. “Maud Allan’s Vision of Salome.” *Pacific Coast Musician* 3 Dec. 1910.

“Minister Coolidge Entertains, Private Theatricals with Loie Fuller as Star.” *The New York*

Times 7 Jan, 1893: 3.

“Miss Allan Dances, To Be Seen Here for the First time This Afternoon.” *The New York Times*

20 Jan. 1910.

“Miss Allan’s Dancing New.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 19 Jan. 1910: 2.

“Miss Fuller’s New Dance.” *The New York Times* 24 June 1896: 2.

“Miss Isadora Duncan’s Style of Posing Divides Berlin into Warring Factions and Brings Her a

Huge Fortune.” *Oakland Tribune* 9 Sept. 1906: 29.

“Miss Loie Fuller, A Gossip Over the Breakfast Table about Skirt Dancing.” *Westminster*

Budget 29 Nov. 1895: 5

“Miss Maud Allan and ‘The New Age’.” *The New Age* 11 July. 1908.

“Miss Maud Allan’s Salome Dance.” *The Academy* 21 Mar. 1908.

“Moral Standards in Music Halls.” *Chicago Tribune*. 16 Nov, 1913.

“Most Daring of Dancer Tells Story of Her Life.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 5 July, 1908.

Morgan, A.V. “La Loie.” *Hayward Review* 13 Nov. 1896.

- “Music.” *Chicago Record* 7 Feb. 1910.
- “Music and Drama.” *Saturday Night* 14 Oct. 1916.
- “Music and Drama, Tour for Isadora Duncan.” *Lethbridge Daily Herald* 30 Nov. 1912: 13.
- “Music in Canada, The Art of Classical Dancing.” *Canadian Courier* 23 Oct. 1909.
- “Music to Produce Colors, Loie Fuller to Show in Berlin a Device she has Invented.” *The New York Times* 31 Jan. 1909: C2.
- “National – La Loie Fuller.” *The Washington Post* 3 Oct. 1909: T2.
- “National – La Loie Fuller and Her Company.” *The Washington Post* 12 Oct. 1909: 3.
- “Nature Dancing – A Revolt Against Art.” *The Kansas City Star* 31 Oct. 1909.
- Nestor. “Slashes and Puffs.” *Fun* 19 July. 1893: 22.
- “New French Plays to be Seen Here, Loie Fuller in ‘Salome’.” *The New York Times* 21 Oct. 1907: 7.
- “New Luminous Dance, Loie Fuller invents a New Dress that Lights Up a Theatre.” *The New York Times* 5 Feb. 1911: C3.
- “New York May See War of the Dancers.” *The New York Times* 12 July. 1908.
- “News and Gossip of the Stage.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 9 Feb. 1896.
- “Newspaper Criticism.” *The New York Times* 9 Jan. 1856.
- “Noted Danseuse who had Leading Role in Sun Fete on the Top of Eiffel Tower.” *The Washington Post* 18 July. 1914: 4.
- Nunan, Thomas. “Maud Allan Again Accorded an Ovation.” *San Francisco Examiner* c. Apr. 1910.
- . “Maud Allan in Dance of Salome.” *San Francisco Examiner* 23 Apr. 1910.
- “Oakland Woman’s Figure More Perfect than the Venus de Milo.” *Oakland Tribune* 21 July. 1909: 1.

- “On the Montana Stage.” *Anaconda Standard* 12 May. 1901: 19.
- “Opposes Allan ‘Concert’.” *The New York Times* 21 Oct. 1916.
- “Palace Theatre.” *The London Times* 18 Jan. 1910.
- “Pantomime as a Feature of Dramatic Art.” *New York World* 23 May. 1897.
- “Paris and America Score One Each in Struggle for Art Epicurianism.” *Indianapolis Star* 24 Dec. 1911: 1.
- “Paris Gowns and Capes, The Loie Fuller Dress is Simple and Shows the Figure.” *The New York Times* 26 Mar. 1893: 16.
- Parker, H.T. “Loie Fuller and an Orgy of Lights.” *The Boston Evening Tribune* 10 Dec. 1909.
- “Parodies of Loie Fuller’s Dance.” *The Philadelphia Inquirer* 18 Sept. 1892.
- “Philosophy in the Dance.” *The New York Times* 17 Apr. 1889: 14.
- “Plays and Players, Loie Fuller and Her Dances.” *The Boston Sunday Globe* 19 Apr. 1896: 18.
- “Pointers from Gay Gotham: Elderly Women Who Go Into Ecstasy Over Loie Fuller’s Dance.” *The Courier* 10 Apr. 1896.
- Pollard, Percival. “The Regent Wave of the Sensational Dance.” *The New York Times* 23 Aug. 1908.
- Powell, S. Morgan. “Maud Allan as the Interpreter of all Emotions.” *Montreal Star* 3 Oct. 1916.
- “Pretty Loie Fuller’s New Dance Wins Praise from England’s King.” *The Washington Post* 21 Apr. 1907: ES11.
- Price, Lucy J. “Maud Allan’s Visit to Orient Aroused a Storm of Protest and Now an English Girl has Taken Out a Dancing License in Yokohama.” *Sunday Leader* 14 Mar. 1914.
- “Protest from Loie Fuller.” *The New York Times* 1 Nov. 1909: 10.
- “Punch on Maud Allan.” *The New York Times* 3 Feb. 1910.

“Pupils of Isadora Duncan Aim at Grace of Greeks.” *Massillon Evening Independent* 23 Sept.

1909: 1.

“‘Radium Dance’ is Loie Fuller’s Latest Success.” unknown publication. 1904.

Rath. “Intimate Correspondence.” *Logansport Reporter* 1 Dec. 1909: 4.

“Reception to Miss Loie Fuller.” *Musical Leader* 18 Sept. 1909.

“Renowned Artists Feature Second Day of Festival.” *The Indianapolis Star* 2 May. 1919: 12.

“Rich Mr. Singer’s Secret Skyway to Isadora Duncan’s Heart.” *The Sunday Oregonian* 9 Aug.

1942.

“Richard Strauss’s ‘Salome’.” *The New York Times* 13 Jan. 1907: X5.

“Risqué Plays Flood New York, Maud Allan’s Worse than Hoffman’s.” *The Atlanta*

Constitution 30 Jan. 1910: 7.

“Rumor Says Loie Fuller is to Wed.” *The New York Times* 5 Sept. 1894: 9.

“Salome Dance Forbidden.” *The New York Times* 14 Apr. 1907.

“Salome Dinner Dance, Tale of London Society Women Dancing in Maud Allan Undress.” *The*

New York Times 23 Aug. 1908.

“‘Sal-Oh-My!’ At the Alhambra.” *The Era* 14 Apr. 1908.

Sargeant, Epes W. “Serpentine Dance Revival.” *Chicago Times* Sept. 1902.

“Sensational Features of the Opening Dramatic Season.” *Lowell Sun* 2 Sept. 1908: 8.

“Sent the Pretty Dancer to Jail Because She Wouldn’t Change Her Stage Name.” *San Antonio*

Light 19 Jan. 1930: 4.

“Seven Colors White? Not Always! Dance Will Develop a Thousand.” *Oakland Tribune* 27

Apr. 1913.

“She Danced to Calcutta.” *The New York Times* 26 Sept. 1915: 3.

“Shows Art in Salome Dance, Maud Allan Reveals Beauty Rather than Vulgarly.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 7 Feb. 1910.

“Society at Home and Abroad, Art Notes.” *The New York Times* 29 Mar. 1903: 7.

“Some Freakish Americans Abroad.” *Logansport Journal* 1 Aug. 1907: 3.

“St. Louis Pastors Denounce Performance of Isadora Duncan.” *Oakland Tribune* 29 Aug. 1908: 1.

“Stage Dancers and Dancing.” *Hutchinson Daily News* 10 Aug. 1908.

Sykes, Nancy. “Among the Players.” *Galveston Daily News* 7 Apr. 1895: 18.

“Symphonic Dancer.” *Ottawa Citizen* 27 July. 1916.

“Symphonic Dancer Charms Audience.” *Toronto Telegraph* 6 Oct. 1916: 9.

“Teaches Grecian Dances, Miss Duncan Revives the Idea.” *Indianapolis Star* 26 Sept. 1909.

“Terpsichore on East Side; Graceful Little Dancers Swarm in ‘Little Hungaria.’” *The New York Times* 5 Aug. 1900.

“That Classic Greek Dance.” *Oakland Tribune* 12 Jan. 1906: 6.

“The Career of a Dancer, La Loie Fuller on Herself.” *Black and White* 25 Jan. 1896: 118.

“The Casino’s New Bill.” *The New York Times*. 27 Sept. 1892.

“The Drama, A Week of Women.” *Black and White* 19 May. 1894: 606.

“The Fuller Sisters.” *Daily Northwestern* 17 Jan. 1896: 8.

The Lancer. “A Cynic on Maud Allan.” *Los Angeles Times* 13 Apr. 1910.

“The Original Frocks Which Loie Fuller has Designed.” *Daily Northwestern* 4 Mar. 1896: 5.

“The Palace of the Dance, Paris Exposition.” *The New York Times* 5 Aug. 1900: 17.

“The Regnant Wave of the Sensational Dance.” *The New York Times* 23 Aug. 1908: SM7.

“The Salome Dance, Manchester and Miss Maud Allan.” *Manchester Guardian* 8 June. 1908.

“The Spread of Bohemianism in English Society.” *The New York Times* 16 Aug. 1908.

“The Week at the Theatres.” *The New York Times* 20 Aug. 1893: 16.

“Theatrical News and Gossip.” *The Washington Post* 22 Mar. 1896: 19.

“This Week at the Theatres.” *The Washington Post* 10 Oct. 1909: SM2.

Tindal, Marcus. “Queen of all Dancers.” *Pearson’s Magazine* July- Dec. 1901: 595-99.

“Tiny ‘Disciples of Beauty’ Don’t Care for Cold, Isadora Duncan is All for Beauty Cult.”
Nevada State Journal 2 Dec. 1914: 2.

“To Rear a ‘New, Clean, Healthy, Race’.” *Oakland Tribune* 13 Jan. 1918.

Tregiller, Frederick. “Isadora Duncan’s Dances.” *Lowell Sun* 2 Sept. 1908: 8.

“Triumphed Again.” *Philadelphia Telegraph* 24 Nov. 1908.

Tupper, Edith Sessions. “Pointers from Gay Gotham, Elderly Women who go into Ecstasy over
Loie Fuller’s Dance.” *The Courier* 10 Apr. 1896: 8.

Turnbull, Robert K. “Loie Fuller in Paris, Wrapped in Electric Sparks she Dazzles the
Frenchmen.” *Wilkes-Barre Times* 25 Mar. 1893.

“Two Noted Dancers Out of Step When They Exchange Compliments.” *Musical Courier* 21
Oct. 1916.

“U.C. Co-eds Pose and Step to Aesthetic Tunes.” *Oakland Tribune* 20 July. 1913.

Untitled. *The Boston Transcript* 15 Feb. 1909.

Untitled. *Broadway Magazine* 23 Dec. 1899.

Untitled. *Buffalo Times* 13 Aug. 1909.

Untitled. *Chicago Tribune* 23 Jan. 1910.

Untitled. *The Sydney Bulletin* 4 July. 1914: 8.

Untitled. *Westminster Gazette* 11 Feb. 1911.

van Vechten, Carl. “Maud Allan in Greek Dances.” *The New York Times* 21 Jan. 1910.

---. “Terpsichorean Souvenirs.” *Dance Magazine*. Jan 1957: 16.

“‘Vision of Salome’ New Dance by Maud Allan Gained Enthusiastic Reception at Symphony Hall Last Evening.” *The Boston Daily Globe* 27 Jan. 1910: 2.

Warnack, Henry Christeen. “Maud Allan and the Dance.” *Los Angeles Times* 11 July. 1915: III1.

“What is Going on in the Theatres.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 9 Feb. 1896: 15.

Wilstach, John. “The Art of Maud Allan.” *New York Review* 30 Jan. 1910.

“What Women Are Doing.” *Cedar Rapids Tribune* 6 May. 1910.

“What Women Are Doing.” *The Mansfield News* 20 Feb. 1910.

“When Isadora Duncan Dances, Grace and Happiness as Pictures in Exquisite Motion by Her.” *New York Daily People* 24 Sept. 1908. (also printed in the Decatur Daily).

“When Isadora Duncan Dances.” *Decatur Daily Review* 23 Sept. 1908: 9.

“Whew! Mr. Censor, Look Out!.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 6 Feb. 1910.

“Will the Footlights Assuage Her Grief?” *Ogden Standard* 12 Dec. 1914.

“Woman’s Art a Revelation.” *Los Angeles Times* 12 Apr. 1910: 17.

“Woman’s Way.” *The Daily Picayune* 21 July. 1901.

“Women Whom Salome Has Made Famous.” *Chicago Daily Tribune* 16 Aug. 1908: F2.

“Wonderful Art of Noted Dancer Revealed to Russell Theatre Audience.” *Ottawa Citizen* 30 Sept. 1916: 10.

“Wore No Tights, Only Sandals.” *The Atlanta Constitution* 7 Aug. 1904.

“Work of Paris Sculptors.” *The New York Times* 10 Dec. 1899: 19.

“Writing – Isadora Duncan.” *Syracuse Herald* 27 Sept. 1908: 15.

2. Theoretical Texts

Aden, Roger C. *Popular Stories and Promised Lands: Fan Cultures and Symbolic Pilgrimages*.

Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999. Print.

Adlam, Carol, and Juliette Simpson. Eds. *Critical Exchange: Art Criticism of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries in Russia and Western Europe*. Bern: International Academic Publishers, 2009. Print.

Adorno, Theodor W. *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*. Trans. Rodney Livingstone. Stanford University Press, 2001. Print.

---. and Max Horkheimer. "The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception." *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. 1944. New York: Verso. 1944. Print.

Ahmed, Sara. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. New York: Routledge, 2004. Print.

Albright, Ann Cooper. *Traces of Light: Absence and Presence in the Work of Loïe Fuller*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2007. Print.

Allan, Maud. *My Life and Dancing*. Ulan Press, 2012. Print.

Anderson, Ben. "Modulating the Excess of Affect: Morale in a State of 'Total War'," *The Affect Theory Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. 161-85. Print.

Armstrong, Tim. *Modernism, Technology, and the Body: A Cultural Study*. Cambridge University Press, 1998. Print.

Auslander, Philip. "The Performativity of Performance Documentation," *Journal of Performance and Art* 84 (2006): 1-10. Print.

Banes, Sally. *Dancing Women: Female Bodies on Stage*. London: Routledge, 1998. Print.

---, and André Lepecki. *The Senses in Performance*. New York: Routledge, 2012. Print.

Barrett, Deirdre. *Hypnosis and Hypnotherapy*. Abc-Clio, 2010. Print.

- Bartolo, Anna M. De. *Mesmerism and Jewishness in a Novel by George Du Maurier: Trilby*. Rubbettino Editore, 2002. Print.
- Baudelaire, Charles, and Geoffrey Atheling Wagner. *Selected Poems*. Random House, 1974. Print.
- Baudrillard, Jean. *Simulacra and Simulation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994. Print.
- Benhabib, Sayla. "Models of Public Space: Hannah Arendt, the Liberal Tradition, and Jürgen Habermas." *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Ed. Craig J. Calhoun. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992. Print. 73-98.
- Benjamin, Walter. *On the Concept of History*. New York: Classic Books, 2009. Print.
- . "The Task of the Translator," *Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913-1926*. Boston: Harvard College Press, 1996. 256-63. Print.
- Bentley, Toni. *Sisters of Salome*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002. Print.
- Bergson, Henri. *Matter and Memory*. Trans. N. M. Paul and W. S. Palmer. New York: Zone Books, 1988. Print.
- Berkenkotter, Carol and Thomas N. Huckin. *Genre Knowledge in Disciplinary Communication: Cognition/Culture/Power*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Verso, 1983. Print.
- Bernstein, Charles. *Close Listening: Poetry and the Performed Word*. Oxford University Press, 1998. Print.
- Bishop, Carol. "Maud Allan." *Canadian Dance Visions and Stories*. Ed. Selma Landen Odom and Mary Jane Warner. Toronto: Dance Collection Danse, 2004. Print.
- Blair, Fredrika. *Isadora: Portrait of the Artist as a Woman*. McGraw-Hill, 1986. Print.

- Bleeker, Maaïke A. "(Un)Covering Artistic Thought Unfolding." *Dance Research Journal*. 44.2 (2012): Print.
- Bodenheim, Maxwell. "The Reader Critic." *The Little Review*. 6.11 (April 1920), 61.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. Trans. Richard Nice. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984. Print.
- Boym, Svetlana. *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001. Print.
- Brake, Laurel, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein. *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001. Print.
- Bramwell, John Milne. *Hypnotism: Its History, Practice and Theory*. Nabu Press, 2010. Print.
- Breton, André. *Manifestoes of Surrealism*. University of Michigan Press, 1969. Print.
- Buonaventura, Wendy. *Midnight Rose: A Life of Maud Allan*. Bristol: Cinnabar Books, 2012. Print.
- Burt, Ramsay. *Alien Bodies: Representations of Modernity*. New York: Routledge, 1998. Print.
- Butt, Gavin. *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance*. John Wiley & Sons, 2008. Print.
- Campbell, Kate. *Journalism, Literature and Modernity: From Hazlitt to Modernism*. Edinburgh University Press, 2004. Print.
- Carey, James W. *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. New York: Routledge, 1989. Print.
- Carrà, Carlos. "The Painting of Sounds, Noises and Smells." *Futurism: An Anthology*. Ed. Christine Poggi and Laura Wittman. Yale University Press, 2009. 155-8. Print.
- Carter, Alexandra. "Destabilizing the Discipline: Critical Debate about History and Their Impact on the Study of Dance." *Rethinking Dance History: A Reader*. Ed. Alexandra Carter. New York: Routledge, 2004. 20-31. Print.

- , and Rachel Fensham. *Dancing Naturally: Nature, Neo-Classicism and Modernity in Early Twentieth-Century Dance*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Print.
- Cavallero, Dani. *Synesthesia and the Arts*. New York: McFarland, 2013. Print.
- Cherniavsky, Felix. *Maud Allan and Her Art*. Toronto: Dance Collection Danse, 1998. Print.
- . *Salome Dancer: The Life and Times of Maud Allan*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991. Print.
- Collingwood, Robin George. *The Principles of Art*. Oxford University Press, 1958. Print.
- Conner, Lynne. *Spreading the Gospel of the Modern Dance: Newspaper Dance Criticism in the United States, 1850-1934*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997. Print.
- Crary, Jonathan. *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990. Print.
- Campen, Crétien van. *The Hidden Sense: Synesthesia in Art and Science*. MIT Press, 2010. Print.
- Current, Richard Nelson, and Marcia Ewing Current. *Loie Fuller, Goddess of Light*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997. Print.
- Dahlhaus, Carl. *Between Romanticism and Modernism: Four Studies in the Music of the Later Nineteenth Century*. Trans. Mary Whittall. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Print.
- Daly, Ann. *Critical Gestures: Writings on Dance and Culture*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002. Print.
- . *Done into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2002. Print.
- Danius, Sara. *The Senses of Modernism: Technology, Perception, and Aesthetics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002. Print.

- de Morinni, Clare. "Loie Fuller – The Fairy of Light." *Chronicles of the American Dance: From the Shakers to Martha Graham*. Ed. Paul David Magriel. New York: Da Capo Press, 1978. 2-20. Print.
- Dean, Winton. "Criticism," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians: A To Aristotle*. Ed. Stanley Sadie. New York: New Grove, 2001. Print.
- Debord, Guy. *Society of the Spectacle*. St. Petersburg: Black & Red, 1977. Print.
- Dempster, Elizabeth. "Stumbling, St(uttering) and Other Disorders." *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance*. New Jersey: Rutgers, 1995. Print.
- Desmond, Jane C. *Dancing Desires: Choreographing Sexualities On and Off Stage*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001. Print.
- Dickens-Garcia, Hazel. *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-century America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989. Print.
- Dikovskaya, Lily, and Gerard M.-F. Hill. *In Isadora's Steps: The Story of Isadora Duncan's School in Moscow, Told by Her Favourite Pupil*. Book Guild, 2008. Print.
- du Maurier, George. *Trilby a Novel*. Whitefish: Kessinger Publishing, 1894. Print.
- Dufrenne, Mikel. *The Phenomenology of Aesthetic Experience*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973. Print.
- Dumesnil, Maurice. *An Amazing Journey: Isadora Duncan in South America*. Washburn, 1932. Print.
- Duncan, Doree, Cynthia Splatt, and Carol Pratl. *Life Into Art: Isadora Duncan and Her World*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1993. Print.
- Duncan, Isadora. *Isadora Speaks*. San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1981. Print.
- . *My Life*. New York: Liveright, 1995. Print.

- Dyer, Richard. 1986. *Heavenly Bodies: Film Stars and Society*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.
- Eagleton, Terry. *The Function of Criticism*. New York: Verso, 2005. Print.
- Eliot, T. S. *Use of Poetry and Use of Criticism*. London: Faber and Faber, 1973. Print.
- Elkins, James. "On the Absence of Judgment in Art Criticism," *The State of Art Criticism*. Ed. James Elkins. New York: Routledge, 2007. 71-96. Print.
- Eysteinsson, Astradur. *The Concept of Modernism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992. Print.
- Finn, Michael R. *Hysteria, Hypnotism, the Spirits, and Pornography: Fin-de-siècle Cultural Discourses in the Decadent Rachilde*. University of Delaware Press, 2009. Print.
- Foster, Susan Leigh. *Choreography and Narrative*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996. Print.
- . *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Print.
- . "Choreographing History," *Choreographing History*. Ed. Susan Leigh Foster. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. 3-23. Print.
- . "Dancing Bodies," Desmond, Jane C. *Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies of Dance*. Durham: Duke University Press Books, 1997. 235-58. Print.
- Foulkes, Julia L. *Dance and American Modernism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002. Print.
- Fox, Jay, Carol Simpson Stern and Robert S. Means. Eds. *Arthur Symons, Critic Among Critics: An Annotated Bibliography*. Greensboro: ELT Press, 2007. Print.
- Franko, Mark. *Dancing Modernism Performing Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. Print.

- Fraser, Hilary, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston. *Gender and the Victorian Periodical*. Cambridge University Press, 2008. Print.
- Fraser, Nancy. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy." *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Ed. Craig J. Calhoun. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992. Print. 109-42.
- Freedman, Aviva, and Peter Medway. *Genre in the New Rhetoric Learning and Teaching Genre*. New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004. Print.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Print.
- Fuller, Loie. *Fifteen Years of a Dancer's Life, With Some Account of her Distinguished Friends*. Charleston: Nabu Press, 1913. Print.
- Gadamer, Hans Georg. "Language as the Medium of Hermeneutic Experience." *Truth and Method*. New York: Continuum, 2004. 384-404. Print.
- Gammel, Irene. *Baroness Elsa: Gender, Dada, and Everyday Modernity--A Cultural Biography*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003. Print.
- , and Suzanne Zelazo. "'Harpsichord's Metallic Howl—': The Baroness Elsa von Freytag-Loringhoven's Sound Poetry." *Modernism/Modernity* 18.2 (April 2011): 255-271. 46.1.
- , and Cathy Waszczuk. "'A Rare Moment of Crisis': Modernist Intellectual Currents in Europe." *The Modernist World*. Ed. Allana Lindgren and Stephen Ross (London: Routledge, 2014 [in press]),
- Garelick, Rhonda K. *Electric Salome: Loie Fuller's Performance of Modernism*. Princeton University Press, 2007. Print.
- Gee, Malcolm. *Art Criticism Since 1900*. Manchester University Press, 1993. Print.

- Geller/Goldfine Productions, Direct Cinema Ltd, and McNabb-Connolly. *Isadora Duncan Movement From the Soul*. Direct Cinema Limited; McNabb-Connolly, 1989. videorecording.
- Gibbs, Anna. "After Affect: Sympathy, Synchrony, and Mimetic Communication." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. 186-205. Print.
- Gitelman, Claudia, and Barbara Palfy. *On Stage Alone: Soloists and the Modern Dance Canon*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012. Print.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Goethe's Color Theory*. American ed. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1971. Print.
- Goldstein, Lynda. "Raging in Tongues: Confession and Performance Art." *Confessional Politics: Women's Sexual Self-Representations in Life Writing and Popular Media*. Ed. Irene Gammel. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 99-116. Print.
- Gottlieb, Robert. *Reading Dance: A Gathering of Memoirs, Reportage, Criticism, Profiles, Interviews, and Some Uncategorizable Extras*. New York: Random House, 2008. Print.
- Greenberg, Clement and Sir William Dobell Art Foundation. *The Notion of 'Post-modern'*. Sir William Dobell Art Foundation, 1980. Print.
- Groys, Boris. *Art Power*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008. Print.
- Gunning, Tom. "Loie Fuller and the Art of Motion." *Camera Obscura, Camera Lucida: Essays in Honor of Annette Michelson*. Eds. Allen, Richard, and Malcolm Turvey. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002. 75-90. Print.
- . "The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, the Spectator and the Avant-garde." *Early Cinema: Space, Subjectivity and Narrative*. Ed. Thomas Elsaesser. London: British Film Institute, 1990. 56-62. Print.

- Habermas, Jürgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Ed. Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989. Print.
- Hanna, Judith Lynne. *Dance, Sex, and Gender: Signs of Identity, Dominance, Defiance and Desire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998. Print.
- Harris, Margaret Haile, and Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. *Loie Fuller, Magician of Light: a Loan Exhibition at the Virginia Museum, March 12-April 22, 1979*. Richmond: The Museum, 1979. Print.
- Heidegger, Martin. *On the Way to Language*. New York: HarperCollins, 1982. Print.
- . *Poetry, Language, Thought*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1971. Print.
- Highmore, Ben. "Bitter after Taste: Affect, Food, and Social Aesthetics." *The Affect Theory Reader*. Ed. Melissa Gregg and Gregory J. Seigworth. Durham: Duke University Press, 2010. 118-37. Print.
- Hohendahl, Peter Uwe. *The Institution of Criticism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982. Print.
- Holmes, Su, and Sean Redmond. *Framing Celebrity: New Directions in Celebrity Culture*. New York: Routledge, 2007. Print.
- Howes, David. "Cross-talk Between the Senses." *Senses and Society*. 1.3 (2006): 381-90. Print.
- . *Sensual Relations: Engaging the Senses in Cultural and Social Theory*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003. Print.
- Hutcheon, Linda. "Reviewing Reviewing Today." *Literary Review of Canada* July–Aug. 2009: 6–8. Web. 31 July 2013.
- Ihde, Don. *Bodies in Technology*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002. Print.
- Inglis, Fred. *A Short History of Celebrity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010. Print.
- James, Russell. *The Maud Allan Affair*. Barnsley: Remember When, 2008. Print.

- Jarrell, Randall. *Poetry and the Age*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. Print.
- Jay, Martin. *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-century French Thought*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993. Print.
- Johnson, Mark. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. University of Chicago Press, 1990. Print.
- Johnson, Patrick E. "Black Performance Studies: Genealogies, Politics, Futures," *The Sage Handbook of Performance Studies*. Ed. D. Soyini Madison and Judith Hamera. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2006. 446-63. Print.
- Jones, Amelia. *Body Art: Performing the Subject*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998. Print.
- . "'Presence' in Absentia: Experiencing Performance as Documentation." *Art Journal*. 56.4 (1997): 16. Print.
- Jorgensen, John Christian. "Bournonville's Dilemma: Dance Criticism Between Harmony and Disharmony." *Of Another World: Dancing Between Dream and Reality*. Ed. Monna Dithmer. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002. Print.
- Jowitt, Deborah. *Time and the Dancing Image*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. Print.
- Kandinsky, Wassily. *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*. The Floating Press, 2009. Print.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Critique of Pure Reason*. New York: Penguin, 2007. Print.
- Kern, Stephen. *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003. Print.
- Kivy, Peter. *Music, Language, and Cognition: And Other Essays in the Aesthetics of Music*. Clarendon Press, 2007. Print.

- Kolb, Alexandra. *Performing Femininity: Dance and Literature in German Modernism*. Bern: International Academic Publishing, 2009. Print.
- Koritz, Amy. "Dancing the Orient for England: Maud Allan's 'The Vision of Salome'." *Theatre Journal* 46.1 (1994): 63–78. Web. 23 July 2013.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. *Metaphor and Emotion: Language, Culture, and Body in Human Feeling*. Cambridge University Press, 2003. Print.
- Kraut, Anthea. "White Womanhood, Property Rights, and the Campaign for Choreographic Copyright." *Dance Research Journal*. 43.1 (Summer 2011): 2-26. Print.
- Kress, Gunther R., and Theo Van Leeuwen. *Reading Images: The Grammar Of Visual Design*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.
- Kurth, Peter. *Isadora: a Sensational Life*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 2002. Print.
- Lackoff, George and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. University of Chicago Press, 1980. Print.
- Levin, David Michael. Ed. *Modernity and the Hegemony of Vision*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993. Print.
- Levinson, André. "The Spirit of the Classical Dance." *Reading Dance: A Gathering of Memoirs, Reportage, Criticism, Profiles, Interviews, and Some Uncategorizable Extras*. Ed. Robert Gottlieb. New York: Random House, 2008. 412-17. Print.
- Lista, Giovanna. *Loïe Fuller, danseuse de la Belle Époque*. Hermann, 2006. Print.
- Loewenthal, Lillian. *The Search for Isadora: The Legend & Legacy of Isadora Duncan*. Pennington: Princeton Book Co., 1993. Print.
- Macdougall, Allan Ross. *Isadora Duncan and the Artists*. Dance Index-Ballet Caravan, 1946. Print.

- Maclaren, Kym. "Emotional Clichés and Authentic Passions: A Phenomenological Revision of a Cognitive Theory of Emotion." *Phenomenology and the Cognitive Sciences* 10.1 (2011): 45–65. Web. 25 July 2013.
- Mallarmé, Stéphane. *Oeuvres complètes*. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1989. Print.
- Manning, Susan. *Modern Dance Negro Dance: Race in Motion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004. Print.
- Marinetti, Filippo Tommaso. 1909. *Critical Writings: New Edition*. New York: Macmillan, 2007. Print.
- Marshall, P. David. *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997. Print.
- Martin, John. *American Dancing*. Highstown: Dance Horizons, 1936. Print.
- . *Introduction to the Dance*. Highstown: Dance Horizons, 1965. Print.
- . *The Modern Dance*. Hightstown: Dance Horizons, 1965. Print.
- , and Jack Anderson. *The Dance in Theory*. Hightstown: Dance Horizons, 1939. Print.
- Massumi, Brian. *Parables for the Virtual: Movement, Affect, Sensation*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Print.
- McCarren, Felicia M. *Dance Pathologies: Performance, Poetics, Medicine*. Stanford University Press, 1998. Print.
- . *Dancing Machines: Choreographies of the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. Stanford University Press, 2003. Print.
- . "Stéphane Mallarmé, Loie Fuller, and the Theatre of Femininity." *Bodies of the Text: Dance as Theory, Literature as Dance*. Ed. Ellen W. Goellner and Jacqueline Shea Murphy. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1995. Print.

---. "The 'Symptomatic Act' circa 1900: Hysteria, Hypnosis, Electricity, Dance." *Critical Inquiry* 21.4 (1995): 748-74. Print.

McLuhan, Marshall. *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965. Print.

Mercer, Dr John, and Martin Shingler. *Melodrama*. Wallflower Press, 2004. Print.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. "The Child's Relations with Others." Translated by William Cobb. *The Primacy of Perception*. Ed. James Edie. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964. 96-158. Print.

---. *The Phenomenology of Perception*. 1945. New York: Psychology Press, 1992. Print.

---. *The Primacy of Perception: And Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History and Politics*. Ed. James M. Edie. Trans. William Cobb. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964. Print.

Merchant, Carolyn. "Mining the Earth's Womb." Ed. Scharff, Robert C, and Val Dusek. *Philosophy of: The Technological Condition: An Anthology*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2003. 417-28. Print.

Merwin, Ted. "Loie Fuller's Influence in F. T. Marinetti's Futurist Dance." *Dance Chronicle*. 21.1 (1998): 73-92. Print.

Miomandre, Francis de. *Danse: 152 illustrations*. Flammarion, 1935. Print.

Morand, Paul. *1900 A.D.* trans. Rollilly Feden. New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1931. Print.

Muller, Stephanus J. v. Z. "Music Criticism and Adorno." *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 36.1 (2005): 101-116. Web. 25 July 2013.

Nachbar, Martin. "Training Remembering." *Dance Research Journal* 44.2 (2012): 3-12. Web. 23 July 2013.

- Nevins, Allan. *Allan Nevins on History*. New York: Scribner, 1975. Print.
- Newman, Michael. "The Specificity of Criticism and Its Need for Philosophy." *The State of Art Criticism*. Ed. James Elkins. New York: Routledge, 2007. 29-60. Print.
- Nye, David E. *Electrifying America: Social Meanings of a New Technology, 1880-1940*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990. Print.
- Onopa, Robert. "The End of Art as a Spiritual Project." *Tri-Quarterly* no. 26 (Winter 1973) 363-82. Print.
- Orwicz, Michael R. Ed. *Art Criticism and its Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994. Print.
- Owens, Craig. "The Medusa Effect; or, The Spectacular Ruse." *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture*. Ed. Scott Bryson et al. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. 192-198. Print.
- Parfitt, Clare. "'Like a Butterfly Under Glass': The Cancan, Loïe Fuller and Cinema." *International Journal of Performance Arts & Digital Media* 5.2/3 (2009): 107-120. Web. 23 July 2013.
- Parker, Roger C., and Mary Ann Smart. *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848*. Oxford University Press, 2001. Print.
- Partsch-Bergsohn, Isa, and Harold Bergsohn. *The Makers of Modern Dance in Germany: Rudolph Laban, Mary Wigman, Kurt Jooss*. East Windsor: Princeton Book Co., 2003. Print.
- Paz, Octavio. *The Bow and the Lyre*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1967. Print.
- Phelan, Peggy. "Reciting the Citation of Others; or, A Second Introduction." *Acting Out: Feminist Performance*. Ed. Lynda Hart and Peggy Phelan. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993. 13.31. Print.

- . *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance*. New York: Routledge, 1993. Print.
- Ponomareff, Constantin V. *Sergey Esenin*. Michigan: Thomson-Gale, 1978. Print.
- Preston, Carrie J. *Modernism's Mythic Pose: Gender, Genre, Solo Performance*. Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.
- Ramachandran, V. S. *The Tell-Tale Brain: A Neuroscientist's Quest for What Makes Us Human*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2011. Print.
- Reid, Ian. *The Place of Genre in Learning: Current Debates*. Melbourne: Centre for Studies in Literary Education, Deakin University, 1987. Print.
- Rimington, A. Wallace. *Colour-Music*. Wildside Press, 2004. Print.
- Roach, Joseph. *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996. Print.
- Roger Marx, Claude. "Loïe Fuller." *Revue Encyclopédique* 52 (February 1, 1893): 107-8.
- Rosenfeld, Alvin H. *The Writer Uprooted: Contemporary Jewish Exile Literature*. Indiana University Press, 2008. Print.
- Salmon, Richard. *Henry James and the Culture of Publicity*. Philadelphia: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Print.
- Scanlon, Joan, and Richard Kerridge. "Spontaneity and Control: The Uses of Dance in Late Romantic Literature." *Dance Research* 6.1 (1988): 30-44. Print.
- Schechner, Richard. *Between Theater and Anthropology*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Print.
- Schickel, Richard. *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity*. New York: Doubleday, 1985. Print.
- Schneider, Rebecca. "Solo Solo Solo." *After Criticism: New Responses to Art and Performance*. Ed. Gavin Butt. John Wiley & Sons, 2008. 23-47. Print.

- Schudson, Michael. "The Objectivity Norm in American Journalism." *Journalism* 2.2 (2001): 149–170. Web. 12 Nov. 2013.
- Schwartz, Hillel. "Torque: The New Kinaesthesia of the Twentieth-century." *Incorporations, Volume 6*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992. 70-127.
- Schweitzer, Marlis. "The Mad Search for Beauty': Actresses' Testimonials, the Cosmetics Industry, and the 'Democratization of Beauty.'" *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 4.3 (2005): 255–292. Web. 20 Nov. 2013.
- . *When Broadway Was the Runway: Theater, Fashion, and American Culture*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011. Print.
- . and Marina Moskowitz. Eds. *Testimonial Advertising in the American Marketplace: Emulation, Identity, Community*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Print.
- Scotillo, Christine Mary. *The Role of Movement Description in Criticism as a Significant Factor in Developing a Dance Literature*. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1978. Print.
- Seroff, Victor. *The Real Isadora*. London: Doubleday, 1972. Print.
- Shelton, Suzanne. *Ruth St. Denis: A Biography of the Divine Dancer*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990. Print.
- Silverman, Debora L. *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. Print.
- Snell, Robert. *Théophile Gautier, a Romantic Critic of the Visual Arts*. Oxford University Press, 1982. Print.
- Solomon, William Samuel, and Robert Waterman McChesney. *Ruthless Criticism: New Perspectives in U.S. Communication History*. U of Minnesota Press, 1993. Print.

- Sommer, Sally R. "Loïe Fuller." *The Drama Review: TDR* 19.1 (1975): 53–67. Web. 23 July 2013.
- Sontag, Susan. *Against Interpretation, and Other Essays*. New York: Picador, 2001. Print.
- Sperling, Jody. "Skirt Dancing and a Creative Reconstruction," *Proceedings From the Society of Dance History Scholars*. University of New Mexico. July 11-13, 1999. 53-6. Print.
- Stebbins, Genevieve, and François Delsarte. *Delsarte System of Expression*. E. S. Werner, 1885. Print.
- Stern, Carol Simpson. "Arthur Symons's Literary Relationships, 1882-1900: Some Origins of the Symbolist Movement." Diss. Northwestern University. 1968. Web. 12 Feb 2014.
- . and Bruce Henderson. *Learning to Perform: An Introduction*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2011.
- Sternheimer, Karen. *Celebrity Culture and the American Dream: Stardom and Social Mobility*. New York: Routledge, 2011. Print.
- Svetlov, Valerian. "Lights That Dance," *Dance*. July 1927.
- Taylor, Diana. *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Print.
- Theodores, Diana. *First We Take Manhattan: Four American Women and the New York School of Dance Criticism*. New York: Routledge, 1996. Print.
- Terry, Walter. *Isadora Duncan: Her Life, Her Art, Her Legacy*. Dodd, Mead, 1984. Print.
- Thomas, Helen. *Dance, Modernity, and Culture: Explorations in the Sociology of Dance*. New York: Routledge, 1995. Print.
- Townsend, Julie. "'Alchemic' Visions and Technological Advances: Sexual Morphology in Loie Fuller's Dance." *Dancing Desires: Choreographing Sexualities On and Off the Stage*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001. 73-96. Print.

- Vedel, Karen. “‘Female Nature,’ Body Culture and Plastique.” *Dancing Naturally*. Ed. Alexandra Carter and Rachel Fensham. New York: Routledge, 2011. 124-38. Print.
- Vischer, Robert et al. *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873-1893*. The Getty Center For The History Of Art, 1993. Print.
- Warner, Michael. *Publics and Counterpublics*. Cambridge: Zone Books, 2002. Print.
- . “The Cultural Mediation of the Print Medium,” *Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America*. Boston: Harvard College, 1990. Print.
- Wilson, Janelle L. *Nostalgia: Sanctuary Of Meaning*. Lewisberg: Bucknell University Press, 2005. Print.
- Woolf, Virginia. “Reviewing.” London: Hogarth Press, 1939. 5-31. Print.
- Wrigley, Richard. *The Origins of French Art Criticism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. Print.
- Wyschogrod, Edith. “Empathy and Sympathy as Tactile Encounter.” *Journal of Medicine and Philosophy* 6.1 (1981): 25-44. Print.
- Young, Robert. “Habermas and Education,” *Perspectives on Habermas*. Ed. Lewis Edwin Hahn. Peru, Illinois: Open Court Publishing, 2000.
- Yumibe, Joshua. *Moving Color: Early Film, Mass Culture, Modernism*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012. 531-2. Print.
- Zornitzer, Amy. “Revolutionaries of the Theatrical Experience: Fuller and the Futurists.” *Dance Chronicle* 21.1 (1998): 93–105. Web. 23 July 2013.