## MAUD ALLAN'S SALOMÉ: A CASE STUDY INTO THE PSYCHOLOGY OF COSTUME, DANCE AND PERFORMANCE

by

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#### Abstract

Maud Allan (1873-1956) was a trailblazer of modern expressionist dance and costume design who drew from her family's tradition of shoemaking and her experience in corset making to design and construct a novel costume for her renowned and controversial performance, The Vision of Salomé (1906). She wore this costume more than 250 times to perform on the international stage, becoming one of the most successful dancers of her era from 1906 to 1925. By challenging the customs and conventions of Edwardian London through the use of her revealing costume and performance, she was also pioneering costume design, and yet scholarship to date has largely ignored the costume itself as an important material culture object. By using a material culture approach, and performing an object description and analysis of the two sets of Salomé costumes held at Dance Collection Danse in Toronto, this major research project establishes for the first time the many important innovations of Allan's costume design techniques such as illusion mesh, pearl netting, bejeweled breastplates, eyelet hook bra fasteners and other novel details. Furthermore, I argue that scholarly object analysis used alongside theories of enclothed cognition allows us to elucidate the powerful affective link between psychology and dance costumes, further heightening our appreciation of Allan's dance costume, while also specifying the details of her problematic appropriation of elements of Orientalism and the Femme Fatale in constructing the costume. More than a century after its creation, the aesthetic of Allan's costume innovations continues to resonate in other dance costumes today.

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Maud Allan as "Salomé." Postcard. Reutlinger Photos.

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Costume belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University, Photo by Dori Kwong.

Objects hang before the eyes of the imagination, continuously representing ourselves to ourselves and telling the stories of our lives in ways which would be impossible otherwise.

-- Susan Pearce, Museums, Objects (p. 47)

With pride, Toronto claims this exceptional genius and her remarkable and soulsatisfying art.

-- *The Musical Courier*, on the occasion of Maud Allan's appearance at the Royal Alexandra Theatre, 5-7 October 1916

#### **Introduction – The Roots of Maud Allan**

A pioneer of modern expressionist barefoot dance, as well as an innovative designer and trained musician, the self-named Maud Allan profoundly challenged the social mores of Edwardian London, notably with her dance, *The Vision of Salomé* (1906). This expressionist dance is composed of two acts: the first act replays the biblical story and the second act gives expression to Salomé's riot of feelings after John the Baptist's beheading. Using a combination of improvised steps, pantomime and statuesque poses in tableaux, Allan paired dance innovations with her self-designed costumes and her understanding of music for a truly multimodal artform that worked in unison. Allan's multimodality played a large part in her artistry, simultaneously contributing to the future of dance and protesting the artistic inertia of ballet. In contrast to ballet dancers, Allan did

not wear dance shoes, tights or a leotard. Instead of using a choreographer, Allan used her own choreography to perform her dances, which a Viennese critic described as "musically impressionistic mood settings" (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 15).

Her stunning success sparked a worldwide tour that spanned from 1906 to 1925 and encompassed Europe, Asia, Russia, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, South America, as well as Canada and the United States (Allan, 1908, pp. 8-10). Despite this international success, however, the scholarship dedicated to Maud Allan has not yet sufficiently acknowledged her artistry, often linking her work with the burlesque tradition and describing her oeuvre in terms of light entertainment. And yet, as this essay hopes to show, she was an artist gifted with diverse, even multimodal talents that allowed her to shape modern dance and modern costume design. She excelled not only at drawing, sculpting, and woodcarving (Rapp, 2015, p. 1), but began her career as a piano virtuoso, educated at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music and the Berlin Musikhochschule. Importantly, she has even deeper and as yet little recognized roots in the arts of costume design and costume making, roots that reach all the way back to her childhood.

Born Ulah Maud Allan Durrant (1873-1956), the self-named Maud Allan grew up on 156 George Street in Toronto as the daughter of shoemakers, William Durrant (1851 – 1917) and Isabella Durrant (1853 – 1930). Shoemaking was a family tradition, launched by Allan's grandfather, Thomas Durrant, who passed his craft to his son, William. Her mother, Isabella, was a sewer and the pair met at the Charles and Hamilton shoe factory in Toronto, where they both worked in the 1860s (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 21). When Maud was a small child, in 1877, the family moved to San Francisco in hopes of escaping the economic depression in Canada. Even though San Francisco was known for its

garment industry, at first, their new circumstances were extremely modest, the family living and sleeping in one room, but William and Isabella worked their way up to a modest prosperity. By 1892, William worked as a foreman for three shoe manufacturers (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 25), and Isabella dreamed of success for her son, whom she hoped would become a doctor, while her daughter, who enjoyed an education at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music, aspired to become a world-renowned pianist.

And so, on 14 February 1895, at the age of 22, armed with a small amount of money and a large amount of confidence, Maud Allan embarked on her overseas journey to study the piano. Equipped with a brand-new petite, brown and buttery soft leather diary (figure 1), she penned her first entry: "From brother on my departure for Europe — February 14, 1895, San Francisco — Berlin, Germany" (figure 2). Writing in both English and German, Maud Allan kept diaries from 1895 to 1898, which are housed today at the Dance Collection Danse in Toronto. These diaries reveal her career aspirations, artistic inspirations and her struggles. With little financial support coming from San Francisco, Allan supplemented her income by giving English and music lessons and prospered when she joined a small business in Germany that created handmade corsets; here, Allan designed, sewed, and even modeled the corsets that she made (Rapp, 2015, p. 2). Moreover, according to at least one source, she "put her drawing skills to use by contributing illustrations to a sex manual for women, *Illustriertes Konversations-Lexikon der Frau* (1900)" (p. 2).

The Durrant family were devoted Baptists who belonged to the Emmanuel Baptist Church where Maud's older brother, Theo, worked as a librarian, handyman and Sunday school superintendent (Buenoventura, 2018, p. 61). On 15 April 1895, Maud Allan's and

the family's lives changed irrevocably when Theo was arrested and charged with the murder of two young women, Blanche Lamont and Minnie Williams, both of whom were also members of the Emmanuel Baptist Church. According to witnesses, Lamont and Williams were both romantically involved with Theo and were last seen with him before they disappeared (p. 61). Theo stood accused, and was later convicted, of two horrific crimes: strangulating Lamont and hiding her body in the church's belfry; and raping, stabbing, and strangling Williams, whose body was found in the church's library (p. 66). The California press compared these gruesome murders to crimes committed by Jack the Ripper and the relentless sensationalist coverage made Theo Durrant infamous. After being convicted of first-degree murder, Theo's appeals to the Supreme Court were in vain and on 7 January 1898, he was executed by hanging at the San Quentin Prison in California (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 20). Theo's execution left the formerly thriving Durrant family reeling and destitute and William remained unemployed for at least five years.

As a result of this devastating turn of events, and the traumatic loss of a brother she believed to be innocent, 25-year-old Maud Allan changed course. More than ever she felt the need to protect and rebuild her family name; not having become the world-class pianist her mother expected her to become, she now turned to experiment with dance – embracing a new kind of modern dance introduced by Isadora Duncan. Using her musical talent to interpret music through her physical body, she experimented with new forms of expression, adding movement and the making of costumes to her creative expression. By 1903, she befriended Marcel Remy, a composer and music critic. Together, they attended a performance of Max Reinhardt's production of Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé* (1894) and

consequently decided to reproduce their own version of Wilde's play, drawing on the controversy surrounding Wilde's homosexuality and his homoerotic play. Three years later in 1906, Maud Allan made her debut as a dancer at the mature age of 35, introducing her *Salomé* costume to Vienna in a performance entitled *The Vision of Salomé*.

It was a most provocative role that enacted a feminist transgression within the gendered world of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when women were beginning to push against the late-Victorian constrictions imposed upon them, and this context is significant in considering Maud Allan's work. For some time, suffragists had been rebelling against the lack of equal human rights and lack of access to education or the right to vote. Women began to chafe at the role of traditional fashion, which often worked as a way of controlling and inhibiting their freedom. Corsets and undergarments were mandatory, while cumbersome dresses covered the body from the neck to the ankle and it was necessary to have multiple, constricting outfits at the ready for each and every social activity. It is within this context that Maud Allan's success as one of the most popular dancers of her era has to be viewed, as remarkably she graced the stage professionally over 250 times, dominated the box office, broke ticket sales records, topped the bill at London's Palace Theatre for 18 months in 1908 and was paid 250£ per week for her performances there and 250£ each for any private performances that she starred in (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 173). Maud Allan broke the acceptable standards for women in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and followed her dream with fortitude, despite her modest background, the era's constraints imposed on women, and the tribulations within her family. As the daughter of shoemakers, Maud was adept at sewing; she also had a

flare for design that she had honed through corset making and she was soon able to contribute innovative designs to a functional dance costume (see figure 3). While doing so, as we shall see, she pioneered creative designs.

Today, Maud Allan's creativity emerges through first-hand observation and analysis of the very costumes that she wore more than a century ago, and which have remained surprisingly under-researched in the scholarship. Given that Allan's costume involved barefoot dancing and revealed the midriff, the association of her work with the erotic and lurid has tended to overshadow her important contributions to dance and costume design, which are a focal point of my analysis. I begin with key research questions that have been left largely unanswered. Given that Allan's controversial costume contrasted greatly with conventional Edwardian female clothing, to what extent was she rebelling against the modesty of Edwardian dress? In what way is Maud Allan's female agency inscribed in her art? What can object-based research reveal about Allan's art? What was the symbolism of Allan's Salomé costume? Are the psychology of the performer and the embodiment of the costume inherently linked? To what extent did Maud Allan appropriate orientalist themes? And how do we approach critical themes of Orientalism and the Femme Fatale often associated with her Salomé costume?

By addressing these questions, this study pursues several objectives. First, it aims to deliver an in-depth scholarly object description and full analysis of Maud Allan's Salomé costume, one that other scholars will be able to use as a tool. This is significant as the actual costume has remained under-described and under-theorized as a material culture object, despite the many studies devoted to Maud Allan. Underpinning my approach is the understanding that costumes are unique carriers of social, cultural and

political significances and this major research project explores its working as a material artefact, examining its social, psychological, cultural and political meanings in relation to dance and costumes. Second, this study aims to elucidate scholarly understanding regarding the interlinked relationship between psychology and dance costumes. Fashion, specifically dance costumes, have the ability to enhance the psychology of the wearer, assist in a transformation and thus elevate the quality of the performance to a higher level than would have been achieved without the appropriate costume, while, conversely, a costume that makes the wearer feel self-conscious and uncomfortable is bound to lower the quality of the performance. As my application of Hajo Adam and Adam D. Galinsky's concept of enclothed cognition suggests, the psychological (and symbolic) meaning paired with the physical practice of wearing the garment helped propel Maud Allan's success. Third, the study aims to critically engage the elements of Orientalism and the Femme Fatale that require postcolonial considerations including the work of Edward Said in order to situate and acknowledge the more problematic features of Maud Allan's costume and dance.

In the following pages, I bring to this study the knowledge of both fashion and dance as gathered through an intense research process, but what also compels this study is my decade-long experience as a professional dancer and choreographer. I have performed for Cirque du Soleil and choreographed for Maple Leaf Sports and Entertainment. Like Maud Allan, I was born in Toronto, am a classically trained pianist and grew up studying dance in a studio on George Street, the same street in Toronto that Maud Allan lived as a child almost 150 years ago. As I hope to show, Maud Allan should not be dismissed as a pinup girl or showgirl, as she is so often presented in the scholarly

literature. As I argue, she was a professional artist who embraced her work with agency and sexual freedom and innovation working across the boundaries of several mediums. As an artist, she challenged the constricted social identities for women by defying the Edwardian era's dress and mores. Allan was a talented designer and seamstress who designed and sewed her own costumes, a useful skill that she parlayed into an art form that also distinguished her from other modern dancers like Loïe Fuller and Ruth St.

Besides being a dancer, Maud Allan was a diarist and autobiographer, who constructed a thoroughly modern identity for herself on the pages of her journal and autobiography. Her journal provides insight into the psychological dimensions of her fashion and costume work, with the journal suggesting that she used designing and sewing as forms of self-expression, as well as a form of self-healing. Above all, as my analysis will document, she was a creative agent who constructed the *Salomé* costume using innovative methods such as illusion mesh, metallic bra cups and unique embellishments and appliqués that have not been covered in the scholarly literature.

In the following chapters, before unpacking Maud Allan's Salomé costume using object-based material culture analysis and fashion theory in chapter 2, and before analyzing the problems associated with the Orientalist thematic of her costume in chapter 3, I first begin by laying the theoretical foundation for this study in chapter 1, introducing both theoretical and archival approaches that will be used in the following pages. With this foundation to support my analysis, I hope to reframe the discussion to document the dancer's remarkable expressionist creativity, giving her an agency too long denied her in much of the literature.

# Chapter 1: Configuring the Dance Costume through Enclothed Cognition and Material Culture: Literature Review, Method, and Corpus

In her 1980 book *Edwardian fashion*, Pauline Stevenson describes the formal, conservative and constricting Edwardian fashion that spanned from 1897 to 1914 (p. 5). Vast amounts of textiles, lace and frills were used to display wealth and safeguard modesty, as the elite female body was covered in fabric with necklines close to the chin and hemlines below the ankle. The Edwardian era's ideal fashion silhouette championed a tiny, narrow waist between 21 to 25 inches. The bust line was pushed forward and the hips were thrust back and padded to create an "S" shaped silhouette. Large, ornate sleeves and stiff, voluminous skirts resembled the dress at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Throughout an upper-class woman's day, she was required to change her outfits four to five times. Each activity and specific time of day required a certain style to participate, such as "breakfast, morning calls, shooting, boating, riding, taking luncheon, tea, dinner and going to the theatre" (p. 9). There were also "walking dresses, carriage clothes, clothes for motoring or teagowns" (p. 15). Those who attended courtly events where the King and Queen were entertained could not wear the same garment twice or they would find themselves quickly banned from the court list. But what about the role of the theatre stage? Do the same rules apply or was a costume an opportunity for escaping precisely such everyday rules and edicts? Does a bold and innovative dance costume, perhaps, open a window to experimentation and new freedom?

Certainly, the costumes of dancers like Maud Allan and Isadora Duncan seem to suggest as much: both danced barefoot, the former in bodices showing her midriff, and the latter in corsetless natural dresses, and both costumes swiftly captured the

Collective Danse, Catherine Singen (2013) reminds readers that "Allan's performance was later seen by King Edward VII who recommended her to the management of the Palace Theatre in London. ... Her sensational *Vision of Salomé* with its risqué costume spawned a Salomania craze that led to dance imitators and a variety of unique merchandise." The very popularity and commercial success of Allan's creative transgressions pose new questions including: How then do we study her transgressive costumes? How do we gauge their social and embodied meaning? What is the impact of a bold costume on the stage, and to what extent can a costume push against the restrictions that imprison women through fashion? Does a bold and innovative dance costume and dance automatically push against old stereotypes or, conversely, can an innovative costume also perpetuate them? These questions are key in this study and require the help of theories to unpack.

### Costumes and Enclothed Cognition

One of the key terms that requires definition and theorization is "costume," and specifically, the "dance costume," a garment distinct from everyday dress in that it is used to perform on the stage. While costume is defined as a set of clothes in a style specific to a country or historical era, I draw on fashion theories by Anne Hollander (1992), who defines a dance costume as even more poignant than a regular costume

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Similar to Duncan, Allan championed free, natural movement instead of the rigidity and formal technicality of ballet, which required restrictive corsets and pointe shoes that inhibited a full range of movement. Moreover, both sought to connect movement with emotion and cited Greek vases and art as artistic inspiration. That said, Maud Allan strongly resented being compared to Isadora Duncan (Rapp, 2015, p. 2), seeing herself as a multimodal innovator in her own right, fusing costume design with dance and music.

because additionally, they "submit to ferociously heavy wear and they are essentially ephemeral like movement itself" (p. 38). In her essay exploring dance costumes, Anne Hollander (1992) argues that dance costumes "are the oldest and always the newest. They have had a stronger force than any other stage clothes, since they transcend all texts and speak directly to the following eye" (p. 41). Hollander notes that a dance costume has the ability to "retain religious aura along with its faded glitter and historical glory" (p. 38). Marlis Schweitzer (2014) echoes the tenants of enclothed cognition that highlight the embodied nature of a costume. She writes: "A costume develops an intimate relationship with the body: shaping, molding, protecting, disguising or transforming the physical form, while marking gender, class, age and various other identity categories" (p. 38). The dance costume represents a complex texture of interwoven social, psychological, and artistic meanings that require analysis, as Schweitzer sums up: "a costume is a central actor in a dance" (p. 38).

To unpack the specifically psychological meanings of the dance costume, Hajo Adam and Adam Galinsky (2012) have introduced the concept of enclothed cognition to describe the systematic influence that clothes have on the wearer's mind and emotion. As Adam writes: "Enclothed cognition depends on both the symbolic meaning and the physical experience of wearing the clothes" (p. 918). The authors' first experiment examined the effects of wearing a lab coat. Adam and Galinsky predicted that the lab coat would increase the participants' "performance on attention-related tasks" because lab coats are associated with "attentiveness and carefulness". Their following tests had participants wear a coat identified as a "doctor's coat" and it thereby "increased sustained attention compared to a lab coat described as a "painter's coat". Their groundbreaking

research confirms a basic principle of enclothed cognition. That it depends on the "symbolic meaning of the clothes and the physical experience of wearing them". Adam and Galinsky state that clothes have "power not only over others, but also ourselves" (p. 918); in other words, a dance costumes can assist a dancer to assume power over her own destiny, power over how others perceived her and how she perceives herself.

More generally, clothing impacts the adorned wearer, influencing their psyche, their perspective and their course of action. The "brain's sensory systems for perception (e.g. vision, audition), action (e.g. movement, proprioception) and introspection (e.g. mental states, affect)" (p. 919). Similar to any physical experience, the experience of wearing clothes "triggers associated abstract concepts and their symbolic meanings.... Wearing clothes causes people to embody the clothing and its symbolic meaning. Consequently, when a piece of clothing is worn, it exerts an influence on the wearer's psychological processes by activating associated abstract concepts through its symbolic meaning – similar to the way in which a physical experience, which is, by definition, already embodied, exerts its influence" (p. 919). Additionally, a costume that the wearer deems empowering can certainly elevate the caliber of the execution of his or her performance, and vice versa, a costume that the wearer feels self-conscious in, can negatively affect the confidence and performance of the wearer.

Because dance is a live performance art, this study also requires some insight into theories of performance that study the intersection of multimodal mediums such as costume (fashion), movement (dance), narrative (literature), and sound (music). Beyond the formal performance on the stage, performance scholar Richard Schechner insists that "performance is an inclusive category that includes play, games, sports, performance in

everyday life, and ritual" (1965, p. 28). Preceding Schechner, Erving Goffman (1963) posits, "the individual shows himself to be situationally present through the disciplined management of personal appearance or a 'personal front' that is the complex of clothing, make-up, hairdo and other surface decorations" (p. 84). These insights apply to my study because Maud Allan also had a "personal front", both on stage and off stage. Furthermore, Goffman discusses various theatre stages, specifically "front stage and backstage" phases. Backstage describes being able to feel safe and invisible and allowing the person to prepare for a performance to take place. Front stage is the actual performance and includes being "on-show" and feeling judged or observed. The concept of "front stage" implies that all of the performer's characteristics and movements are noticeable to the audience and are a part of the act, whereas "backstage" behaviour only occurs when an audience does not exist. As we shall see, Maud Allan had a specific backstage and front stage persona embodied in her Edwardian dress (backstage) in contrast to her scantily clad, bedazzled sheer costume with a ruby-nippled brassiere (front stage).

Through the lens of fashion studies, embodied clothing, and performance studies, my humanities-based research project focuses on a specific object of material culture, namely, Maud Allan's Salomé costume as preserved at Dance Collection Danse. By using Maud Allan's dance costume as a case study, my concern is specifically with unpacking a more than century-old material culture object, while more broadly studying psychology and its relationship to costumes and fashion. To unpack the textured psychological, social and artistic meanings of Maud Allan's costume worn in her 1906

dance *Vision of Salomé*, I now turn to review the literature and current state of knowledge on this topic.

A Survey of Maud Allan Scholarship: Dance and Orientalism

Studies that endeavor to take Maud Allan seriously have only begun to emerge. In her doctoral dissertation "Feeling" in modern dance print media: Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan, Maud Allan (2014), Emma Doran argues that modern dancers including Maud Allan revolutionized modern dance by moving away from the narrative structure that characterized classic ballet. These female dancers, as Doran writes, "advanced nonnarrative movement driven by internal agency, rather than dictated by an external choreographer" (p. 1). This change also "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" (p. 2). In her analysis of hundreds of print reviews of dances by Allan, Isadora Duncan and Lore Fuller between 1890 and 1920, Doran's study pinpoints Maud Allan's distaste for conventional dancing. Maud Allan disliked the ballet precisely because it involved a highly technical form of dance, enforcing prescriptive techniques. Instead, she wanted to present a more natural form of movement and aesthetic. In their chapter, "Introduction: our automated bodies/our selves?", Cecily Devereux and Marcelle Kosman write that Maud Allan was "instrumental in the making of modern dance that countered the machinic or mechanical culture of the chorus line in theatrical dance performance or even ballet and saw the display of skin and the valorization of the improvisational as signs of non-automated and

thus more human bodies" (p. 15). These insights allow us to focus on the expressionist innovations of Maud Allan, which appealed to an impressive diversity of audiences.

Using terminology advanced by Pierre Bourdieu (1986), Maud Allan was able to acquire considerable "capital." Bourdieu discusses three forms of capital – economic, cultural and social capital - and habitus, all of which assist in navigating social environments, and can be found in Allan's career. First, she was certainly not born with, but successfully acquired, economic capital to purchase the textiles and embellishments to construct her famous Salomé costume. She used the scant economic capital she had earned from teaching English and music and from working for a corset-making business to invest in the development and design of a dance costume that would allow her to earn a more substantial income through dance and performance. Allan acquired social capital through the network of patrons and fans she actively cultivated, including her connections with dance pioneer Isadora Duncan, her producer Marcel Remy, and eventually the Cherniavskys, with whom she toured. Allan also enjoyed considerable cultural capital: her education, style, and intellect all contributed to her success as a dancer and helped propel her social mobility in a hierarchical, male dominated society in pre-World War I Europe. Amy Koritz (1995) discusses Maud Allan's elite patronage, which included the Asquiths (a family of political and social prominence in Edwardian England), Alfred Butt (the manager of the Palace Theatre in London), and other patrons who helped propel her career. Rival dancers such as Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis were not able to match Allan's popularity in London because they did not match her unique musicianship and imagination. Allan's ability to appeal to both elite and mainstream audiences reinforced "ideologies of gender and race and at the same time

violated the tacit rule that barred 'respectable women from the public stage'" (p. 31). During this era, barefoot dancing was "only vaguely defined". In order to distinguish herself from Duncan, Allan wanted her version of Salomé to be topical, controversial and unique, and as she wrote in an undated diary entry, "develop a theme with economy, precision and intensity. Watch every gesture, expression and mood. Avoid tricks and devices many dancers use" and the scholarly literature highlights Allan's problematic focus on Orientalism and the Femme Fatale.

In a recent book, *Dark venus: Maud Allan and the myth of the femme fatale* (2018), Wendy Buonaventura unpacks the female stereotype which makes an instant association between the female body and sexuality. Since dance is an embodied art form, Maud Allan epitomized the femme fatale, which entailed a denigration of her art, often associating it with sexual transgression. Buonaventura describes the restrictive, patriarchal world of the Edwardian era, when dancers belonged to "a demi monde of independent women who were suspected of leading immoral lives and were no different in some people's minds, than prostitutes" (p. 8). In an earlier book, *I put a spell on you* (2003), Buonaventura discusses Maud Allan's Salomé dance, suggesting that it originated in Egypt; known as *raq balada* (dance of the people), this dance "was seldomly written about in its own culture and most descriptions of it came from Western travellers" (p. 263). Consequently, the Salomé dance is an illustration of Orientalism, where Eastern dance is not allowed to represent itself but rather depends on the pens (or bodies, in Allan's case) belonging to Westerners, in order for it to come to light.

In her 1994 article, "Dancing the Orient for England: Maud Allan's 'Vision of Salomé'", Amy Koritz discusses Allan's approach to dance that is "true to the specific

English cultural context, rather that of dance as an art form" (p. 66). Koritz discusses the character Salomé as an "obedient child accustomed to Oriental luxury into a woman anxious to submit to the superior power represented by the Baptist. Critics didn't understand the details of the plot but they understood the narrative structure and sometimes the emotional tenor Allan intended to convey" (p. 67). Some reviews described Allan's Salomé performance as "quasi-Oriental", while others described it as "hot blooded, sensual Oriental" (qtd. in Koritz, 1994, p. 68). Edward Said's groundbreaking book *Orientalism* (1978) notes that, "Orientalism is a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (p. 3). The term Orientalism is pejorative because it does not permit the East to accurately represent itself and stereotypes Eastern culture to conform to Western fantasy. Said uncovers the West's cultural and historical views of the East as often misinformed, misinterpreted and/or imagined and therefore racist and offensive.

In *Orientalism: visions of the East in western dress* (1994), Richard Martin and Harold Koda likewise assert that "Orientalism is a fabrication of the West" (p. 9) and an "imagined East" (p. 33). Orientalist fashion constitutes what the authors describe as "a perfect "other" (p. 9). Continuing this line of argument in his book, *Fashion and Orientalism: dress, textiles and culture from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> century* (2013), Adam Geczy shows the breadth of influence that the Orient had and still has within the fashion industry. The Eastern influence on the West has taken place over the past 500 years. In 1906, designer Paul Poiret was inspired by Oriental art at the Pavilion de Marsan in Paris, modeling his famous "Confucius" evening coat after what he saw. Four years later, Poiret produced a high budget show featuring Islamic art in Munich (p. 137), therefore

contributing to the popularizing of an aesthetic that fetishized the "Oriental other" in Europe. Poiret helped make the "Orient" and the Middle East "a dimension of his own creative signature" (p. 137). Such "cultural borrowing", as Geczy's continues, is "insidious because it implies that something can always be returned to its rightful origin" (p. 2), yet cultural borrowing most often is in fact a powerful form of appropriation, prompting questions: How much of Maud Allan's work is innovative and what exactly is derivative? What artefacts are available to us today and what do they tell us about Maud Allan's work? How do we analyze these artefacts?

The Costume: Material Object Analysis

Many of the original artefacts we have available today have come to us via Felix Cherniavsky (1928 - 2016), the son of Russian-born cellist Mischel Cherniavsky (1893 - 1982), one of the members of the Cherniavsky Trio, a musical family who performed with Allan on multiple international tours, such as the tour in 1912 for a year and three months to India, Australasia and the Far East (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 9). Over the years, the Cherniavskys became a surrogate family to Allan and Felix Cherniavsky's two biographical books, *The Salomé dancer* (1991) and *Maud Allan and her art* (1998), both provide a wealth of personal images, original, archival photographs and letters, interviews, newspaper clippings, and timelines. The Cherniavsky family were friends of Allan's for over 40 years and therefore the books are largely archival, while also providing personal glimpses of her life. Cherniavsky helped preserve Maud Allan's Salomé costumes and other ephemera, allowing us to have an unfortunately rare, close-up view of century-old dance costumes.

In 1995, Felix Cherniavsky donated the original Salomé costumes to Dance Collection Danse in Toronto, where they are housed today. From November 2018 to April 2019, two original Salomé costumes were made available for me to study at the Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University, where I was able to spend a total of 17 hours observing and recording details of the garments and diaries via photography and note taking, studying the intricate composition of this costume. In analyzing the costumes, I draw on the work of scholar and practitioner Alexandra Palmer, whose methodology, as outlined in "Looking at fashion: the material object as subject", in *The* handbook of fashion studies (2013), is a blend of object analysis, archival research, and history. Noting that "observation is a research skill that has been marginalized in fashion studies" (p. 268), Palmer describes object-based research as a skill that is developed over time; it is not an instinctive ability that comes effortlessly, even though some people assume, as she writes, "that we already have the necessary critical skills to evaluate fashion, when in fact it is a research skill that is learned like any other form of scholarship" (p. 268). This method of research reveals fashion artefacts as "carriers of remnants of past lives, not only of wearers but of makers, merchants and buyers" (p. 268). Importantly for my research, this method of object-based research helps to unpack the literal remains of Maud Allan's fashion and art.

Following Palmer and other object-based practitioners, Ingrid Mida and Alexandra Kim's *The dress detective* (2015) is a hands-on guide to analyzing fashion items through observation, reflection and interpretation. The book also provides a series of practical checklists that help organize and delineate important discoveries during the examination of the garment. The authors emphasize the importance of close exploration

of fashion artefacts to uncover multilayers of symbolism and perspectives of a garment's former history. The first step is observation, where the researcher analyzes and describes the artefact; she takes measurements and creates a visual image of the garment via text. Such observations may be related to "construction, textiles, labels, and evidence of use/wear/alteration" (p. 29). Step two is reflection, where the researcher considers the embodiment and the experience of wearing the fashion artefact. Connecting with the artefact in an emotional way can assist in identifying any biases. The third and final step is interpretation, where the researcher links their findings to contextual theory.

A key document in this object-based analysis is the 2013 "Maud Allan's Vision of Salomé costume treatment record", prepared by the Canadian Conservation Institute and made available to me by Dance Collection Danse, where the Salomé costume is housed. This document reveals that fully trained and qualified conservators performed treatments to strengthen and clean Maud Allan's Salomé garments. They also provided some insight in describing the object, estimating, for example, that eight metres of silk were needed to construct the skirt. The conservators' solvent cleaned the bodices and used a layer of beige Stabilex to support the sheer silk and protect the bodices from further damage. They determined that the headdresses were not in need of treatment. An attempt was made to counteract the effects of corrosion on one of the bodices (her most predominantly worn top that featured ruby "nipples") by flushing it with a water and ethanol solution to reduce the corrosive elements from sweat on the band. Cleaning with this water/ethanol solution was always followed with an additional cleaning with ethanol alone to expedite the drying process and prevent additional moisture from contributing to more corrosion. Jewels were also cleaned with cotton swabs using a 50/50 ethanol and

water solution. Many imitation pearls were damaged or cracked and loose imitation pearls were found to be encrusted with deposits of wax. In order to re-integrate an aesthetic element that had been missing, reassembly of the original pearl drapery was completed. Additionally, the conservators aimed to keep the risk of damage during storage to a minimum.

Despite the recent attention given to the costume, and despite the emerging scholarly studies conducted on Maud Allan, the costume itself is often ignored as a material artefact. The literature review makes evident that scholars have largely contented themselves with studying the circulating postcard and photograph representations of this costume, leaving an important gap in Maud Allan scholarship. As we shall see now in chapter 2, the costume itself yields significant insight that remains to be unpacked with the help of material culture analysis.

# Chapter 2: Exploring Maud Allan's Salomé Costume as Material Object: A Story of Innovations

Maud Allan was an expert in fashion, and was also a maker of fashion who practiced sewing as much as she practiced the piano. An excerpt from her Berlin diary entry from 26 July 1895 (see figure 4) states: "This morning I went to the dressmaker after practicing till 12 and tried my waist on for the last time. It looks very well now. Came home and was sewing on the skirt and doing my harmony when the blouse came – it looks quite swell indeed. I have written to Mamma today and shall mail it in the morning". As both a fashion consumer who has her waist made by a professional dressmaker, and a maker of fashion sewing her skirt to match, Allan documents her attention to fashion revealing also that she used her scant economic capital to perfect her sartorial presentation, which was all the more important as the world at home was descending into chaos. Writing in her diary, thousands of kilometers away from her family, in the same month that her brother Theo stood accused of murder in California, she used fashion consumption and making as an outlet to alleviate stress and anxiety. Three years later, on 22 January 1898, she wrote, "This morning I spent in, trimming my hat and making a veil" (see figure 5). This entry was written thirteen days after hearing of her brother's execution. This single-sentence entry exemplifies how important making clothes was to her, and it is easy to read this act as a form of escape from the chaos at home in San Francisco, and possible mourning and self-healing; making a veil is apt as the garment symbolizes covering and masking the traumatic loss in her life. A veil is also used in mourning practices; it helps to conceal raw emotion and affords protection, and

was also a common way of showing respect for the deceased at a funeral. Not able to attend the funeral, she seemed to create her own funereal rite.

The diary volume, and each volume from then on, contains a list of "Bills Payable" (see figure 6), documenting that it was in 1898, following her brother's death, that Maud Allan began to purchase yards and yards of chiffon, a diaphanous light-weight fabric. While her diaries from 1895 to 1897 do not contain evidence that she made any textile purchases, by 1898, at the age of 25, Maud Allan was collecting chiffon, evidently practicing tailoring it, all of which would eventually lead to her design and sewing of the costume for her *Salomé* performance almost a decade later. In her later autobiography *My* life and dancing (1908), Allan writes of her studies of early Greek and Egyptian dances; admiring the "rhythm and flowing lines" of Sandro Botticelli's 15<sup>th</sup> century painting, *Primavera*, that became the source of inspiration for her own artful evocation of nudity (p. 17, 53) (see figure 7). In Botticelli's painting, the three Graces perform their dance not only by wrapping their nudity in chiffon but by wrapping themselves in art, posing like Greek sculptures. Such cloaking ensures that nudity is pure, highlighting the beauty of the human body. Her interest in antiquity and Platonic thought is complemented by her interest in Romantic composers, such as Johannes Brahms and Felix Mendelssohn.

In her book *Nudity* (2004), Ruth Barcan differentiates between the Greek tradition that viewed nudity as pure, allowing the viewer to contemplate "the state of the ideal human figure", whereas the Judeo-Christian ideal has "structured hegemonic relations to the nude body (and considers their relation to marginal, deviant and resistant forms of embodiment)" (p. 7). Allan cited the Greek cultural tradition as an inspiration and followed the Greek acceptance of and reverence for nudity as a desirable representation

of the ideal female form. Instead of appearing nude on stage, Allan's innovative costume design mimicked nudity without actually showing her nude body on the public stage.

This understanding of artful nudity was central to her evolving aesthetic and was one which she shared with another barefoot dancer, Isadora Duncan.

The tone of Maud Allan's writing is affectionate, humble, and witty, revealing an intelligent artist who is well-read and well-travelled. Her warmth and humor can be felt on each page, as when she comically describes her autobiography as an "egotistical little book" (p. 12) and lovingly dedicates the book to her mother:

Darling Mother: -

At the last moment I am told that my book requires a dedication. Of course it does. This is it.

Your devoted, Maud London, October, 1908.

By the time she wrote this dedication, Maud Allan was a celebrity who had conquered the world with her *Vision of Salomé* dance, a performance she debuted in Vienna in December of 1906; she enjoyed sensational success in Budapest in 1907, prompting engagements in Paris and an after-dinner performance for King Edward VII in September that same year, and a crowning performance at the Palace Theatre in London in March 1908. 250 performances followed and her sustained fame was extended by the publication of her autobiography *My life and dancing* (1908), the book that she dedicated to her mother. By now, Maud Allan lived in a mansion in Regent Park. A year later she was performing for the Czar in St. Petersburg, and a year after that, in 1910, a return to America, where her success was more modest, but where in 1915 she performed excerpts

of her Salomé dance in a silent movie, *The Rugmaker's daughter*.<sup>2</sup> By 1918, as if coming back full circle to the scandals of her brother, her success was tarnished by public insinuations about her sexuality, and she found herself caught in the same kind of trap that had ensnared Oscar Wilde two decades earlier when he sued for libel and his sexuality was exposed in a homophobic society. Maud Allan, likewise, was left tarnished but nonetheless continued in a long career of dancing and teaching dance—though by the time she died in Los Angeles in 1956, at the age of 83, none of her roles had been as evocative and provocative as that of Salomé.

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Today, the Salomé costume rests in six large oxygen-free preservation boxes that await me in the basement of Kerr Hall, behind the heavy door of Ryerson University's windowless, neon-lit, Fashion Research Collection where Dance Collection Danse has sent these objects for me to examine under the curator's watchful eyes. Seeing the lid of the box open and beholding the colour and sparkle of the costume (figure 9) elicits a wave of emotions and a memory that is difficult to forget. As a trained performer, used to the feeling of a costume enveloping my skin, knowing its transformative power first-hand, I cannot help but be moved by the sight of these artefacts—bejeweled bras, chiffon skirts, and ornate headpieces—that once were moving in unison with Maud Allan's body and gracing the premier stages in London and St. Petersburg and Budapest, compelling

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Rugmaker's Daughter featured segments of The Vision of Salomé and three of Allan's other dances but unfortunately, no film has survived for modern day audiences to properly visualize what Allan's dancing would have looked like (Rapp, 2013, p. 2).

kings and czars and their entourage, as well as everyday viewers. Scholars of fashion and affect have described this deeply affective power of the garment even after the body has left it, but this is more than even an everyday garment and this affect is multiplied by the awareness that this costume once had an artistic function. It participated in the creation of modern dance, compelling an audience with new expressions that differed greatly from traditional ballet and dismantled the boundaries between high and low art. As I handle the delicate fabric with white gloves, I can immediately see and appreciate the delicate textiles, proficiently sewn seams and perfectly placed embellishments. Today, these material details of Maud Allan's costume, rarely discussed in the literature and overlooked for far too long, speak of Maud Allan's skilled craftsmanship, design and her meticulous eye for detail. These are the garment's material memories, which are still visible and require decoding in order to add to our knowledge of both fashion and modern dance; through these visible traces, we can track the garment's relationship with the body that once wore it. At the same time, I am mindful of Marlis Schweitzer's caveat as she reminds us of the transformative power of the archival preservation methods, her essay written following Dance Collection Danse's announcement to restore Maud Allan's Salomé costume. As Schweitzer writes: "Some might suggest that such conservation efforts interfere with the 'authenticity' of the costume, turning it into some kind of temporal hybrid, no longer an original creation 'of' 1906 but a multitemporal object that bears the marks of contemporary preservation practices" (2014, p. 46). An archived object is a liminal object, residing between the past and present; it is not meant to change, the goal of archiving being the object's preservation for the future, for research, study, and display. As it continues to perform its materiality, the archived costume that once

transformed Maud Allan's body into art, comes to life and regains its dynamism in its colours, embellishment, but even more in the signs of strain that show the hand of repair.

With my notebook in hand, and my camera close-by, I have come equipped to record the signs of wear including stains and strains that reveal the sweat and pull of physical exertion, and the unraveling of fabric that speaks eloquently of the movement performed by the dancer more than a century ago. With this collaborative choreography of body and costume in mind, I begin the work of unpacking Maud Allan's costume.

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Innovatively, Maud Allan had two looks for her performance of *The Vision of Salomé* in 1906 (figure 8). One black skirt, one purple skirt, two headpieces and two bras that she used interchangeably in the event that one part of the costume became soiled, lost or damaged.<sup>3</sup> Both costumes share similarities in regards to design and cut but what differentiates them from one another are the colour schemes and the placement of embellishments. Allan's Salomé shocked and mesmerized audiences through the use of her costume, as she appeared on stage without a corset, tights or undergarments, dancing across stages in a translucent chiffon skirt that revealed her legs, while simultaneously barefoot with her stomach, arms and shoulders exposed, wearing a headdress and a bra clad with jewels and draped in pearls and embellishments.

The most predominantly used part of the costume that was featured in all of Allan's promotional Salomé ephemera is the brassiere, whose construction is remarkable.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For an earlier, albeit cursory description of these two looks, see also Marlis Schweitzer, 2014, p. 37.

It features ruby jeweled "nipples", whose function was to mimic nudity (see figure 9). This brassiere is significantly more damaged than the secondary bra-top, suggesting that the ruby brassiere was used the most in her performances and marketing material for *The* Vision of Salomé. The bottom of the band of the bodice reveals that it was once adorned with 20 multi-coloured glass jewels of which 11 glass jewels have survived to this date, each individually sewn and secured. The band of this bra shows signs of green corrosion on the metallic braid. The damage is consistent with deterioration caused by oil and perspiration from the wearer, as well by time, oxygen and exposure to light (see figure 10). Moreover, drawing from her family's tradition and trade of shoemaking, Maud Allan contributed another costume design innovation: she used eyelet hooks typically used in boot and shoe construction to fasten this bra closed. These two eyelet hooks are located at the end of the bra band to fasten the back closed and also shows signs of corrosion due to moisture and oxidization (see figure 11). This technique exemplifies the proficient construction techniques that Allan had learned from her parents. By utilizing a grommet setter and a bolt, as well as pliers and a hammer, Allan borrowed a technique from shoemaking to translate it into a functional design element on her dance costume. Located at the armpit and extending over the shoulder to drape in the back is a metallic braid dotted with glass jewels, fastened closed with a metal tab insert clasp; and on the band, 9 multicoloured glass gemstones are missing (see figure 12). Located at the centre front of the bra, behind the pearl netting, is delicate, paper-thin, beige coloured chiffon to replicate skin tone (utilized as illusion mesh) that has torn away from the band (see figure 13). Items such as the two bras and the two skirts are extremely fragile and delicate. The heavy weight of the garment comes as a surprise, conveying the sense of physical

exertion involved in wearing it and moving with it to the rhythm of music. Due to the heavy weight of the embellishments and the instability of the fabric, the costumes can no longer be worn or displayed on a mannequin in exhibitions for extended periods of time without jeopardizing the safety and integrity of this historical fashion treasure.

The construction of this ruby nippled bra-top is a prime example of Allan's design expertise and her attention to detail. The sparkling brassiere alone weighs just under one pound and features a scoop neckline where 88 hand beaded, imitation pearls border the neckline and are individually strung on a thick, durable, white polyester thread. Maud Allan contributed innovative costume design techniques such as utilizing a thin, translucent, non-stretch, flesh coloured chiffon, and positioning it at the front of the brassiere, along the pectoral region, behind the bra cups and the netting. Today, this innovative technique is known as illusion mesh and is seen predominantly in contemporary dance costumes as well as in ice-skating costumes and even in low-cut wedding dresses. Illusion mesh served a dual purpose in the Salomé costume: to show the pectoral region and to also add a thin lining behind the breastplates and the netting. The function of illusion mesh is to mimic nudity without risking a wardrobe malfunction. Illusion mesh allows the audience to see intimate parts of the wearer's body such as deep V necklines, cut outs at the waist, off-the-shoulder silhouettes, and in this case along Allan's pectoral region between her breasts as the décolleté exposes her neck. Dancing in an unlined, non-padded bra weighing over half a pound was no easy task and the embodiment of that experience was certainly painful (see figure 14). Allan's serpentine dancing, paired with her frenetic energy and staccato musicality was also accompanied by the preoccupation of masking the pain of wearing this heavy, unlined bra whose

metallic thread, embroidery and hard edges would dig into the sides of her rib cage.

Allan's dance style in *The Vision of Salomé* was partnered with acting and consisted of improvisational dance technique, statuesque poses, miming and tableaux accompanied by original "Oriental music" composed by her Belgian co-producer, Marcel Remy. Allan's affect and embodiment can be compared to a ballerina masking the pain associated with dancing en pointe. Performing a modern dance seemingly effortlessly in an uncomfortable costume takes enormous discipline, practice, and determination.

Consequently, wearing and moving in this bra would inevitably cause discomfort and pain, a point never considered in any of the studies that dismiss Maud Allan as an unimportant contributor to dance and costume.

It is highly probable that Allan was accustomed to the pain and discomfort associated with contorting the body to fit into a tightly laced corset and therefore had a higher pain tolerance to wear uncomfortable clothing. The weight and the tautness of the bra at centre front (see figure 15) increased the risk of wardrobe malfunctions; counteracting this problem, however, Allan's use of illusion mesh significantly reduced the probability of a malfunction, an example of her extraordinary foresight as a consummate performer and her inventive, original planning and engineering as a costume designer. The forethought that Maud Allan had in the construction of her *Salomé* costume was ahead of her time. These techniques are still used today in modern day jazz, ballroom, acro and burlesque costumes (see figure 16).

Located on top of the illusion mesh was another innovative creation: metallic bra cups. Allan's brassiere was a modern day B cup that measured five and a half inches across the cup and twelve inches long from the bra band to the top of her shoulder.

Located at the centre of each metallic cup is a singular, medium, round, red glass jewel (see figure 17). Currently, there are 118 imitation pearls surrounding each ruby, the purpose of the suggestive placement of the rubies and pearls, were again, to mimic nudity without actually showing Allan's breasts. The illusion (and simultaneous withholding) of nudity was a bold and advantageous tactic that seduced and intrigued her audiences.

Encircling the pearls on the breastplate are eight, green, emerald cut glass gems and 18 emerald cut, pink, white and orange glass gems. Attached to the breastplate and extending across the entire front pectoral region and along the shoulder blades is a thick polyester thread, woven in a crosshatch pattern to resemble a net. Strung on the net are 95 imitation pearls. Gently touching and examining the extremely fragile costume components gives me unprecedented insight into how exactly Maud Allan and her costume would have naturally moved with every pirouette, allowing me to reconstruct the dance movement. Allan possessed the prescience to design a costume that not only dazzled on stage through the use of 1500 to 2000 imitation pearls and hundreds of applique glass beads, jewels, and gelatin sequins and rhinestones, but also by designing elements that dangled, moved and swayed with her as she danced, thereby extending her body and movements. Exemplified in the pearl belt and the dangling strands of pearls on the headpiece, the hanging tassels and strands of pearls located at each armpit, in addition to the body jewelry located at the stomach, all contributed kinetic movement and visual interest to her dancing (see figure 18). Located at each armpit, above the hanging tassels and pearls, is a large, blue, glass gem that measured 1.5 inches tall. Descending from this blue jewel hang 24 individual, tightly coiled, metal tassels measuring three inches long, accompanied by eight strands of imitation pearls that measure six inches long (see figure

19). Currently, the corresponding blue glass gemstone is missing from the armpit area on the left side of the brassiere, which signifies overuse on the left side, suggesting that Maud Allan was left-side dominant (see figure 20). On each strand of pearls are 22 small imitation pearls followed by one medium-sized teardrop shaped pearl and one additional small pearl at the end. Consequently, whenever Allan lifted her arms (her use of hands and arms were distinct to her dancing), pirouetted or swayed from side to side, the tassels and the pearls would jump and jive with her.

Designed to hang from the bottom of the brassiere was another novel characteristic: body jewelry that features 477 imitation pearls strung on a thick, white polyester thread in a drooping curve, measuring 28 inches across (see figure 21). This is an early example of body jewelry used to accentuate the female form, here accenting the curves of Allan's figure with a cascade of imitation pearls and glass gems.

Worn low slung on her hips, measuring 34 inches wide and 33 inches long, the floor-length purple silk chiffon skirt features a three-inch wide imitation pearl belt with a turquoise scarab beetle located at the centre of the hips below the bellybutton. Hanging from the scarab that measures 1.5 inches tall and 5.5 inches long, is a floral motif composed of seven multicoloured glass stones ranging in colours from magenta and red, to purple and canary yellow and surrounded by 12 white rhinestones. The red gemstone located at the centre features a double border of 32 white rhinestones that resemble a large flower (see figure 22). The function of this floral motif is to coquettishly draw the eye to the female erogenous zone while simultaneously covering the nether region.

Located at each hip bone are large, magenta glass gems measuring 1.5 inches tall and surrounded by sixteen white rhinestones to resemble a flower, followed by two

smaller magenta glass gems stacked vertically at the side of the hip (see figure 23). Sewn vertically along the length of the skirt, from the belt to the hemline are individual strands of gold, metal and gelatin sequins (see figure 24). Located above the hemline, on the front and back of the skirt, are three intricately embroidered butterflies made of metallic thread. The centre butterfly measures 5.5 inches tall and 10 inches long and has four wings (two on each side). The head of this butterfly is composed of gold sequins and the underside of its wings are dotted with small, purple glass gems. The other two butterflies flank the centre butterfly, measure six by six inches and feature 12 wings, six on each side, its torso adorned by six small, purple glass jewels. Extending from only these two butterflies is a singular line of gold sequins that extends upwards to meet additional embroidery depicting a flower that resembles a flower. The heavy weight of the six embroidered butterflies and four flowers has expedited the deterioration of the chiffon causing the delicate fabric to erode and rip. A previous attempt was made by an unknown person to repair it by using a crosshatch stitch with cotton thread (see figure 25). The hemline is bordered by a repetitive pattern that features a single line of gold metal sequins, located above it are three lines of metallic thread followed by a triangle of turquoise embroidery outlined by more gold metallic thread and gold paillettes and further accented by four small, yellow and pink glass gems (see figure 26).

According to the report by the Canadian Conservation Institute, approximately eight meters of silk chiffon was used in the construction of the skirt for *The Vision of Salomé* (2013, p. 2). For context, in 1904, the T. Eaton Catalogue featured an advertisement that sold black silk chiffon for \$1.00 per yard (T. Eaton Fall and Winter Catalogue) and in 1905, British retailer, Derry & Toms, sold chiffon for 1 shilling and 7

pence per yard (Derry & Toms) (see figure 27). Therefore, Allan would have required 8.7 yards of silk chiffon to construct one black skirt, a cost of approximately \$8.70 Canadian dollars in 1904 (the equivalent of \$333.60 in 2019) (Inflation Calculator) or 1£ and 1.5 shillings in 1905 England. In comparison, a fully constructed, black, silk dress skirt would have cost \$22.00 Canadian Dollars in 1904 (T. Eaton Fall and Winter Catalogue).

Similar to the purple skirt in cut and design, the black skirt also features individual strands of gold, metal and gelatin sequins that run the length of the skirt in alternating lengths. Some of the strands of sequins run from the belt to the hemline while alternating strands of sequins stop mid-thigh. Similar to the purple skirt, it has an intricately beaded, three-inch wide belt adorned with hundreds of imitation pearls, worn low on the hip, and a flower motif constructed of rhinestones and glass gems made to conceal the pubic region. Additional strands of imitation pearls dangle from this beautifully designed floral jewelry. Similar to the bra, the belt is fastened closed by two, rusty hook and eyes and is also unlined, unpadded and feels scratchy and uncomfortable to the touch. One of the large, blue jewels featured on the belt is missing on the right side at centre front (see figure 28). The characteristics that differentiate the two skirts are the colours and the "Oriental" details (more fully discussed in chapter 3). The black skirt does not feature the Oriental designs that the purple skirt has, such as the turquoise scarab beetle located on the belt below the bellybutton, as well as the six embroidered butterflies made of metallic threads and paillettes.

The secondary brassiere is also unlined and unpadded and uses a crosshatched net with individually strung pearls that also overlays illusion mesh consisting of beige silk chiffon. Evidence of damage is located at the centre front of the bra where the pearl

netting and the illusion mesh would have once met at the band, and is now significantly torn. Over time, oxidization and deterioration due to light exposure, perspiration, dirt, oil and overuse has weakened this area, causing it to tear apart (see figure 29). Overall, this bra-top is in better condition than the first but equally fragile. The bodice also uses a modern day, size B cup; made of two, hard, metallic woven breastplates that measure 5.5 inches across. The bust line also measures 32 inches long, twelve inches from shoulder to band and 6.5 inches from the lowest part of the neckline to the bottom of the band. Additionally, 60 imitation pearls border the neckline and located at each armpit is a large, magenta, glass stone measuring 1.5 inches tall and surrounded by 13 white rhinestones. Hanging from the magenta gemstone are nine strands of pearls, each measuring 5.5 inches long and composed of 20 small, imitation pearls: one medium teardrop shaped pearl and one additional pearl at the end. This pattern repeats itself throughout the costume and is evidence of Allan's meticulous eye for detail and her well-executed and engineered design. Unlike the first bra, this top does not have metal tassels located at the armpit. Both of the bra's bands measure three inches wide and this bra-top is fastened closed by three hook and eye closures that have rusted over time due to oxidization (see figure 30). The major difference between the two bodices is the design and beadwork on the metallic breastplates. Unlike the first bra, this bra-top does not mimic nudity by using red rubies and pearls but rather uses a more abstract design of intricate beadwork consisting of hundreds of applique glass beads ranging in colours from cyan, turquoise, white and blue. Located near the centre are purple and blue glass gems and surrounding the border of the metallic breastplate are 13 purple glass gems (see figure 31). Located along the bottom band of the bodice are nine glass jewels ranging in colour from orange,

purple and magenta. Ten white rhinestones encircle the magenta and orange jewels. At the centre front of the band is another orange jewel with a double border of 28 white rhinestones made to resemble a flower (see figure 32).

The final components of the Salomé costume are the distinctive headpieces. Like the skirts and the bras, Allan had two options, one worn at a time. The first headpiece, and the most predominantly used in her Vision of Salomé marketing material, is the largest headdress of the two. It features a large green, glass jewel attached to a small metal coiled spring that once stood vertically just above and between Allan's eyes. Hanging below the green gem from the headband is a teardrop-shaped imitation pearl. This headband is lined with two rows of imitation pearls (many of which are currently missing) and has a 24.5-inch circumference. One of the defining characteristics of this headpiece is located on each side of the ear, where three loops of pearls are sewn to a metallic, chenille-style cord. The 35 imitation pearls on each strand resemble the pendant ears of a basset hound (see figure 33) but the embodiment and function of this pearled headdress was to drape the side of the face like jewelry. This is an example of Maud Allan's interpretation of what opulent royalty from the East would have worn. Allan was well read, and wrote about her admiration for ancient Egypt and Greece in her autobiography, where she describes her inspirations originating in Egypt and Greece (Allan, 1908, p. 17), a point to which we shall return in chapter 3.

The secondary headpiece is similar yet slightly more simplistic. It does not have the three loops of pearls at each ear; instead, it features two rows of imitation pearls on the headband separated in the middle by small, purple, glass jewels. Located at the centre front of the headband is a miniature, turquoise, scarab beetle with a small, turquoise, bell-

shaped figurine that dangles above the wearer's third eye. Above the scarab and sitting on top of a metal spring coil is a large purple gemstone that would move and bob with Allan's every stride (figure 34). Considering the dire and inevitable effects of time, light and climate, the Salomé costume is still in remarkable condition after more than a century since its initial construction.

No tags or labels existed on the original costume to indicate the size but Allan had a petite frame and would be a size 2 today, standing approximately 5'6" tall, with a 32inch bust line, 33-inch inseam and hips measuring 34 inches. During this era, a fuller figure was deemed more desirable in comparison to today's preoccupation with being thin, but criticism from 1906 included misogynistic and ageist descriptions such as a review in *The theatre week* which observed "sagging layers of fat, jumping, sweating and softly, jellied complex of the female form" (qtd. in Schweitzer, p. 37). In a maledominated society, Allan's performance was bold, defying norms of representing the female body and prompting letters of complaint. According to her autobiography, Allan received anonymous, "nasty" letters of objection (1908, p. 100). Although a chapter in her memoir is dedicated to criticism and letters, Allan does not provide concrete quotations, carefully concealing the pain she experienced "backstage", reminding us of Erving Goffman's insights in *Behaviour in public places: notes on the social* organization of gatherings. Goffman describes "front stage" as the feeling of being observed and judged, where one is able to fabricate a specific desired persona intended to be conveyed and projected to the audience. The idea of "backstage" is also being "off show" and away from prying, judgmental eyes and therefore allows the participant to feel safe and invisible. On 23 November 1897, less than two months before Theo's execution,

Allan wrote in her diary, "no one knows my feelings and no one ever shall." Therefore, Allan had a fear of exposing her feelings to anyone, hiding behind the façade of "front stage" in order to conceal what was truly happening "backstage" in her life. Opening an intimate window into Allan's embodied, private life, the artist's dance costumes reveal multiple layers of history and information. The intimacy associated with examining and touching clothes once worn by individuals is a method of deepening the research. Clothes are worn intimately close to the body and convey information on how the clothes lived, functioned and performed, emphasizing the importance and the necessity to preserve historical fashion artifacts for future research. What made critics notice Allan was her uniquely brazen costume and the way she translated music into movement. Enclothed cognition was a factor that elevated her performance and helped her garner enormous confidence and success as an artist.

The way that dancers pose in photographs can inform the viewer about their background and their influences, and Maud Allan's body language wearing her costume in the promotional postcards is striking (figure 35). In her body's positioning in her static pose, her lack of classical ballet training is explicit and evident. Allan imitates a basic fundamental in ballet: the first position. In ballet, the dancer stands tall, placing her heels together, while using the hips to turn out the legs, making the toes face outward equidistantly, shoulders relaxed, chin poised, arms curving inwards and stretching upwards towards the sky with wrists slightly bent, allowing the fingers to follow the curve of the wrist, and finally ending with the arms in a rounded position above the head. Allan's feet are positioned nonchalantly, there is a curve in her lower back which suggests that she is not standing as tall as she can, there is no turn-out evident in her legs

initiated by her hips, her shoulders are raised and not relaxed, her arms are pointed sharply at the elbow, bending her wrists to take an angular slope downwards above her head, placing her fingertips on the top of her head. Today, this position is commonly seen amongst children who are learning ballet for the first time. These postcards are what most scholars use when analyzing Maud Allan's craft, instead of turning to the actual costume, which gives insight about the complexity of her craft.

Posture, walk and other bodily styles are not natural but rather socially and culturally constructed, as evidenced in history. In the *Mechanical smile*, Caroline Evans (2013) asserts that "new fashions teach new gestures" (p. 220). The dance craze of the twenties forced fashion to change, eliminating painful corsets and hobble skirts (p. 221). As she writes, "The modern dances are the reformers of fashion" (Evans, 2013, p. 204), and the new gestures introduced by Maud Allan defied and challenged the fashion norms of Edwardian society while introducing new movements and techniques in regards to dance, performance, posture, gesture and gait. Furthermore, dance costumes are inherently linked to affect, embodiment and the psychological processes of the dancer. Maud Allan did not adhere to the traditional narrative structure of dance nor did she depend on an external choreographer but rather, embraced and developed her angular, statuesque poses and pantomime that intrigued audiences and set her apart from her competition. In her autobiography, Allan writes that *Salomé* was "one of the most strongly dramatic representations of human passion, which found expression now as it does in mimetic dance" (p. 18), elaborating that she was influenced by François Delsarte (1811 - 1871) and his comparison of the human body with a musical instrument (p. 65). A French music teacher, he established the Delsarte method that trained performers to

link their bodies to emotive expression through tableaux vivants. Tableaux vivants are a technique that describes a silent, static scene on stage and the "inseparability of body and spirit" (p. 65). This "new aesthetic engagement from the audience" (Doran, 2014, p. v), was what made her unique and allured the eyes of those who paid to see her perform.

At the same time, Allan's use of dance and costume design, as well as makeup, present a new "face" to mask and conceal her dark past, reminding us of Erving Goffman's (1963) theories of front stage/backstage personas. Furthermore, in another book, *Stigma* (1963), Goffman defines stigma as a personal attribute that is considered socially discreditable. Describing three types of stigma including character trait stigmas, physical stigmas and stigma of group identity such as race or religion (p. 4), Goffman is concerned with exploring how individuals conceal these social stigmas. He describes a particular journey as "a transformation of self from someone with a particular blemish into someone with a record of having corrected a particular blemish" (p. 9). Therefore, the concealment of stigma through acceptance and correction helps to equip the stigmatized person with management skills to navigate uneasy experiences in social settings (p. 9)

Transforming herself through costumes reveals that Maud Allan had a specific way that she saw herself and wanted others to observe and understand her, or as Mischel Cherniavsky puts it: "We knew she wasn't all that young, but it was marvelous how she appeared a young girl of twenty when she was made up...[;] her whole face lit up! (qtd. in Buenoventura, 2018, p. 245). Through the Salomé costume, Maud Allan boldly showed her entire body (save for strategically placed chiffon, jewels and pearls) as she snaked across the stage barefoot while clutching a realistic prop: the decapitated head of

John the Baptist. In her autobiography, she describes her rebellion against the conventions of dance, "the moment that dancing becomes bound by rules and conventions it loses the very rationale of its existence" (Allan, 1908, p. 22). During her era, when Western dance focused on the feet, such as ballet, tap and step dancing, Maud Allan used her hands and arms, a technique that was strikingly different than what audiences were accustomed to.

Instead of changing her costume, Allan went so far as to change venues when theatres objected to her performance or costume. Standing by her convictions, Allan believed that the costume was as much of a star as she was. As any performer will be able to testify, the costume has a significant psychological and a physical influence on the wearer, with the costume's cut, fit, colour and texture affecting the body directly. Costumes can bequeath self-confidence, but if the costume does not afford comfort through texture and tailoring, the quality of performance stands to be adversely affected. Analyzing Maud Allan's original Salomé costume as a material object gives insight into the talent and rigour that she possessed to not only to design and construct the costume but to also dance and perform in it.

## Chapter 3: Exploring Orientalist and Sexist Fantasies: Maud Allan's Salomé Costume as a Culturally Problematic Embodied Artefact

By the late 19th century, Orientalism was in vogue and its popularity continued to resonate throughout the 20th century, appearing in fashion, art, and even furniture. For context, in 1906, the same year that Allan debuted her *Vision of Salomé*, Paul Poiret was heavily inspired by Oriental art at the Pavilion de Marsan in Paris, modeling his famous "Confucius" evening coat after what he saw. Four years later, Poiret produced a high budget show featuring Islamic art in Munich (Geczy, 2013, p. 137) thereby exposing and familiarizing Germany (the country in which Allan lived), to an interpretation of the Oriental aesthetic. However, Oriental and Middle Eastern inspired art was often problematic because it was inaccurate, distorted and culturally appropriated. Through the use of dance choreography and an elaborately unique costume, Maud Allan's *Dance of the Seven Veils* was a colonial fantasy of what an Oriental princess was thought to be.

Orientalism gained popularity due to a rise in trade between Europe and the East (Martin & Koda, 1994, p. 9). A mysteriously exotic image of the "Orient" emerged in Europe and inspired many designers to mimic "Oriental" designs and create their own, inaccurate and uninformed versions. Trade and colonialism were founded on silk roads and transactions in textiles where Orientalism and Chinoiserie eventually became symbols of wealth and class. Research from the Metropolitan Museum of Art supports, "Orientalism is not a picture of the East or the Easts. It represents longing, option and faraway perfection. Orientalism, like Utopia, is a picture of everywhere and nowhere, save in imagination" (Martin & Koda, 1994, p. 13). By analyzing Maud Allan's body of work and the reoccurring themes of death, sex, love and sexuality, all illuminate that

Allan's art directly imitated the tragedy in her life and she used Orientalism and the notion of embodying the "other" as a form of pleasure and escape.<sup>4</sup>

Known as *The dance of the seven veils, the vision of Salomé* portrayed a type of Orientalist femininity derived from Islamic femininity as a new form of burlesque and belly dancing costume for the male gaze. As Edward Said found, Orientalism is a method of interpretation that often invents, embellishes and misrepresents the incongruent attributes of Arab peoples and their cultures compared to Europe. It often involves "othering" Arab culture as bizarre and backwards. "Orientalism is a western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient" (Said, 1978, p. 3). Or as the Metropolitan Museum of Art states, "Orientalism is a fabrication of the West" (Martin and Koda, 1994, p. 9). Maud Allan's costume belongs to the realm of myths in a sense that no Middle Eastern woman would ever be able to wear her costume in her own cultural context.

Based on the biblical story of the beheading of John the Baptist, and on Oscar Wilde's 1891 *Salomé* play, in which the protagonist dances "the dance of the seven veils," the plot centres around a 14-year-old girl who dances for King Herod. Impressed with Salomé's dancing, King Herod offers her a wish. Prompted by her mother, Salomé demands the head of John the Baptist, as John did not approve of her mother's marriage to King Herod. King Herod reluctantly agrees and has John the Baptist executed and his

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The decapitated head of John the Baptist evokes her brother's execution by hanging and the themes of incest reflected the possible incestuous overtones of Isabella Durrant's relationship with her son. Leo Cherniavsky, Allan's executor and ex-boyfriend stated that he burned many of Allan's letters labeled "Letters to Mamma" in order to protect Maud Allan because there was damning evidence that indicated that her mother and brother were romantically involved (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 108). However, in the absence of sources, this line of argumentation remains purely speculative.

head delivered to Salomé. Salomé dances and fondles the lifeless head, and finally kisses it and falls to the floor in ecstasy. A realistic papier-mâché prop of the decapitated head of John the Baptist was a central character to her *Vision of Salomé* (see figure 36).

While the story that sparked the dance is based on a biblical theme, and the etymology of Salomé (shalom or peace) is rooted in Hebrew, this biblical background is not the sole cultural influence. Maud Allan explained her conceptual inspiration for her *Vision of Salomé* by saying that it consisted of "pillared halls, strewn with rare draperies and Tyrian purple – the sumptuous couches to the decoration of which all Arabia had contributed"; she problematically evokes, "the dawn of womanhood in the luxurious seclusion of an Oriental Princess" (Allan, 1908, p. 121). Moreover, Allan's mentor and co-producer, Marcel Remy, composed his version of Arabian music that critics often misidentified as authentic Oriental music (Koritz, 1995, p. 34). Some of these elements of cultural appropriation are also found in the costume. Indeed, the dance costume used several orientalist themes, each of which will be briefly addressed below, notably: the harem aesthetic of a veiled woman from the Middle East, the "Oriental" colour palette, the metallic thread embroidery originating in China, and the use of scarab beetles symbolic of Egypt, on her headpiece and belt.

Located near the hemline, on the front and back of Allan's purple skirt, are three embroidered butterflies composed of metal wrapped thread, a technique derived from China and originally used in Manchu court gowns (Martin & Koda, p. 31). As Robert K. Liu (2001) found, both the butterfly and the beetle symbolize "the positive attributes of immortality, resurrections, rebirth, rejuvenation, regeneration, longevity and protection" (p. 167). Additionally, the butterfly represents the soul in Greek and some Hispanic

cultures (p. 170). Like a butterfly and a beetle, Maud Allan desired a metamorphosis, afraid all her life of being recognized as the sister of a murderer, or a lesbian in a homophobic society. Her mother, Isabella, reiterated the necessity to conceal her true identity in a letter written in 1905 where she wrote: "Were there any Americans present, or did anyone know or make it known who you were? (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 138). The fear of being found out was a preoccupation that the daughter shared with her mother, and as I argue, Allan used the character and costume of Salomé as both a physical transformation and a psychological refuge and mask.

Specific colours in the Salomé costumes can also be argued to be derivative of the "Orient". For example, the purple in her skirt is an acknowledgement of Allan's adoration for Tyrian purple and "the purple splendors and brutalities of the Roman Triumph" (Allan, 1908, p. 11). In ancient Rome, purple represented wealth, status, power and nobility because acquiring purple dye was very rare and expensive. The harvesting process consisted of collecting hundreds of thousands of sea snails from the Eastern Mediterranean Sea. The snails were boiled for multiple days and through the use of heat and light, the vibrant purple mucus was harvested. Only one ounce of pigment could be extracted from 250,000 snails thereby making the process both expensive and labour and time intensive (Andrews, 2015, para 2). In the Middle East, purple represents wealth and nobility and black symbolizes bereavement and rebirth (Wang, 2015, p. 13, 16). Additionally, turquoise, Egyptian scarab beetles appear twice in the Salomé costume: once at the centre front of the pearl belt on the purple skirt and again on the secondary headpiece, a miniature version of the turquoise scarab positioned between the eyes. According to Robert K. Liu, the scarab beetle is synonymous with ancient Egypt,

appearing ubiquitously in burials, amulets, signet seals, religion and in jewelry because the scarab beetle is a carrier of symbolism, representing a reawakening and new beginnings (2001, p. 168). In short, the symbolism that the Salomé costumes carried were rebirth, transformation and protection.

Perhaps most centrally, the veil evokes the harem aesthetic through a long history of showing Muslim or "Oriental" women in veils, which brings with it an equal obsession with lifting the veil in order to spy the sexualized Oriental woman underneath. Although Maud Allan did not explicitly employ a veil as a part of her Salomé costume, her translucent, lightweight, silk chiffon skirt symbolically represents the veil. Metaphorically, her chiffon skirt was a veil that was "lifted" as she danced, revealing her bare feet and ankles, which were deemed unacceptable to expose during the era. Lifting this skirt, allowed the audience to "spy" on the "Oriental princess" that resided beneath it. In numerous photographs and postcards, Maud Allan purposely articulated her foot and ankle to protrude from the fabric of her skirt (see figure 37). The fantasy of the harem space is uniquely eroticized in Western culture as reflected in photographs, paintings, and advertisements, all of which insist on representing the veiled woman as an object of sexual desire. Given this context, the sexuality that Maud Allan interjected into her performance was not simply a vision of the biblical Salomé but a vision infused with the colonial fantasy of Islamic harems. Commonly, cultures from the West sexualize the otherness of a woman from the East as submissive, docile and passive, lacking agency or freedom. There is a dichotomy between a dancer from the West dressed as a female royal from the East, which inappropriately positions Maud Allan as the member of a superior, more dominant culture; as Said writes, the exaggeration of difference and the

presumption of Western superiority are conventional tropes (1978, p. 3). In her book *Imagining Arab womanhood: the cultural mythology of veils, harems, and belly dancers in the U.S.* (2008), Amira Jarmakani examines Orientalist paintings and popular representations as found, for instance at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, or in tobacco advertisements of the era, or in the Western preoccupation with the exoticized belly dancer. She also engages with John Singer Sargent's oil painting *Nude study of an Egyptian girl* (1891) as the presumably only female nude this artist ever painted: the young girl turns her back to the viewer, inviting the viewer's scrutiny and colonial fantasy.

Specifically, as Schweitzer has noted, the aesthetic of the *Salomé* costume was derived from another professional dancer named Little Egypt, who performed in New York in 1896, ten years before Maud Allan (2014, p. 46). In fact, my research reveals that there were several Little Egypts, with the first one named Fahreda Mazar Spyropoulos (c. 1871 – 1937), a Syrian-born (or Moroccan-born) dancer performing at the World's Columbia Exhibition in Chicago in 1893.<sup>5</sup> She wore a cropped halter-top, on top of a white shirt that covered the full-length of her arms, and multiple long beaded necklaces along with a pleated print skirt (not nearly as intricate as Maud Allan's costume) (see figure 38) and found her imitator in self-named burlesque American dancer Ashea Wabe (aka Catherine Devine). Photographed by Benjamin Falk, circa 1896, this American-born Little Egypt imitator is wearing a bejeweled crop halter top bra with multiple strands of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> As period posters available online reveal, the World's Columbia Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 advertised an entire team of "Middle Eastern Entertainers," all dressed in long skirts, shoes, covered arms, and halter tops with midriff showing in some of the surviving advertisements. The same Chicago World's Fair advertised an "Egyptologica Exhibit," promising a display of "Mummies of Pharaoh," that were supposedly "connected with the Holy Bible."

beads hanging from her bust line, similar to the aesthetic of Allan's bra top and body jewelry (see figure 39). A fringe of beads stops just below Little Egypt's rib cage and sways side to side as she dances. Like Maud Allan, this 1896 Little Egypt appears sans corset, with her stomach, arms and shoulders exposed, while wearing a translucent, black skirt worn low on the waist, also adorned with beads and sequins. In contrast to Maud Allan, Little Egypt uses stockings, revealing the garter straps for erotic effect, further heightened by kitten-heeled shoes fastened onto her foot by horizontal straps. When the New York censor, Anthony Comstock, objected to the indecent dance, feminist Ida C. Craddock (1857-1902), who had dedicated her life to advocate for women's sexual rights, protested in a letter published in the New York World on 13 August 1893, using this conflict to advocate for women rights. In her letter, Craddock stated that belly dancing was neither scandalous nor disgusting but rather a "religious memorial" that combined spirituality, sexuality and grace. The gyration of the dancer's hips paired with her snapping castanets and quivering tassels was a "most valuable object lesson" that blended "the apotheosis of female passion" with self-control. Instead of suppressing belly dancing, Craddock argued that belly dancing should be "performed far and wide through our country" as a brilliant "pre-nuptial educator for our young people". According to Craddock, belly dancing was "worth seeing for the good of body and soul" (qtd. in Schmidt, 2010, p. 19).

Despite the resemblance, and in the absence of Little Egypt's original costume, my close analysis concludes that Allan was able to elevate her own version by featuring innovative, eye-catching design attributes such as a crosshatch netting dotted with pearls, illusion mesh, metallic breastplates adorned with expertly applied pearls and jewels, body

jewelry and an ornate pearl belt. Maud Allan's Salomé costume did not feature stockings nor garters, nor shoes, which were the stock paraphernalia in erotic dance; the focus of Maud Allan's dance was clearly on the barefoot dance which was also practiced by Isadora Duncan. Nor did Maud Allan's Salomé costume feature a prominent scarf, eschewing the most prominent accessory of the veil that performs the ritual covering and uncovering, dressing and undressing, of the body in Little Egypt's dance. Allan had an eye for sartorial elegance and used dramatic embellishments without making her costume look tawdry. Quite the opposite, Allan's version was high quality, using high-grade embellishments, silk chiffon, metallic breastplates, chenille-style cord, metal braids and tassels. Moreover, she utilized her musical edification to physically interpret the minute details and dynamics of music, in ways that a non-musician could not. In 1908, the year Little Egypt (Ashea Wabe) died in New York, New York impresario and composer Oscar Hammerstein sent American actress Gertrude H. Hoffman (1871-1966) overseas to study Maud Allan's performance in London at the Palace Theatre. They created their own version of *The Vision of Salomé*, which ran for only six weeks and never met the same success (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 69). Nonetheless, Hoffman's representation in photographs reveals the brazen appropriation of Maud Allan's aesthetic, as her dance outfit is a faithful copy of Maud Allan's costume (figure 40).

Maud Allan's performance also exposed the anti-Semitism, racism, sexism, and homophobia that were deeply engrained in the social structure of Victorian and Edwardian England and beyond. In 1892, Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* play was banned in England because he appeared in drag in his version of *Salomé* and the theme of homoeroticism was deemed to be unacceptable and thus prohibited. By 1918, Maud

Allan's announced her leading role as Salomé in London's premier production of The Vision of Salomé before an invited audience. This announcement caught the attention of Noel Pemberton Billing, an independent Member of Parliament and the editor of the privately funded, ultra right-wing newspaper called the *Vigilante* (originally named the Imperialist) (Buenoventura, 2018, p. 10). Billing believed that homosexuality was a danger to society and a threat to the war effort of World War I (p. 10). The Vigilante circulated unsubstantiated rumors that Allan was involved in an affair with Margot Asquith, the wife of Herbert Asquith, the former prime minister of the United Kingdom who had helped to bolster her career. Billing insisted that Maud Allan was a member of Britain's upper class whose sexual orientation made her predisposed to betray England by supplying Germany with British military plans. On 16 February 1918, the Vigilante published a defamatory article, "Cult of the Clitoris", openly naming Maud Allan as a lesbian, a spy and a traitor who was listed in the notorious "Black Book" among 47,000 others deemed to be sexually deviant spies (Buenoventura, 2018, p. 202). Like Wilde two decades earlier, Maud Allan was forced to sue for libel in an attempt to restore her reputation, which provided a further stage for Billing, who dredged up her dark past as the sister of a murderer. Disappointingly, the jury found Billing not guilty, a verdict that marked the decline of Allan's career, leaving Zuleyka Zevallos (2012) to conclude that Maud Allan's story is a "historical case study of the criminalization of femininity and homosexuality in Britain at the end of World War I" (para 2).

Due in part to the humiliation of the trial and waning popular interest, Maud Allan received little critical acclaim after the trial and by 1925 her scheduled transcontinental tour was cancelled (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 10). In 1928, she announced her new version

of *The Vision of Salomé* at Albert Hall in London but it was subsequently cancelled as well. The same year, she sold her jewelry to pay for Isabella's medical expenses. She gave her last performance in 1936 at the Redlands Community Music Association in California (Cherniavsky, 1998, p. 10). In 1937, Allan opened the West Wing Schools of Dancing and Music, an art school for underprivileged children (p. 10). Between the late 1920s to 1938, Allan lived with her secretary, lover, and companion, Verna Aldrich, in the west wing of the Holford House in London. In 1940 she was evicted from her home due to unpaid city taxes. By 1942 she worked as a volunteer ambulance driver for the Red Cross and the next year, found employment as a draughtswoman at Macdonald Aircraft. In 1956, at the age of 83 years old, Maud Allan passed away in Los Angeles, insolvent and disregarded (Rapp, 2015, p.3). Because of Billing's court case, and Maud Allan's pushing of the boundaries of sexual expression, the momentum of her career suffered and eventually expired.

Maud Allan wanted Salomé to be regarded as high art, insisting that she "studied dresses, as well as poses in museums and libraries" (1908, p. 79). A painting from 1876 of a tattooed Salomé by French artist Gustave Moreau was Allan's inspiration for the Salomé costume (Schweitzer, 2014, p. 46) (figure 41). Allan was determined to reject the more obvious choreographic, fashion and dance inspiration directly derived from other "lowbrow dance forms that dominated World's Fairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (p. 46), such as vaudeville, belly dancing and burlesque. Felix Cherniavsky writes: "Although Maud stubbornly denied any debt to her fellow San Franciscan (Isadora Duncan), she readily acknowledged her own extensive study of Greek art (although unlike Duncan she never travelled to Greece)" (1991, p. 13). Also, as

Martin and Koda posit, "the power of costume is in its capacity to be absorbed" (1994, p. 10). Maud Allan's *Salomé* costume was "absorbed" by audiences and critics. A liberal newspaper the, Daily chronicle, stated in 1908 that at one of Allan's performances, 90% of the audience was comprised of women and resembled that of "a suffragist meeting ... the ladies were of all ages, well dressed" (qtd. in Jones, 2012, para 9). Therefore, Allan's costume was "absorbed" by women who wanted to witness a female entertainer that had the courage to contest the patriarchy, its societal norms and it is possible that Allan was erotically attractive to female viewers as well. Allan was bisexual, having relationships with both women (Verna Aldrich, her secretary) and men (Leo Cherniavsky, a member of the Cherniavsky Trio who toured with Allan, and Arthur Bock, a sculptor who she met in East Germany). Allan inspired and revealed the opportunities and possibilities for women that were thus far unattainable but her work also had its detractors who denigrated it through sensationalizing. A critic from the *Budapest Uj Idok* called the costume "extremely scanty" and an additional critic from the Parisian paper, Le Temps, acknowledged the costume as "so light that it is barely composed of nothing more than well placed lacery" (qtd. in Cherniavsky, p. 45). And yet, as illustrated in the previous chapter, nothing could be further from the truth: the costume is extremely heavy and intricate and the reviewers' denigrating comments misrepresented her work for salacious purposes.

Ultimately, I conclude that despite Maud Allan's use of deeply problematic Orientalist themes, appropriating representations of the Eastern cultural traditions for Western expressions and modernities, her *Salomé* costume and expressionistic dance allowed her to innovate as a thoroughly modern dancer who rose from a modest

background on the basis of her talents. Although the connection between the Salomé costume and Orientalism is problematic, (and even though the cycle of appropriation caught up with her when her innovations were subsequently copied by others), the overall design and durability of the Salomé costume are remarkable. It is worth recalling that her innovations in the dance costume include a number of intricate parts, such as: the metallic breastplate with intricate beadwork, illusion mesh behind the bra, body jewelry, eyelet hook bra fasteners, a belt of pearls with dangling embellishments and lastly, exotic accessories like scarab beetles incorporated into her ornate headpiece and belt. The meticulous beadwork, metallic thread embroidery, detailed embellishments, combined with her well-engineered tops and well-constructed silk chiffon skirts are evidence of Allan's design proficiency. Also, the seams were well executed and although extremely fragile today, have certainly withstood the test of time and the evolution of style. Since Allan's use of the illusion of nudity also pushed against the strict fashion codes of Edwardian society, it is not surprising that she stirred the ire of extreme political right, becoming a focal point of conservative attack. In the end, without absolving her of the charge of Orientalist fetishizing, her expressionist dance presented the unprecedented feat by a female dancer of her era: a dancer who boldly defied the rules set up to keep women confined to the constraints of modesty, chastity, and obedience. By doing so, she pioneered key elements of the modern dance costume.

## Conclusion

Dance and fashion historians along with contemporary critics have unfairly dismissed Maud Allan as extraneous and less important in comparison to other dance contemporaries such as Loïe Fuller, Isadora Duncan and Ruth St. Denis. Differing from the three aforementioned dance pioneers, Maud Allan was more musically inclined and more daringly fashion forward, allowing her to make novel contributions to expressionist dance, costume design and female agency. Allan supported equal education and job opportunities for women (Allan, 1908, p. 74) and she also inspired other women to challenge fashion norms by wearing sandals outside, and in ballrooms, and to also go "about their daily routine barelegged or barefooted" (Cherniavsky, 1991, p. 174). Allan also popularized fringe and beaded trim and inspired costume jewelers to design jewelry after what she wore in Salomé. Their bestselling version was a string of beads adorned with "three immense jewel coloured bosses, two of which were worn as breastplates" (p. 174). Through Salomé, Allan became a "prominent figure in the world of fashion" (p. 174) and, as this major research project has documented, contributed other inventive costume design methods such as illusion mesh, pearl netting, bejeweled breastplates, exotic details and expert application techniques found in the intricate ornamentation. After more than a century, the overall design and aesthetic of Allan's costume continues to echo in other dance costumes such as jazz, burlesque, belly dancing, ballroom, acrobatics and cabaret.

That said, Allan's appropriation of Oriental themes, as well as viewers' cultural association with the dancer with femme fatale stereotypes, need a critical lens, as they reveal much about the phobic thought and values of the Edwardian London that both

accepted and denigrated her between 1906 and the 1930s. With a first detailed account of the costume through the lens of material culture studies, it is my hope that this new information will help other scholars in gauging the importance of Maud Allan. Beyond their reliance on promotional postcards, scholars will be able to refer to the actual costume, allowing us to see both elements of derivation and innovations that have so far remained unrecognized. Moreover, as I have argued, the embodiment associated with wearing the Salomé costume, as well as categorizing Allan's style of dance and her measurements, all enhance our knowledge of Maud Allan's multimodal art contributions as both an expressionistic dancer and a costume designer.

The case of Maud Allan also reminds us of a larger context of women's oppression. For hundreds of years, women were prohibited from performing on stage. The first geishas in Japan were men and, likewise, the female characters in Shakespearean plays were also portrayed by cross-dressing men (Buenoventura, 2018, p. 106). Maud Allan broke traditional rules and gender roles. Ambitious and determined to rise above the story of scandal, as her personal writings corroborate, she was an intelligent woman with the will, determination and resilience to achieve her dreams in spite of a society that was steadfast in keeping it a man's world. Allan's unique freestyle choreography, paired with her intuitive musicality, uniqueness and imagination, and her unapologetic focus on using the body front and center, makes her an important modern dancer. That she hails from Toronto and conquered the world stage makes her all the more relevant as a research topic that requires further engagement by scholars across various disciplines: dance, music, and fashion. Because of her nonconformity combined with her musical virtuosity and fortitude, new style of artistic embodiment and

contributions to fashion, was she able to help loosen the shackles that women figuratively wore in the early  $20^{th}$  century and thereby helped to blaze a path for future generations of dancers that would come after her.

## **Appendix: Images**

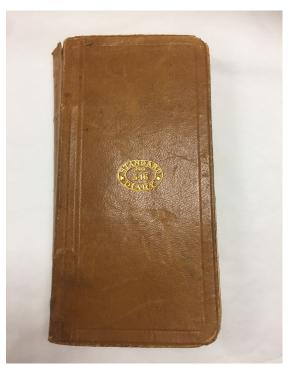


Figure 1: Standard No. 546 Diary belonging to Maud Allan, c. 1895, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 2: Diary entry circa 14 February 1895, belonging to Maud Allan, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 974



Figure 3 a-b: Cobblers in Toronto, c. 1915. Photo by City of Toronto Archives. Edwardian longline Corset, c. 1910. Photo by Wikimedia Commons.

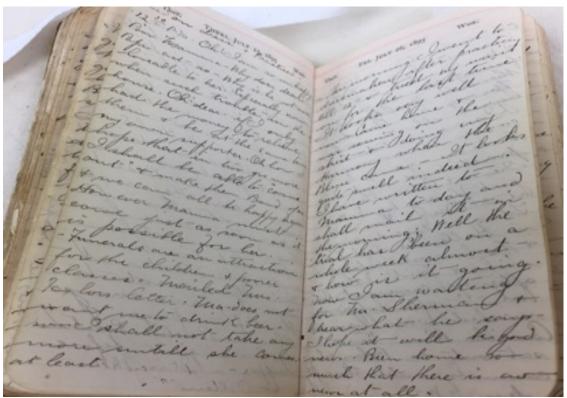


Figure 4: Diary entry circa 26 July 1895, belonging to Maud Allan, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.

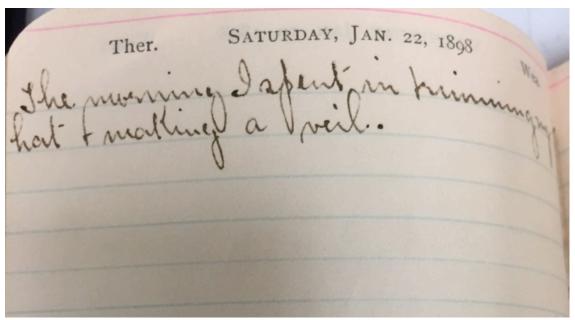


Figure 5: Diary entry circa 22 January 1898, belonging to Maud Allan, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.

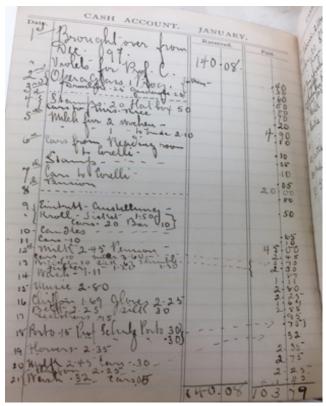


Figure 6: Diary containing "Bills Payable" belonging to Maud Allan, c. 1898, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 7: Sandro Botticelli's "Primavera", c. 1477–1482. Photo by Google Arts & Culture via Wikimedia Commons Public Domain.



Figure 8: Maud Allan had two looks for her performance of *The Vision of Salomé in 1906*. One black skirt, one purple skirt, two headpieces and two bras that were to be used interchangeably in the event that one part of the costume became soiled, lost or damaged. The original Salomé costumes belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 9: The most extensively used "ruby nippled" bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 10: Corrosion on the band of the predominantly used bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 11: Corrosion on the eyelet hook bra fasteners on the predominantly used bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 12: Nine multicoloured glass gemstones are missing from the band of the predominantly used bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 13: Located at the centre front of the bra, behind the pearl netting is delicate, beige chiffon (utilized as illusion mesh) that has torn on the bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 14: Unlined, non-padded breastplates of the bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 15: Tautness at the centre front of the top contributed to deterioration on the bra of the original *Salomé* costume belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906. Photo by Rotary Photo.

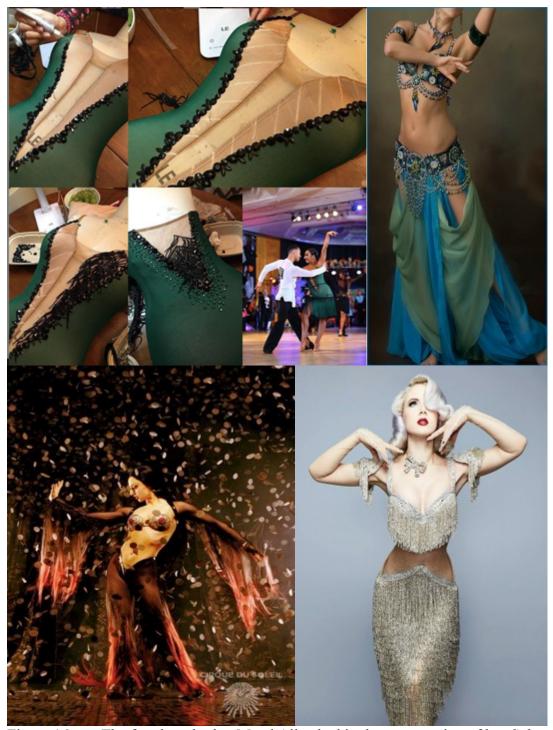


Figure 16 a-e: The forethought that Maud Allan had in the construction of her *Salomé* costume was ahead of her time. These techniques and her aesthetic are still used today in modern day dance costumes such as Latin ballroom dancing, belly dancing, burlesque and acrobatics. From clockwise from left to right: photos by Nika Couture, Raks Sharki Belly Dancing Costumes, Mosh Burlesque and Cirque du Soleil.



Figure 17: Located at the centre of each metallic cup are a singular, round, red glass jewel on the most used bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 18: Located at each armpit is a large, blue, glass gem measuring 1.5 inches tall and surrounded by sixteen white rhinestones to simulate a flower on the most predominantly used bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 19: From each large, blue, glass gem, hangs twenty-four individual, tightly coiled, metal tassels measuring three inches long, in addition to eight strands of imitation pearls that measure six inches long on the bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 20: The corresponding blue, glass gemstone is missing on the left side of the "ruby nippled" bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 21: Allan's body jewelry that features 477 imitation pearls strung on a thick, white polyester thread in a drooping curve, measuring 28 inches across, belonged to Maud Allan and was used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 22: Hanging from the turquoise scarab that measures 1.5 inches tall and 5.5 inches long, is a floral motif composed of seven multicoloured glass stones ranging in colours from magenta, red, purple and yellow and surrounded by 12 white rhinestones. The red gemstone located at the centre features a double border of 32 white rhinestones to resemble a large flower on the purple skirt belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 23: Located at each hip bone are large, magenta glass gems measuring 1.5 inches tall and surrounded by sixteen white rhinestones, followed by two smaller magenta glass gems stacked vertically at the side of the hip on the purple skirt belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 24: Placed vertically along the length of the skirt, from the belt to the hemline are individual strands of gold, metal and gelatin sequins on the purple skirt belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 25 a-e: Located above the hemline, on the front and back of the skirt, are three, embroidered butterflies made of metallic thread. Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photos by Dori Kwong.



Figure 26: Close up of the details on the hemline of the purple skirt belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 27: T. Eaton Catalogue Fall & Winter, c. 1904, Photo by Archive.org Derry & Toms Great Sale of Silks, c. 1905. Photo by The Times Newspaper Limited.







Figure 28 a-c: From top to bottom: A) Wide shot of black skirt. B) Belt is unlined, unpadded and feels scratchy and uncomfortable to the touch. C) Belt that fastens closed by hook and eye. Missing blue jewel on the belt. All items belonged to Maud Allan and were used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photos by Dori Kwong.



Figure 29: Evidence of damage is located at the centre front of the bra where the pearl netting and the illusion mesh would have met at the band, is now significantly torn on the secondary bra belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 30: This bra-top is fastened closed by three hook and eye closures that have rusted over time due to oxidization. Original bra-top belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 31: Close-up of beadwork on the breastplate belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 32: Along the bottom band of the bra-top are nine glass jewels ranging in colour from orange, purple and magenta. Ten white rhinestones encircle the magenta and orange jewels and at the centre front of the band is another orange jewel with a double border of 28 white rhinestones resembling a flower belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.

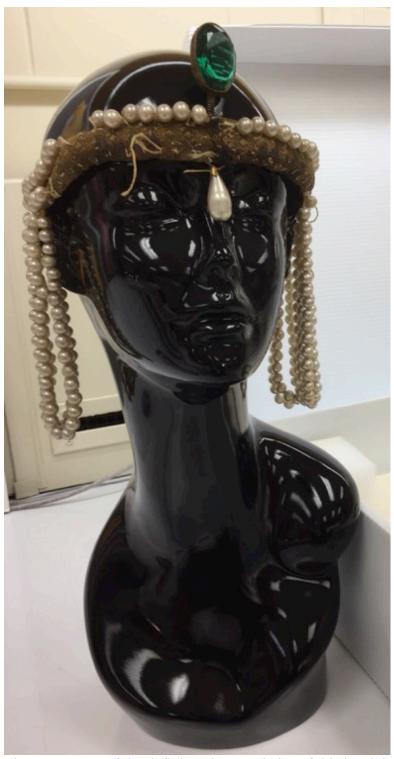


Figure 33: One of the defining characteristics of this headpiece is located on each side of the ear, where three loops of pearls are sewn to a metallic, chenille-style cord on an original headpiece belonging to Maud Allan used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 34: Located at the centre front of the headband is a miniature, turquoise, scarab beetle with a small, turquoise, bell-shaped figurine that dangles above the wearer's third eye. Above the scarab and sitting on top of a metal spring coil is a large purple gemstone. This headpiece belonged to Maud Allan and was used in *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1906, Dance Collection Danse/Fashion Research Collection at Ryerson University. Photo by Dori Kwong.



Figure 35 a-b: Promotional postcards of Miss Maud Allan as "*Salomé*", c. 1906. Photos by Reutlinger Photos and Rotary Photo.



Figure 36: A promotional postcard of Maud Allan with the head of John the Baptist in the *Vision of Salomé*, c. 1908. Photo by Rotary Photo.



Figure 37: Photograph of Maud Allan dressed as Salomé, c. 1910. Photo by unknown photographer.



Figure 38: Fahreda Mazar Spyropoulos (c. 1871 – 1937), aka Little Egypt, performing at the World's Columbia Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. Photo by unknown photographer.



Figure 39: Ashea Wabe as Little Egypt, c. 1896. Photo by Benjamin Falk.





Figure 40 a-b: American actress Gertrude Hoffman appropriated Allan's version for her own production of *The Vision of Salomé*, c. 1908. Photos from top to bottom by F.C. Bangs, N.Y. and George Grantham Bain Collection (Library of Congress).

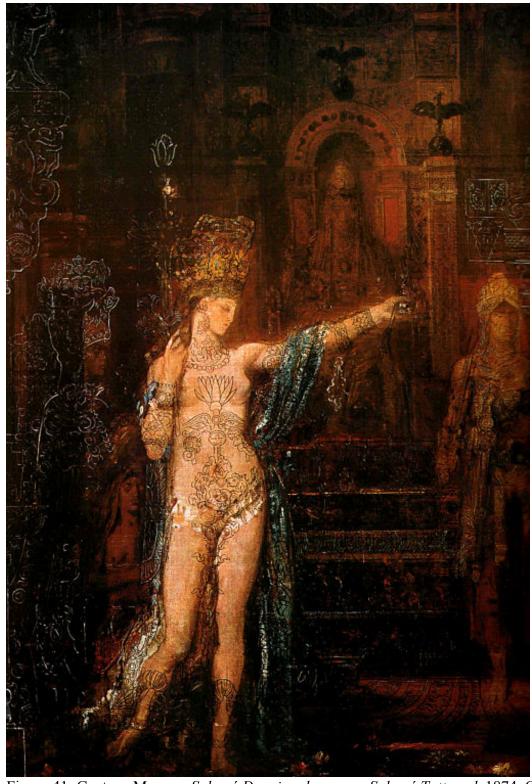


Figure 41: Gustave Moreau, *Salomé Dancing, known as Salomé Tattooed*, 1874. Oil on canvas, 92 x 60 cm. Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris.

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