UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY
OU_168279
UNIVERSAL
LIBRARY

Presented

With the Compliments of



THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OF

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BALLET IN AMERICA

BALLET IN AMERICA

THE EMERGENCE OF AN AMERICAN ART

BY

GEORGE AMBERG

DUELL, SLOAN AND PEARCE • NEW YORK

COPYRIGHT, 1949, BY GEORGE AMBERG

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED, INCLUDING
THE RIGHT TO REPRODUCE THIS BOOK
OR PORTIONS THEREOF IN ANY FORM

BALLET IN AMERICA is a joint publication of The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., and Duell, Sloan & Pearce, Inc.

1

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

For
GISELA

Introduction

Two years ago, when the project of a survey of the ballet in America was first discussed, neither expert nor layman, neither author nor publishers could predict the result with any amount of certainty. It was simply evident that there was a real need for such a study. The growing enthusiasm for the ballet in this country had created a substantial new audience and a steadily increasing demand for handy information and permanent reference material.

This book was begun as an attempt to fill that demand, but after preliminary examination it became apparent that the task was considerably wider in scope and infinitely more complex than the original plan suggested. As the data accumulated, the sober reference book grew into the discussion of a new art and a new aesthetic. In order to appreciate the admirable accomplishments of our contemporary ballet, it is necessary to evaluate it, not as the product of circumstances, but as the valid expression of a specific time and a specific country—that is, as an emerging American art.

This book, then, is a record of the ballet in America. Its essential purpose is to bring together material that has not been available before; its basic premise is that the ballet has become American.

The last statement may be interpreted in several ways. In the first

place, it means that our ballet artists have proved complete artistic authority and full control of the medium. It also means that our ballet is a true reflection of our time and place, of our social and aesthetic climate. Of course, the art of the ballet is not defined by its geographical origin; it is totally irrelevant whether its exponents are literally citizens of the United States. Our ballet is American in the sense that it has become an expression of the creativeness of our country, as, for instance, has our writing.

The artistic progress of the ballet in America has been fast, steady and extensive. While there has been some form of ballet in America for more than a century and a half, the native American ballet is barely fifteen years old. It appeared, almost without transition, in immediate response to the powerful stimulus of the Ballet Russe and as the result of expert training in the classical idiom offered by outstanding Russian teachers. Native talent emerged and an appreciative audience has developed and been consolidated. Recent attendances throughout the country have exceeded an estimated million and a half, not counting the enormous audience of the musical comedy.

Actually the audience had been prepared over the years; at irregular intervals, visiting guests and foreign touring companies had slowly acquainted the American public with the ballet. But not until 1933, when the Ballet Russe presented its first season of repertory, was there any regular, continuous performance by a large-sized company of some prestige. At about the same time the first modest resident companies were established and the first American-born and -trained dancers and choreographers made a tentative appearance. Since then a whole new generation of ballet artists has reached artistic maturity.

The process of formation, clarification and articulation that went on during the past fifteen years resulted in the American ballet. This does not refer to any particular company or composition, but rather to a generic character. While it may be too early to identify the essential trends in the American ballet in terms of style, there is clear evidence of a specific American nature or quality in thought, feeling and expression. The first home-made ballets of the thirties tended, somewhat self-consciously, to stress and exaggerate their American character in the choice of plot and subject matter, in the crowding with native traits and types, in the deliberate use of local

associations and vernacular and, most of all, in the employment of native writers, composers and designers, choreographers and dancers.

But probably the most important result of the forceful native demonstration of the thirties was the realization that the American ballet still had a way to go. The young artists had made an admirable and successful start; they had formulated their hopes and expectations well and they had put in their claim. But the *avant-garde* American ballet needed both more money and infinitely more experience in order to meet the exacting standards of the European professional ballet on its own level. It ought to be remembered, of course, that the mild rebellion of the ballet pioneers was primarily directed against the imposition of foreign aesthetic conventions and what Lincoln Kirstein called the "spectral blackmail" of a worn repertory formula, and not against the basic principles of the traditional ballet. No radical disagreement prevented American dancers and choreographers, composers and designers, from cooperating with the "Russian" ballet whenever they were offered the chance.

Like painting or music, the ballet has the composite character of the accumulated contributions of countless generations of many civilizations—in other words, it has tradition. In strict aesthetic language a work of art has significant form, which means that it is valid in absolute terms with respect to both the specific quality of enjoyment it conveys and the specific medium in which it materializes. In the ballet, too, there are constant factors which differentiate it from any other form of art and from any other form of dancing. But there are also variable qualities which are determined by its geographical, chronological and spiritual position. These are manifested not only in the form it ultimately assumes, but also in the way it affects the audience and participates in the cultural life of the people. The comparatively recent response of Americans to the ballet is merely a symptom of profounder changes in the American aesthetic climate. The immense influx of European art and artists in the past few decades is not the cause, but the consequence, of an awareness of new aesthetic values.

These remarks explain the emphasis of this book. While it traces the early history of the ballet here, its major part is devoted to the recent years during which the ballet became an expression of our American life and thought and the importance of the material in-

creases as it approaches the present. The space devoted to an individual or an event or a work indicates a relative importance—that is, relative to our thesis. If, for instance, the few works of a young American choreographer are treated more explicitly than the whole work of a man of Fokine's stature, such freedom of treatment is determined by the purpose of this examination, not by standards of absolute value. Our interest here is to investigate precisely what use the American artists have made of the medium that was given them.

The ballet is a developed, traditional medium. Like painting or music, the ballet consists of a basic technique, the *danse d'école,* and a developed practice of wide range and variety, which is the ballet as we know it today. The *danse d'école,* that is, the dance according to the rules, is a strict code of posture and movement. This system is based on five absolute positions of the feet which assure functional and mechanical perfection. It is essentially characterized by an extreme turn-out of the legs, so that the feet are always pointing outward. This apparently "unnatural" turn-out is determined by definite anatomical, mechanical and aesthetic reasons. First, it facilitates extension and elevation, balance in repose and preparation for leaps and turns, by making optimal use of the human anatomy, in particular of the hip joint, which is the pivot for every leg movement. Second, ballet is normally performed on a stage and the turn-out practically eliminates foreshortening and exhibits the whole figure in full frontal view. The five positions of the feet are supplemented by less rigid, but equally logical positions of the head and arms. Visually the most striking characteristic of the ballet is the dancing on the toes, habitually reserved to the female performer. It is not a technical stunt but a means to convey an impression of weightless, floating movement. Although there are different schools, mainly French, Italian and Russian, these basic principles are universally recognized, and constitute an international language of the ballet.

This language is an accepted convention, used by the choreographer in the creation of a ballet in the same way that counterpoint in music or perspective in painting are useful conventional means toward the achievement of imaginative ends. Choreography, literally meaning dance notation, is actually the art of dance composition in both the mechanical and the creative sense. Although the ballet is essentially dance, it employs music and scenic art as legitimate asso-

ciates and the choreographic concept of the completed composition is a synthesis of the three arts.

It is certain that the contemporary American ballet owes its prodigious growth, its solid reputation and its immense popularity to the situation created by the war. Isolated from the rest of the world, entirely reduced to its own sources and resources, our ballet was suddenly submitted to a decisive test. Fortunately, that occurred almost precisely at the moment when our native choreographers were just old enough and experienced enough to meet the challenge. (The active presence of George Balanchine, inexhaustibly inventive, was nothing less than providential.) Toward the end of the war it had become obvious that the critical and exacting task of preserving the ballet had turned into a triumph for the younger ballet generation. They had never danced better, they had never looked fresher and lovelier, they had never displayed greater verve and brilliance. The intervening years have more than confirmed the belief that this wonderful impetus was not accidental, but the logical result of hard work and consistent endeavor.

Economically speaking, the ballet has developed into an important branch of the entertainment business, and the volume of financial transactions involved now runs into staggering figures. But since the flow of easy wartime money is coming to an end, certain symptoms of a crisis and of a possible business recession are causing some alarm. Indeed, if those potential dangers were ever to become acute, they would not only seriously upset the precarious financial balance of the ballet budgets, but they would also affect the very existence of the qualified dancers, the expert staff and the whole industry associated with ballet production. Unfortunately, these considerations have a direct bearing on the professional standard and the artistic policy of the ballet companies and they indicate the basic weakness of the whole ballet situation: financial insecurity. No survey of the ballet would be complete or accurate without an objective appreciation of the perennial conflict between idealistic artistic planning and realistic commercial management.

Several events in the American ballet have occurred too late to be described and fully evaluated in this book. Yet they are sufficiently important to be mentioned here. The most serious fact is that Ballet Theatre temporarily suspended its activity because it lacked funds

and support. Plans for a later reorganization are presently under consideration. In the meantime, however, the company is disbanded and dispersed, and its more fortunate members have joined other companies or Broadway shows. This is a severe blow to the American ballet, and its consequences are incalculable.

While Ballet Theatre had to close, the City of New York invited a foreign company, the Paris Opera Ballet, to perform as part of the New York Anniversary celebration. This ill-advised and unfortunate decision caused some bitter comment and resentment for which neither the guest company, nor the American dancers can be held responsible.

Ballet Theatre's former ballerina, Alicia Alonso, proved her courage and initiative by organizing her own company in her native Havana. The new group is largely composed of former Ballet Theatre artists, with Alicia Alonso as *prima ballerina,* Igor Youskevitch as *premier danseur,* Fernando Alonso as general director, Alberto Alonso as artistic director, Max Goberman and Ben Steinberg as conductors. The ensemble is small, the repertory is yet modest; scenery and costumes are borrowed; the touring schedule is limited, but talent and spirit are there and the prospects are promising.

Ballet Society has successfully completed its second season and has made good on its promises and stated policy. Although the essential character, and the inevitable weaknesses of a student company are still noticeable, the standard of performance is in general highly creditable. The ensemble is fast improving in coherence, skill and experience, and the soloists are excellent. Some less successful ballets have been dropped from the repertory; others have been thoroughly revised and restaged and several pleasant and some outstanding novelties have been added. The ballet *Orpheus* was the greatest ballet event in many seasons, and in itself would be enough of an accomplishment to justify the existence of the Ballet Society. It is a theatre work of compelling grandeur, magic and beauty, with a magnificent score by Strawinsky, a fully congenial choreography by George Balanchine and an extraordinary décor by Isamu Noguchi, all integrated to perfection.

Without sacrificing its original function and purpose, the Ballet Society has become the official New York City Ballet Company, regularly performing twice a week. This may turn out to be an im-

portant step toward the consolidation of the ballet and the eventual establishment of a permanent resident company in New York.

Several noteworthy novelties were presented—Ruth Page's *Billy Sunday* and Ruthanna Boris's *Quelques Fleurs* at the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo; Agnes de Mille's *Fall River Legend* and Antony Tudor's *Shadow of the Wind* at the Ballet Theatre; George Balanchine's *Divertimento, The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, Symphony in C* (Bizet), *Symphonie Concertante* (Mozart) and *Orpheus,* and Todd Bolender's *Mother Goose Suite* at the Ballet Society.

Although conscientious efforts have been made to furnish proof and facts and accurate data in this analysis, it is obvious that criticism involves matters of personal taste. No apology need be offered to those who disagree, because this survey does not pretend to be final or conclusive. Its main claim to validity is the circumstance that it coincides with a decisive period in the evolution of the American ballet.

The records of ballet are vague and fragmentary. Even where modern means of recording—dance script, photography and film—have been used, the result is, at best, an approximation. Our ballets are precariously preserved in the memory of executants and witnesses, subject to unconscious errors and failings and the changing tastes of times. While future historians may speak with greater authority, they will also be reduced to second-hand information and speculation. Our opportunity of checking and rechecking our impressions against those of the critics who saw, and the dancers who performed, makes the evidence more authentic and we hope the freshness and immediacy of an eye-witness report will compensate for what may appear, in years to come, possible lack of perspective.

Research in the field of the American ballet is discouraging. Except for occasional articles in various periodicals, there is very little published literature on the ballet in America and no bibliography of even those meager sources. By far the largest collection of scholarly research is contained in the six volumes of *Dance Index,* a periodical founded by Lincoln Kirstein in 1942, and directed under his guidance by various competent editors. This work contains several indispensable studies of high scholarly standing and impeccable accuracy. *The Book of the Dance* by Lincoln Kirstein (New York, 1942) contains an appended condensation of dancing in North America

from 1519 to 1942. The *Borzoi Book of Ballets* by Grace Robert (New York, 1946) includes a brief summary of the ballet in the United States. *Theatrical Dancing in America* by Winthrop Palmer (New York, 1945) does not offer what the title promises. For data on choreographers and ballets, Cyril W. Beaumont's *Complete Book of Ballets* (London, 1937; New York, 1941) with *Supplement to Complete Book of Ballets* (London, 1942) still remains the standard work of reference, but his information on American personalities and recent performances is fragmentary.

The main source of data for this book consisted of programs, souvenir albums, press releases, announcements, posters and similar ephemera. These are elusive and unreliable documents, not only because of careless printing and editing and the stylizations of imaginative press agents, but also because of the inexplicable custom of giving every conceivable information but the year. The search in the offices and archives of ballet organizations was distressingly unprofitable. The most comprehensive specialized collection of dance material of every description is accumulated in the Dance Archives, a section of the Theatre Arts Department of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The second large body of collected information consulted extensively was the daily press and periodical literature. Although dance criticism, in the strict sense of the word, is fairly recent, important and sensational ballet news has had some kind of press coverage for many years.

The greater part of this book is based on personal experience gained in seeing the ballet and in conversations with ballet artists and experts. I am deeply grateful to all of these artists and experts for inspiration and actual advice and assistance. Their interest and confidence has been a source of continual encouragement and stimulation during the long time of preparation and writing. Besides the many who have contributed, often unwittingly, to the making of this book, I wish to thank in particular the following who have gracefully submitted to time-consuming interviews: George Balanchine, Valerie Bettis, Todd Bolender, Lucia Chase, Anatole Chujoy, Marquis George de Cuevas, Agnes de Mille, Sergei J. Denham, Sol Hurok, Michael Kidd, Lincoln Kirstein, Ruth Page, Richard Pleasant, Jerome Robbins, Cecil Smith, Anna Sokolow, Walter Terry and Antony Tudor.

Grateful acknowledgment for help and cooperation in securing material and information is made to Walter Alford, Kathleen Harding, Margaret Hornyak-Ince, Barry Hyams, Arthur Kantor, Michael Mordkin, Jr., Dorothy Norman and to Miss Marian Hannah Winter, who is preparing a comprehensive work on the earlier history of the American dance.

I feel especially indebted to the ballet photographers whose splendid work contributes immeasurably to this book: Larry Colwell, Fred Fehl, Fritz Henle, Earl Leaf, Walter Owen, George Platt-Lynes, Maurice Seymour, Alfredo Valente, Carl Van Vechten and Eileen Darby of Graphic House.

I wish to express particular thanks to Merle Armitage, for his permission to quote from his book *Dance Memoranda;* to Edwin Denby, for his unusual generosity in permitting me to quote freely from his articles and from an unpublished essay on the American ballet; to Lincoln Kirstein, for having approved in advance the chapter on his work and for his additional kindness in contributing a specially written statement; to John Martin, for valuable suggestions and for his generous authorization to quote from his writings and reviews; and in particular to Agnes de Mille, for permission to print the original scenario for an *Oklahoma!* ballet, and to Jerome Robbins, for contributing the manuscript for the ballet *Fancy Free.*

To Eloise Fiorelli and Allegra Fuller I owe sincere gratitude for the painstaking care they have given to difficult research, and to Naomi Horowitz for tactful and competent editing. My wife, Gisela, has devotedly attended to the more tedious detail connected with the preparation, and it is largely owing to her assistance and cooperation that I was able to accomplish so vast a job in spare hours.

Contents

Introduction vii

Chapter 1. The Nineteenth Century 3

2. The Imperial Pioneers—Pavlova and Mordkin 10

3. Diaghilev in America 18

4. The Ballet Russe I—The Diaghilev Succession 29

5. The Ballet Russe II—Massine's Ballet Russe 36

6. The Ballet Russe III—The Americanization 48

7. Three American Pioneers 64

8. Lincoln Kirstein I—The Foundations 72

9. Lincoln Kirstein II—The Performance 82

10. The Ballet Theatre I—Antony Tudor and Agnes de Mille 93

11. The Ballet Theatre II—Jerome Robbins and Michael Kidd 123

12. The Ballet Theatre III—The Achievement 150

13. The Dance Players—The Ballet International 165

14. The Musical Comedy 174

Chronology 184

Ballet Repertories 207

Index 233

Illustrations

Following page 28

George Washington Smith
Le Dieu et la Bajadère, Mille Augusta
La Smolenska, Mary Ann Lee
Bow and Arrow dance, Mikhail Mordkin
The Black Crook, group of dancers
The Dying Swan, Anna Pavlova
Polovtsian Dances, Adolph Bolm
Voices of Spring, Mikhail Mordkin and Patricia Bowman
Petrouchka, Vaslav Nijinsky
Les Sylphides
Mozartiana, Alexandra Danilova
Union Pacific, Leonide Massine
Baiser de la Fée, Frederic Franklin
Nobilissima Visione, Leonide Massine and Nina Theilade
Labyrinth, André Eglevsky and Tamara Toumanova
Ghost Town
Ballet Imperial
Rodeo
Frankie and Johnny
Frankie and Johnny, Ruthanna Boris
Frankie and Johnny, Frederic Franklin
The Bells
Virginia Sampler

Following page 60

The Birthday of the Infanta, Ruth Page
Guns and Castanets
Catherine Littlefield
Barn Dance
William Christensen
Now the Brides
Alma Mater
Billy the Kid
Filling Station
Filling Station, Lew Christensen
Time Table
Orpheus
Yankee Clipper
Ballet Imperial, William Dollar
The Great American Goof, Eugene Loring
Les Sylphides
Alicia Markova
Alicia Markova
Alicia Alonso and Alicia Markova
Alicia Markova
Alicia Alonso and Anton Dolin
Alicia Markova and Alicia Alonso

Nana Gollner
Giselle, Alicia Markova
Giselle, Alicia Alonso
Dim Lustre, Hugh Laing and Nora Kaye
Dark Elegies

Following page 108

Pillar of Fire
Pillar of Fire, Hugh Laing and Nora Kaye
Pillar of Fire, Hugh Laing
Romeo and Juliet
Lilac Garden, Alicia Alonso and Antony Tudor
Undertow, Nana Gollner and Hugh Laing
Pillar of Fire, Hugh Laing and Alicia Alonso
Undertow
Three Virgins and a Devil
Black Ritual
Tally-Ho
Fancy Free
Interplay
Fancy Free, Jerome Robbins and Janet Reed
Interplay
Facsimile
Facsimile, Jerome Robbins and Nora Kaye
Facsimile, Jerome Robbins and Nora Kaye
On Stage!
On Stage!, Nora Kaye and Michael Kidd
On Stage!, Nora Kaye
Igor Youskevitch
Firebird, Anton Dolin and Alicia Markova
Apollo
Giselle, Alicia Alonso and Igor Youskevitch
Sebastian
Sentimental Colloquy, André Eglevsky and Marie-Jeanne
Oklahoma!, Katherine Sergava
Oklahoma!, Picture Postcard Girls
Oklahoma!, Bambi Linn
Oklahoma!

Following page 172

Carousel, Bambi Linn and Robert Pagent
Finian's Rainbow
Finian's Rainbow, Anita Alvarez and Albert Sharpe
Bloomer Girl
On the Town, Sono Osato and Ray Harrison
One Touch of Venus, Sono Osato and Robert Pagent
Hollywood Pinafore, Viola Essen and Robert Chetwood
Man from Midian, Janet Reed Michael Kidd, Eugene Loring
Prairie
Billy the Kid, Eugene Loring and group

BALLET IN AMERICA

I

The Nineteenth Century

The first theatrical dancing in America was intermittently imported from Europe, as colonies usually look to the mother country for culture. But by the end of the eighteenth century some professional American companies were formed. The first American dancer of note, John Durang (1768-1822), made his début in Philadelphia in 1785. Founder of a famous dancing dynasty, he had a long and distinguished career. After the Revolutionary War and the repeal of the ánti-theatre law (1789), well-trained European artists began to appear regularly in America. In 1792 Alexandre Placide, his wife and a fine company presented operettas, pantomimes and "ballets." Patriotic spectacles were popular and Placide presented "the finest of the time," *Americana and Eleutheria,* in 1798. Interest in theatrical dancing grew rapidly and the first half of the nineteenth century was full of great events.

In 1827 Mme Hutin appeared in *La Bergère Coquette* and, although there was some scandal about her daring costume, she was very successful. A month later, M. and Mme Achille danced at the Bowery Theatre in New York and he was acclaimed the best male dancer yet seen in America. French artists, touring in ever greater number, became immensely popular. In the same year Mlle Céleste

made her début, but she had her great triumphs upon her return in 1834, when she was "successful beyond expectation and description." Mlle Héloise made her début in July of the same memorable year. In September M. and Mme Achille, Mlle Céleste, Mme Hutin, Mlle Héloise and John Durang appeared together in the *Caliph of Bagdad.*

In 1828 Mlle Rosalie and Mlle Louise made their débuts and M. Charles and Mme Ronzi-Vestris, in solos and duets, were a sensation. "A Vestris mania resulted, pervading all orders of society, filling the theatre nightly." In 1832 the Ravel family arrived. There were ten of them—rope dancers, acrobats and ballet dancers—and the family became very popular and toured extensively. The year 1836 saw the début of Mlle Augusta—not to be confused with the American Augusta Maywood, who made her first appearance as La Petite Augusta in 1837 in *The Maid of Cashmere.*

But the greatest European visitor of the century was the famous Fanny Elssler. She arrived in America in 1840, accompanied by her manager, Henry Wickoff, her cousin, a young dancer, and James Sylvain, her partner and ballet master, and made her début in May at the Park Theatre in New York in the divertissement *La Cracovienne* and the ballet *La Tarantule.* In a letter of doubtful authenticity but credible accuracy she describes her reception at the opening:

> The *whole house* rose and such a shout ascended as stunned my senses and made me involuntarily recoil. Men waved their hats and women their handkerchiefs and all was inexplicable dumb show for several mortal moments. Order at length restored, the dance began. I danced without effort and even Katty [her cousin] applauded some of my feats. The most deafening exclamations of delight broke at rapid intervals from all parts of the house, till they lashed themselves into a perfect tempest of admiration. Never before did I behold so vast an assembly so completely under the sway of *one* dominant feeling and so entirely abandoned to its inspiration. The curtain fell amid a roar that sounded like the fall of mighty waters and that soon brought me before them. Their applause was perfectly frantic, cheers and bravos saluted me and flowers and wreaths fell like rain upon me.

Wherever Elssler appeared she gained an audience, not only for herself, but simultaneously for the beauty and perfection of classic

ballet. It was not an easy undertaking for a ballerina used to all the facilities of the great theatres in the European capitals. In many places the stages were inadequate, the orchestras mediocre, the audience uninitiated and no trained *corps de ballet* was available. In spite of all these difficulties, Elssler's tours through America and to Havana met everywhere with the same prodigious success. She was so satisfied with America that she postponed her return to the Paris Opera several times and eventually forfeited her contract. She toured America for two years, leaving in July 1842.

The success of European dancers, although it did not create a dance tradition, stimulated American talent and during the nineteenth century America produced four ballet dancers of note—Mary Ann Lee, Julia Turnbull, Augusta Maywood and George Washington Smith; Miss Maywood achieved international fame. She and Mary Ann Lee received expert training in the classical ballet from P. H. Hazard of the Paris Opera, who taught in Philadelphia, and who was probably also George Washington Smith's teacher.

Maywood and Lee made a joint début as child stars in Philadelphia in 1837 and there was some rivalry between them which ended when Miss Maywood left to look for triumphs in Europe. By all accounts she was the more brilliant and technically perfect, but Miss Lee had an endearing personality and was very popular.

At her New York début in 1839, Lee appeared with another great rival, Julia Turnbull, who was to survive Lee's retirement as uncontested ballerina of nation-wide fame. Miss Lee saw the Taglionis—that is, Paul, the brother of the famous Marie, and his company —in New York and studied with James Sylvain, Fanny Elssler's partner. She acquired Elssler's repertory and even challenged her in her own parts, but in the general opinion she was no serious match for the great ballerina. In 1844 Miss Lee went to Paris to study with Jean Corally, the choreographer of *Giselle,* and returned with a new repertory and a considerably improved technique. (She staged the first American performance of *Giselle* in 1846.) Confident of her increased experience, she presented *La Jolie Fille de Gand* and *La Fille du Danube* in 1845, two ambitious productions in which her partner was George Washington Smith. They formed a small company and toured the United States extensively and quite suc-

cessfully. For reasons of health Miss Lee retired at the age of twenty-four, perhaps before her talent was fully matured.

Julia Turnbull, who held the stage as the only American ballerina after Lee's retirement, was born in New York in 1822. She had had ample stage experience in inconspicuous parts at the Park Theatre, but her appearance with Mary Ann Lee afforded her her first substantial rôle and her first marked success. She toured as soloist with Fanny Elssler's company and established her reputation as a ballerina in *The Bohemian Girl* in 1844; her status was confirmed by the triumph she earned in *The Naiad Queen* in 1847. This famous extravaganza had been restaged by George Washington Smith, her partner at the Bowery. In the same year Smith staged *Giselle* for her; in this role "she excelled every other character we have seen her in." With the arrival of the Italian ballerina, Giovanna Ciocca, Miss Turnbull faced serious competition. A year later the manager of the Bowery engaged both ballerinas simultaneously and Turnbull was reduced to a secondary position on the stage and in the billing. There was a very lively scandal at the performance which ended with the reestablishment of Miss Turnbull as a star in her favorite parts, but Miss Ciocca was the better or the more popular dancer, and Turnbull and Smith never danced together again. She retired in 1857.

The greater part of Augusta Maywood's career belongs to European ballet history, but her beginnings, at least, come within the scope of this survey. She was born in 1825 and very well educated by her stepfather, Robert Campbell Maywood. A year after her Philadelphia début with Mary Ann Lee, she made her first New York appearance and received as enthusiastic a reception as she had in Philadelphia. Mr. Maywood took his family to Paris in 1838—and Augusta studied with Mazillier and Corally, making prodigious progress. Just before her début at the Paris Opera, Théophile Gautier wrote: "Mlle Augusta Maywood has a very sharp kind of talent; it is neither the melancholy grace nor the dreamy abandon of Mlle Grahn who reflects in her clear cold blue eyes the skies of Norway and seems to be a Valkyrie dancing on snow. It is even less the inimitable perfection of Fanny Elssler. There is something abrupt, unexpected, something bizarre which sets this dancer quite apart." Her début in 1839 was conspicuously successful, but she compromised her career by her elopement with the dancer, Charles Mabille.

This marriage was the gossip of the day and was amply commented upon in the American press. Robert Maywood went back home but Augusta never returned to America. She refused to stay in Paris and accepted an engagement in Lisbon. Her début there in *Giselle* was greeted with ovations and she was reengaged for the 1844-1845 season. During that time there were unpleasant rumors concerning her private life. However, she was engaged at the Hofburg in Vienna as *prima ballerina,* together with her husband, who became solo dancer; they separated there. In 1848 she participated in a fabulous season at La Scala in Milan, appearing with some of the greatest choreographers and dancers of the period. Although she received tempting offers, she decided to organize her own independent touring company, a venture which Marian Winter calls "the pioneer effort of its type." Her company included star dancers and a whole ensemble; before Maywood, when a dancer toured, she found her *corps de ballet* and even the solo dancers where she could. Augusta Maywood's fame and success remained undiminished until her retirement about 1862. During her life she did not, properly speaking, contribute to the development of the ballet in America; Fanny Elssler, indeed, did more. The Americans of her time never condoned her private life, although they knew little about it with any accuracy. Her contemporaries never realized and our contemporaries have forgotten that in her America gave the world one of its great dancers.

Lillian Moore, the well-known dancer and dance scholar, says of George Washington Smith, "He seems to have been our only native *premier danseur noble.*" His early career, like that of Maywood and Lee, is connected with Philadelphia, where he was born and where he made his first stage appearances. He may have worked with M. Hazard, but he had his actual artistic education during the two years (1840-1842) he toured with Fanny Elssler's company and studied with James Sylvain. After Elssler's departure Smith returned to Philadelphia an accomplished classical dancer. For a while he appeared in harlequinades and pantomimes and, after Lee's return from Paris, became her partner, dancing the principal male roles in the great romantic ballets she presented in 1845. He accompanied Miss Lee on her tour in 1846-1847, when he first met Julia Turnbull. In 1847 he was engaged as ballet master and first dancer at the

Bowery Theatre, where he staged the ballets for Turnbull and danced with her until the unfortunate Ciocca incident ended their collaboration. Thereafter Smith appeared with Ciocca and Gaetano Neri in several ballets, his success being equal to that of his partners. He appeared in pantomimes in Philadelphia again, and later returned to New York where he danced with Mlle Alberti and Espinosa and became the partner of the notorious Lola Montez, staging the ballets for her New York début in 1851. Despite the scandalous interest in her personality, Montez was not successful as a dancer and Smith was again briefly associated with Mary Ann Lee. He became the partner of a famous Spanish dancer, Pepita Soto, and in 1859 joined Ronzani's company as dancer and choreographer. After this troupe was dissolved he continued to stage ballets and to dance. In 1868, as ballet master in Boston he was associated with the exquisite Italian ballerina, Giuseppina Morlacchi. He staged a production of *The Black Crook* in Philadelphia in 1868 and supervised many of the subsequent revivals of this perennial extravaganza. In 1881 he opened a dance school in Philadelphia, teaching both classical ballet and social dancing. He died in 1899. His son, Joseph Smith, became an excellent classical dancer and, surprisingly enough, also invented the Turkey Trot and introduced the Apache Dance to America.

The production of *The Black Crook,* first staged at Niblo's Garden in September 1866, was a theatrical event of the century which in its own way was just as important to the American ballet as Elssler's dancing. It was revived innumerable times and ran with brief interruptions for more than forty years. The production had a curious story. Two theatrical managers had imported a load of stage equipment and costumes from Paris for an American production of the famous French extravaganza, *La Biche au Bois.* The theatre for which it was intended burned down and scenery, costumes and the dancer's contracts were sold to the owner of Niblo's Garden. This enterprising man had the libretto for a melodrama, *The Black Crook,* which was rewritten and revised for the occasion. The completed spectacle was the most extravagant America had yet seen. Its effect on production techniques and theatrical dancing was lasting. *The Black Crook* established the genre. It was followed by

many similar spectacles, although none was quite as successful as the original.

For all their naive taste, the ballet interludes presented fine, professional dancing and the Italian ballerinas, Maria Bonfanti and Rita Sangalli, were excellent artists. The company included Betty Rigl and Rose Delval, the principal dancers, thirty-five children, a *corps de ballet* of thirty-nine American and twenty-three English girls, three *premières* and nine solo *danseuses*. Daniel Costa was ballet master. As the success lasted new ballerinas and dancers were imported from abroad. This influx of well-trained dancers brought good talent and good teachers into the country and, if the production was not of the highest artistic order or the surest taste, it was nevertheless clean and competent.

This brief history conveys at least one salient fact: there was no continuous development, no sustained tradition, in the American ballet during the nineteenth century. In Europe the ballet was a venerated art and a formal institution, affiliated with permanent opera companies, amply supported by official or private means and assured of a supply of well-trained dancers from their schools. In America the ballet was entirely left to private initiative, to enterprising impresarios or theatre owners or to the choreographers and dancers themselves. There was little opportunity for aspiring artists to study classic dancing and even less to see good performances. It is all the more admirable that dancers like John Durang, Julia Turnbull, Augusta Maywood, Mary Ann Lee and George Washington Smith achieved the stature they did, but it is sad to reflect that their magnificent efforts and accomplishments were almost totally lost because there was no succession, no provision for handing them on from one generation to another in a perpetual progress of tradition.

II

The Imperial Pioneers

PAVLOVA AND MORDKIN

The brilliant Pavlova-Mordkin season at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1910 marks the beginning of the ballet era in America. Their visit came at a time when interest in the dance was growing; new ideas, new talents and new names were emerging: Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, Loie Fuller, Adeline Genée, Maud Allan. Pavlova and Mordkin were the first outstanding exponents of the Russian ballet here and, together and separately, they played a considerable role in winning the movement a following. They represented the conservative Imperial Russian Ballet tradition which has had far less influence on the end-product of the American ballet than has the Franco-Russian Diaghilev tradition. But both Pavlova and Mordkin had a far-reaching influence on the dance education of America; Pavlova by her endless tours prepared an audience, and Mordkin's activity as a teacher in New York trained a whole new generation of American dancers.

They came here in the spring of 1910 for a four-week season at the invitation of Otto H. Kahn, the American art patron; their success in New York was instantaneous and they played in Boston and Baltimore as well, giving a *pas de deux, Bacchanale,* Pavlova's *Dying Swan* and Mordkin's *Bow and Arrow Dance.* They were invited to

return with a full company for a fall season in New York and on tour. The program for the second tour announced The Imperial Russian Ballet and Orchestra, Mlle Anna Pavlova, *prima ballerina assoluta,* Imperial Opera House, St. Petersburg, M. Mikhail Mordkin, *premier danseur classique,* Imperial Opera House, Moscow, six *solo danseuses,* six *solo danseurs* and a *corps de ballet* in a number of divertissements, an arrangement of *Giselle* by Mordkin and an original Mordkin ballet *Azyade,* an episode from the Arabian Nights set to music by Rimsky-Korsakov.

The state of balletic appreciation in the country is illustrated by the souvenir book for this tour. According to the inspired copywriter, the dancers were "introducing an art new to America, the interpretation of the ponderous messages of the great composers through the most primitive and yet potent of mediums—motion!"

The author continues: "Pavlova and Mordkin's performances give a suggestion, nothing more, of an art old and thoroughly established in Russia, but new to the rest of the world. It is the unfolding or enactment of a narrative—drama, opera, or call it what you may—through Terpsichore. Not a line is spoken, not a word sung. Only the graceful movements of the ballet and the rhythmic sway of the character dancers, supplemented by music especially written for the purpose illuminate the theme, or plot. Yet it is all perfectly understandable to Slav or Saxon, Greek or Gaul—to all who have eyes to see—for each story is interpreted in the great universal language, the poetry of action." It sounds like a difficult task for Terpsichore and it reads like a masterpiece of ignorance.

Mordkin described this strenuous tour in his memoirs as "a nightmare." The company presented from eight to eleven performances weekly, as against the customary two in the Imperial Ballets. Pioneering ballet in America was not easy. The strain of endless traveling and rehearsing was immense and the aesthetic inertia of the provincial public required extraordinary efforts at persuasion.

Their second season was successful, but Pavlova and Mordkin separated at the end of it and their careers and influence must be traced separately.

In evaluating Pavlova's significance for the American ballet two aspects stand out: the intangible quality, the legend, and the fact

that from 1913 to 1925 hers was the only ballet organization regularly touring the country. Her productions as a whole would by no means live up to our present standards and the parts she reserved for herself were certainly not of equally inspired invention. Anna Pavlova is generally called "the greatest" dancer of our century but the truth is that she never allowed herself to be challenged as a mature artist. She generally avoided risking or exhausting her powers in parts of a large scope and she would not tolerate rivalry on the stage. There was no second ballerina of stature in her company and she changed her male partners whenever they threatened to become too successful in their own right—hence the long list of "former partners," including such distinguished names as Adolph Bolm, Mikhail Mordkin, Laurent Novikoff and Alexandre Volinine. However, she was fully entitled to choose her *premier danseur* and her whole ensemble as she saw fit, for she owned the company which she maintained and directed and for which she assumed sole responsibility. For better or for worse, the company reflected her personality, her standards, her taste, her strengths and her weaknesses.

Her company was always adequate and well disciplined but it was not graced by exceptional talent or personality and very few of the innumerable dancers and teachers who advertised their former connection with Pavlova have later achieved distinction. The repertory was large, varied and conventional enough to suit everybody. Pavlova's choreographic imagination tended toward the standard Imperial Ballet pattern. She herself only choreographed a few works; the majority of her repertory consisted of workmanlike pieces supplied by her ballet master, Ivan Clustine, and the musical and scenic mediocrity of her productions distressed many admirers of her dancing. It is not impossible, however, that it was this very absence of controversial matter which made her productions so widely acceptable.

Pavlova's insistence on a prominent ballerina position was not surprising. In her early years in the Imperial Ballet she had been recognized and honored as a dancer of extraordinary talent; immediately after her graduation she was entrusted with solo parts and triumphed in *Giselle,* one of the few demanding rôles she kept in her later repertory. During those early years at the Marinsky Theatre she became interested in the young Michel Fokine's reform ideas and out of this association grew *The Dying Swan,* choreographed

in 1905, which was to become Pavlova's symbol. In 1909 she joined Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in Paris; in spite of her unqualified success, she stayed only one season, since she was too ambitious to share fame with Karsavina and Nijinsky, too conventional in artistic taste to agree with Diaghilev and too independent to submit to his autocratic direction. Soon after, she started those extensive tours which were to lead her many times around the world, although she kept her position at the Marinsky Theatre until the beginning of the first world war, when she organized her own company in London.

Anna Pavlova always held a unique and unequivocally leading position. Her title, *prima ballerina assoluta,* signifies more than a title of rank, dignity and honor. The absolute ballerina is the symbol of absolute perfection, achieved in the tradition of the classical ballet. As a dancer, Anna Pavlova possessed in the highest degree the accumulated wisdom, the knowledge and the mastery of an aesthetic language. It was not her own invention, but she spoke it more movingly than any of her contemporaries.

The facts and circumstances of Pavlova's slow conquest of America are known and have been described in detail in the extensive Pavlova literature. Unlike Isadora Duncan or Ruth St. Denis she had no message to carry on her grinding tours year in and year out. Rather she was the performing artist *par excellence.* Her offstage existence, the iron discipline and ceaseless work of her whole private life, was but one long, extended preparation for the exquisite, ephemeral moments of the performance. She did not exhibit technical feats of prodigious virtuosity, but relied on the soundness and solidity of the traditional school. Her balance was phenomenal. But no technical analysis would yield the secret of her incomparable art, the exquisiteness and elegance of her line, the lyric grace and flow of her movement and the ultimate perfection of imperishable beauty, which are at the heart of her legend.

Mordkin's reception at his début here with Pavlova was as enthusiastic as hers. Before his appearance male dancers had not been very highly regarded in America and his success was not only an appreciation of his art but was also the triumph of the virile athlete, the "Greek God," whose muscular endurance and well-trained physique were discussed in terms of track and field experience: "His

endurance would have put to shame many a university or college distance runner."

After his split with Pavlova, Mordkin was engaged for a third season. For this tour, as its choreographic director and organizer, he provided a select All Star Imperial Russian Ballet with Ekaterina Geltzer, Julia Sedowa, Lydia Sokolova, Alexandre Volinine and Bronislava Pajitskaya as the leading soloists. The repertory consisted of a selection of divertissements and the "ocular operas," *Swan Lake, Coppelia, Giselle, The Seasons* and *The Legend of Azyade.* The two Pavlova-Mordkin seasons and this third season were the only performances of the Imperial Russian Ballet ever to reach America and since then there have been no further direct contacts with the Imperial Russian tradition. (The Diaghilev school is a mixture of strictly traditional training and Franco-Russian performing style.) But Mordkin, himself a great representative of the Imperial tradition, became established here as a teacher.

He was born in Moscow in 1881 and was graduated from the Imperial Ballet school; he distinguished himself early and soon reached the rank of *premier danseur classique.* In 1909 he joined the Diaghilev company in Paris during its first season and appeared prominently in guest performances in many European capitals, while keeping his position as first dancer and ballet master of the Bolshoy Theatre in Moscow. From 1913 to 1917 he collaborated and experimented with Alexander Tairoff at the Kamerny Theatre and with Constantin Stanislavsky at the Moscow Art Theatre. During the civil war he escaped into the Caucasus but he returned to Moscow in 1922 where he was appointed Director of Ballet at the State Academy Theatre, the former Imperial Theatre. He found his position untenable under the new regime and after an extended Russian tour he accepted an invitation from the impresario, Morris Gest, to come to America in 1923. For two seasons he toured the United States with a Russian ballet, including Vera Nemtchinova, Hilda Butsova, Xenia Maletzova and Pierre Vladimiroff as soloists. Mordkin was respectfully acclaimed for his stage presence and artistic authority, but his success did not nearly resemble his former triumphs at the Metropolitan; Nemtchinova was the star of the company. At the end of this tour Mordkin established his School of the Dance in New York and devoted himself to teaching.

Mordkin had scored his brilliant successes within the old established Imperial tradition; in Tsarist Russia he had been considered a courageous and advanced artist. His characterization of an Italian beggar boy, with *turned-in* feet, once shocked every ballet conservative, as he related himself. But Fokine, Nijinsky and Massine had been infinitely more radical and imaginative—and more successful—in their reforms. After the work of Diaghilev and his collaborators, the standards of ballet performance in Western Europe and hence in America, too, were no longer dictated from the Marinsky and Bolshoy Theatres, but from Paris and the Côte d'Azur. Mordkin, like so many others who believed in the essential superiority of the Imperial tradition, had missed or disregarded, if not objected to, the evolution of the modern ballet outside Russia.

Without an appreciation of these circumstances it is impossible to be fair in evaluating Mordkin's contribution to the American ballet, which was considerable. Inside Russia he had been able to pursue his creative experiments which led to the mimo-drama productions at the Kamerny Theatre, the establishment of the school of *plastique* and *rhythmique* at the Moscow Art Theatre and culminated in the grandiose production of *Azyade* in the Nikitin Circus in 1918. In America all these accomplishments were unknown. His prestige here was based on his stage successes as a dancer a decade before. Naturally he was no longer a "pagan God" who would excite a bourgeois audience "with his titanic manhood." He was a mature artist, possessing vast choreographic and performing experience, but he had no organized ballet company to work with and there was no theatrical *avant-garde* to encourage and support theatrical experimentation. Hence Mordkin concentrated all his efforts on his school, which soon acquired a reputation. After ten years of consistent work with young Americans, he had trained and developed enough talent to organize a producing company, the Mordkin Ballet. It opened at the Majestic Theatre in New York in the autumn of 1937.

It had been preceded by a small venture, a presentation of the Mikhail Mordkin Ballet, an "All-American" ballet, consisting of advanced students, including Lucia Chase and Viola Essen. For the 1937-1938 season the student company was expanded; Lucia Chase was promoted to the rank of prima ballerina and Leon Varkas and Dimitri Romanoff, two experienced young dancers, were engaged

as male soloists. The program presented *Giselle* and a new ballet, *The Goldfish,* with music by Nicolai Tcherepnine and décor and costumes by Sergei Soudeikine. This tentative season was so successful, both in New York and on tour, that several new dancers were engaged, among them Karen Conrad, Katherine Sergava and Nina Stroganova. *La Fille Mal Gardée* and an original Mordkin ballet, *Dionysius,* with music by Glazounov, décor and costumes by Soudeikine, were added to the repertory. In November 1938 the new Mordkin Ballet, now a full-sized company, appeared at the Alvin Theatre, presenting a new version of *Swan Lake* and two new works by Mordkin, *Voices of Spring,* with music by Johann Strauss and décor by Lee Simonson, and *Trepak,* with music by Tcherepnine, setting and costumes by Soudeikine. Patricia Bowman replaced Lucia Chase as *prima ballerina* and Edward Caton, Vladimir Dokoudovsky and Kari Karnakoski were added as soloists.

This brave venture did not survive for several reasons. A permanent company needs much greater funds for preparation and promotion than Mordkin had at his disposal. It was also too small, with its limited repertory and modest production facilities, to compete with the brilliant performances the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo was giving at the Metropolitan. During the 1938-1939 season, which was Mordkin's last, the Ballet Russe presented Danilova, Markova, Toumanova, Slavenska and Massine, Youskevitch and Franklin, while Mordkin's dancers were comparatively unknown. Although there were fine, promising talents in his company, they were, with few exceptions, not stage-experienced artists and seasoned performers; the Mordkin Ballet had no dancer of true ballerina stature as the exponent of the classical repertory. It had, besides, immediately compromised on the "All-American" principle, which weakened the justification for another resident company.

Mordkin's general artistic policy, as demonstrated in his repertory and artistic collaboration was conventional in every way. Sergei Soudeikine, his chief stage designer, had great experience and genuine personality; as a painter he was reminiscent of the prewar Russian school Diaghilev had introduced to Western Europe thirty years before, but he lacked the boldness of Roerich, the talent of Bakst or the style of Benois. Essentially the Mordkin Ballet was Russian ballet in retrospect, already dated at its inception. Nevertheless it was

a worthy and probably a necessary effort, since the American ballet has grown by trial and error. Nor was Mordkin's effort wasted. His company formed the nucleus of the Ballet Theatre, and *Voices of Spring* figured for a while in its repertory. Mordkin collaborated briefly as a choreographer with that organization; after that he devoted most of his time and energies to his school.

III

Diaghilev in America

Like Pavlova, Diaghilev has become a legend. Although he moved all his life in a deliberately confined, carefully select circle of collaborators and intimates and addressed a limited audience of sophisticates, although he himself was not a creative or performing artist, although he never established a home or a school or provided for any succession, his work has left him a monument of world-wide fame.

His greatness lay, first, in his capacity for visualizing the final synthesis of all the elements in a production and, second, in his flair for bringing out creative talent to realize his vision. He was wise enough to call on almost any artist of stature within the orbit of the unique artists' group in Paris during the period from 1909 to 1929, whether he was a choreographer, composer, writer, painter or merely a source of stimulation. And every ballet in Diaghilev's repertory manifested the same balanced collaboration within its respective genre, the same unity of vision. As Lincoln Kirstein, in a lucid and penetrating essay on Diaghilev and his period, pointed out, he "created a taste in and of his own period, he set up the only referable standards of aesthetic excellence in the first quarter of the century and provided the only great market for a unified creative endeavor."

The formal perfection the ballet had achieved under Petipa at the Marinsky Theatre had reached its limits. Every ballet was composed according to the unalterable formula of five acts, prologue and epilogue. The story was practically irrelevant and had no consistent dramatic structure. The ballerina reigned supreme, the male dancer was less important and the *corps de ballet* was merely decorative. Settings and costumes were rigorously prescribed.

In the unity of conception of his ballets, the brilliant integration of music, design and expressive dancing and in the use of advanced art, music and subject matter lay the daring of the Diaghilev reforms. The first season of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes was presented in Paris in the summer of 1909 with some of the younger artists of the Imperial Ballet and from then it was only a matter of time until Diaghilev's methods were known and accepted on both sides of the Atlantic.

In the summer of 1911, five years before Diaghilev came here, Gertrude Hoffman, a well-known American vaudeville artist, turned impresario and launched a "Saison de Ballets Russes" at the Winter Garden in New York. Her company of one hundred imported artists included such outstanding dancers as Lydia Lopokova, Theodore and Alexis Kosloff, Alexis Boulgakov and Alexandre Volinine, and her repertory listed *Cleopatra, Scheherezade* and *Les Sylphides,* taken from Diaghilev without credit to their choreographer, Fokine, or their designer, Bakst, restored from memory by Miss Hoffman and Theodore Kosloff. Their success was sensational; the soloists—in particular Lopokova—conquered both audience and critics. But the subsequent tour was less successful; Lopokova and Volinine left to join Mordkin's company and the whole venture broke down.

Diaghilev himself came to America in 1916 and then only because the world war left him almost no other choice. He had taken refuge in Switzerland in 1915, his funds exhausted, his company disbanded, his audience scattered. At the same time the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York decided, for patriotic reasons, to replace its entire German repertory and its contingent of German artists, including the ballet. The negotiations for an American tour of the Diaghilev Ballet under the auspices of the Metropolitan Opera Company were primarily a matter of expediency for both parties. Diaghilev accepted the offer with bad grace, although it saved his company; Giulio Gatti-Casazza, the General Manager of the Metropolitan, was indifferent

to the ballet in general and hostile to Diaghilev. The Metropolitan had a resident ballet company of its own; to protect it from the competition of the Diaghilev company, a subsidiary organization, the Metropolitan Ballet Company, Inc., was formed for the Diaghilev tour, and the management of the Diaghilev company was entrusted to the Metropolitan Music Bureau. In effect, the Metropolitan lent its name and house and withheld its active sympathy and cooperation. The real driving force and the principal backer of the enterprise was Otto H. Kahn, who, as Lincoln Kirstein says, has been "one of our entirely disinterested and understanding patrons of every sort of creative expression from opera to pure poetry."

From the beginning to the end, the Diaghilev venture was characterized by personal friction, misunderstandings and outright hostility. Diaghilev was at fault as well as his ungracious hosts; he was frequently arrogant, irritating and unreasonable. But the basic misunderstanding was the American organizers' unaccountable assumption that Diaghilev would be able to reassemble his original company. Actually he arrived without his greatest choreographer, Fokine, and his two star dancers, Nijinsky and Karsavina. Karsavina was dancing in London and had refused to join the American tour; she was replaced by Lydia Lopokova and Flore Revalles. Vaslav Nijinsky was interned in Hungary and was replaced by Alexandre Gavrilov and Leonide Massine. The absence of these dancers should not have been a total surprise to the American management, since the break between Nijinsky and Diaghilev had been an open secret, just as it was generally known that Leonide Massine, an immensely talented youth of twenty, was Diaghilev's new protégé. Fokine had left Diaghilev in 1914 and returned to the Marinsky Theatre as ballet master and choreographer and for the American tour he was replaced by Adolph Bolm in the double role of choreographer and *premier danseur.*

Although Bolm was not an experienced choreographer he accomplished the apparently impossible—there were twenty ballets to prepare—and by the time the season opened the company was in perfect condition and admirably rehearsed. Merle Armitage stresses very properly "the fact that America saw the Diaghilev Ballet with its character unimpaired is largely due to the prodigious efforts of Bolm." He was primarily a dancer and he had triumphed as an extraordinary character dancer in St. Petersburg and many European capitals,

although in the Ballets Russes his position was overshadowed by the homage Diaghilev offered Nijinsky. But in many ways Bolm was prepared for the responsibility of carrying Diaghilev through this critical period. He had toured a great deal and had been with the Ballets Russes since 1909. He had been trained at the Imperial Ballet School in St. Petersburg and was graduated in 1904 with first prize. He distinguished himself as a soloist in the Imperial Ballet, and in 1908 and 1909 he had organized a touring ensemble with select members of the Imperial Ballet with Pavlova as *prima ballerina.*

While the American management may have been disappointed, the audiences were not, for even with reduced strength the Ballets Russes were the most exciting theatrical spectacles ever to have reached this country. What may have been lacking in absolute perfection was more than compensated for by the overwhelming total effect of the scenic presentation, the choreography and the music. It is the general opinion, particularly abroad, that the Diaghilev tour was a failure, partly because it was a financial fiasco and partly because Diaghilev left in a rage at the end of the first season. But while the significance of Fokine's creative reforms and Diaghilev's unique accomplishments may have escaped the majority of the audience, there was a far from negligible minority of discriminating people to whom this ballet was a revelation.

How deeply America had been impressed appeared many years later when the de Basil Ballets Russes were successfully promoted on the basis of Diaghilev's prestige. The two tours of the Ballets Russes in America may not have had immediately noticeable repercussions, but their consequences were lasting. They were the first forceful thrust of the modern ballet into public consciousness. As Lincoln Kirstein remarked, "Not only was the Diaghilev troupe pioneering in theatrically undeveloped territory, but aside from the big towns it was pioneering in a vacuum where up to that time only a circus could have prospered."

Nijinsky was released from Hungary and came to America at the end of the first season. The dissatisfaction with Diaghilev and the prestige of Nijinsky's name determined the management to appoint Nijinsky director of the second tour. The decision was unfortunate, both because it was an affront to Diaghilev and also because Nijinsky was hopelessly unsuited for an executive position. Nijinsky's success

as a dancer here was overwhelming; the public responded magnificently to the greatest classical dancing they were to see in their time.

Aside from the memory of his extraordinary dancing, Nijinsky left several choreographic creations which proved the measure of his genius, but which achieved their full meaning and perfection only in his performance and in the Diaghilev setting. *Til Eulenspiegel,* which he created here, was his last work, for two years after his American appearance he had to be confined to the care of psychiatrists. The ballet was set to Richard Strauss's score; Nijinsky had long intended to stage it, but when he finally had the opportunity, he had to cope with the unfamiliar environment, the pressure of time and administrative functions, and he had sprained his ankle which made rehearsing extremely painful. The opinions on *Til Eulenspiegel* are strangely contradictory and a fair estimate of it is probably impossible. Robert Edmond Jones, the distinguished stage designer, published in *Dance Index,* 1945, a recollection of his collaboration with the Diaghilev Ballet on *Til Eulenspiegel,* the only American collaboration with that troupe. He was then a young inexperienced designer, honored with the commission to design décor and costumes for this production. We owe to this circumstance a document of unusual insight and sensitivity, an artist's appreciation of an artist. Telling of his first meeting with Nijinsky, Mr. Jones says he realized at once that he was in the presence of a genius, and continues, "I sensed . . . a quality in him which I can only define here as a continual preoccupation with standards of excellence so high that they are really not of this world. This artist, it is clear, concerns himself with incredible perfections."

The production of *Til Eulenspiegel* remained far behind any such perfection for even graver reasons than haste and an injured foot. Nijinsky's sensitive mind had been injured by the conflict with Diaghilev and by the overwhelming burden of responsibilities with which he had to cope. Neither Nijinsky nor anyone else responsibly connected with this ill-fated American tour seemed to have fully realized the indispensability of Diaghilev and his experienced stage manager, Grigorieff, for the smooth working of the organization. Their departure upset the basis of security and mechanical reliability to which the company was used. After a few performances in New York and Boston, *Til Eulenspiegel* was withdrawn from the reper-

tory. This failure also ended another promising Nijinsky-Jones project, Franz Liszt's *Mephisto Waltz.*

On this second tour in 1916-1917, Adolph Bolm stayed with the company at Diaghilev's insistence, to help Nijinsky with his executive responsibilities. But Bolm was injured in performance; after his recovery he did not rejoin the company, but decided to stay in America and in the same year, 1917, organized the Ballet Intime in New York. The company consisted of twelve dancers, among them the Oriental artists Roshanara, Ratan Devi (who was actually an English girl) and Michio Ito. The programs consisted of an informal sequence of music and dance numbers with Hindu, Javanese and Japanese songs and dances and Russian songs and ballets accompanied by an orchestra. The Ballet Intime combined with George Barrère's Little Symphony, toured the United States and appeared successfully at the Coliseum Theatre in London in 1920.

During this period the Metropolitan Opera commissioned Bolm to stage Rimsky-Korsakoff's *Le Coq d'Or,* with choreography after Fokine; he also revived *Petrouchka* for them in 1919, with choreography after Fokine, and décor and costumes after Benois.

The first large-sized ballet of his own in which Bolm showed the measure of his choreographic talent was *The Birthday of the Infanta,* performed at the Chicago Opera Company in 1919. The production had particular interest as the first successful collaboration between a noted Russian choreographer and a group of American artists. The composer, John Alden Carpenter, the designer, Robert Edmond Jones, the dancer in the rôle of the Infanta, Ruth Page, were Americans; Bolm himself danced the Dwarf. The result was a work of style, nobility and beauty such as the American ballet had not produced before. At the end of the opera season, Bolm continued to perform with the Ballet Intime and introduced the ballet as stage show in motion-picture theatres like the Rivoli and the Rialto. In 1920 he made an interesting experiment in the modern idiom by using the George Herriman comic-strip character, *Krazy Kat,* for a jazz ballet with music by John Alden Carpenter. Two years later he was appointed ballet master and *premier danseur* at the Chicago Civic Opera, where he organized and directed a ballet school. In 1924 the Chicago Allied Arts was organized, the first progressive venture in the field of ballet in America, and Bolm served as ballet master,

Ruth Page as *première danseuse*. Thamar Karsavina was introduced to the American public here and during his next three years with the organization, Bolm produced many ballets in a modern experimental spirit, distinguished in choreography and dancing as well as in music and design: *Elopement* (Mozart-Remisoff, 1924), *Le Foyer de la Danse* (Chabrier-Remisoff, 1924), *The Rivals* (Eichhaim-Remisoff, 1925), *El Amor Brujo* (de Falla-Rollo Peters, 1925), *Little Circus* (Offenbach-Remisoff, 1925), *Christmas Carol* (Vaughn Williams-Remisoff, 1924), *Bal des Marionettes* (Satie-Remisoff, 1925), *Mandragora* (Szymanowsky-Remisoff, 1925), *La Farce du Pont Neuf* (Herscher-Jean Valmier, 1926), *Parnassus au Montmartre* (Satie-Remisoff, 1926), *Pierrot Lunaire* (Schoenberg-Remisoff, 1926), *Tragedy of the 'Cello* (Tansman-Remisoff, 1927) and a number of divertissements.

During this productive period, Bolm also returned to the Metropolitan to stage a new *Petrouchka* in honor of Strawinsky's arrival in America and spent six months in Buenos Aires as choreographer at the Teatro Colon with Ruth Page as *première danseuse*. In 1928 he was invited to arrange several ballets for the festival of the Chamber Music Society in Washington, D.C. On this occasion the Bolm-Strawinsky *Apollon Musagète*, commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague-Coolidge, was performed for the first time. In addition, Bolm produced *Alt-Wien* (Beethoven-Remisoff), *Arlechinata* (Mondonville-Remisoff) and *Pavane pour une Infante Défunte* (Ravel-Remisoff).

Called to Hollywood to arrange a ballet for the John Barrymore film *The Mad Genius* (1931), he composed a remarkable "mechanical ballet," set to Alexander Mossolov's score, which was cut out in the process of editing but performed in its entirety in the Hollywood Bowl in 1932 with the title *Ballet Mécanique*. In the same year Bolm was appointed ballet master at the San Francisco Opera, a position he filled with distinction for five years, establishing and directing a ballet school at the opera. Of the many ballets which he choreographed for that company the most noted was the *Bach Cycle* (1935) in three parts: *Danse Noble, Lament* and *Consecration*. He presented a new version of Strawinsky's *Firebird* at the Hollywood Bowl in 1940 with Nana Gollner in the title role and in the same year choreographed Prokofieff's *Peter and the Wolf* for the Ballet Theatre. For this company he also created a new and not very for-

tunate interpretation of *Firebird* in 1945, with Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin and with the much discussed superb settings and costumes by Marc Chagall.

Adolph Bolm has spent more than thirty years of his immensely active and productive life as a dancer, teacher and choreographer, in America. He was not only among the first prominent Russian ballet personalities to stay permanently in the United States but also one of the few with an intuitive understanding of this country's essential character, its aesthetic climate and its creative potentialities, and the scope and variety of his contributions to the American ballet —the organizations and schools he began, the works he created, the students he taught and developed—constitute an impressive achievement.

It is primarily through the "classics" created for the first Ballets Russes era—*Scheherezade, Prince Igor, Carnaval, Petrouchka, Firebird, Les Sylphides, Le Spectre de la Rose, Coq d'Or*—that Fokine has exerted, indirectly, his greatest influence on the American ballet; the younger American generation knew, really, no other ballet but the liberated, reformed and revitalized one he helped to create. Fokine did not come to America until 1919, but a large part of the repertory of the Diaghilev tour was his and these early masterpieces are in the repertory of several major companies. They have become common property, part of the world treasure of great ballets. It is unfortunate that Fokine himself did not control the fate of these works; since he left them to Diaghilev, numerous revivals have been staged over the years, though few of them by himself. This practice is of doubtful merit, for Fokine's works are no longer revolutionary and it is absurd to pretend that they represent the supreme balletic achievement of all time. And today not even the finest revival can hope to repeat the perfect conditions of the first performances. The combination of extraordinary dancers with congenial composers and painters, Fokine's creative inspiration in choreography, and Diaghilev's catalytic genius to coordinate them all, was unique in the history of the ballet. *Les Sylphides* was originally presented with Pavlova, Karsavina and Nijinsky; *Prince Igor,* with Bolm as the Polovtsian Chief; *Carnaval,* with Karsavina as Columbine, Nijinsky as Harle-

quin, Bolm as Pierrot; *Scheherazade,* with Ida Rubinstein as Zobeide and Nijinsky as the Favorite Slave.

The slovenly revivals of Fokine's ballets are an offense to Fokine's memory and an insult to the audience. *Les Sylphides* is the only one which has preserved its timeless beauty, not only because it is composed in the familiar classical medium, but primarily because Fokine himself restaged it carefully for the Ballet Theatre in 1940.

Like his ballets, the five principles of Fokine's ballet reform which he published in 1914 are no longer revolutionary but rather the starting point of the contemporary ballet. The first rule demands that the dance steps and movements correspond to the period and character of the nation presented; the second rule is that dancing and mimetic gesture serve as an expression of the dramatic action and have a definite connection with the theme of the ballet; the third rule is that the whole body be used as an expressive instrument; the fourth rule is that the expression be expanded and extended from the individual to the group and include the whole ensemble; the fifth rule is the fusion of the dancing with the other arts into a unified composition.

Michel Mikhailovitch Fokine was born in St. Petersburg in 1880 and studied at the Imperial School of Ballet, from which he was graduated with honors in 1898. His unusual talent and his brilliant mind were soon recognized and he was successful as a soloist with the company. At the start of his career he became dissatisfied with the rigid, conventional practice at the Marinsky Theatre and worked out a scenario for a ballet, *Daphnis and Chloe,* supplemented with clearly formulated suggestions for its production, and submitted it to the directors. Although his first attempt was without result, he pursued his work and studies and experimented with ballets for school and charity performances. It was during this period, in 1905, that he composed *The Dying Swan* for Pavlova, a choreographic masterwork in its simplicity and its sensitivity to the dancer's personality and remote and fragile beauty. It was technically revolutionary in that it was the reverse of the habitual brilliant and flashy bravura solo, but within its modest range it achieved a deeply moving quality with which Anna Pavlova was identified. It is probably the most famous dance of our time. In the following years Fokine created several ballets of which three were later taken into the Diaghilev

repertory: *The Animated Gobelins* (1907), later called *Le Pavillon d'Armide; Une Nuit d'Egypte* (1908), later named *Cléopâtre;* and *Chopiniana* (1908), which later became *Les Sylphides.*

Fokine joined Diaghilev in 1909 and left him in 1913. Nijinsky had caused the disagreement between the two men who owed so much to each other. Diaghilev, demonstrating the uncanny flair which was one of the secrets of his success, had discovered the latent choreographic talent in Nijinsky and proceeded to develop it. Fokine, who had been the company's only choreographer, resented possibly not so much the fellow-choreographer as the manifest personal preference Diaghilev showed his protégé. In 1914 Fokine returned for another season and staged *Le Coq d'Or* and a new work, *La Légende de Joseph,* for Diaghilev's new discovery, Massine. The break with Diaghilev, however, seemed to have affected Fokine in his creative core, for his subsequent work was not comparable in daring, originality and vision to the creations of the Ballets Russes era. Fokine survived by several decades the original impetus of the momentous reform he initiated. There was no further challenge for him. The liberation of the classical ballet from the rigid Imperial conventions was an established fact. The change he started was in continual progress, and the language of movement he had invented was understood and spoken by every dancer. New choreographers had started to articulate the aesthetic demands of younger and more radical generations.

He came to the United States at the invitation of Morris Gest to stage the dances for the musical *Aphrodite,* based on the novel by Pierre Louys, and did long years of similar work for innumerable revues and musical comedies. He founded a school of the ballet in New York in 1921 and the next year organized a small company, the Fokine Ballet. This company, headed by Fokine and his wife, Vera Fokina, was largely composed of advanced students, although prominent professional dancers were added as the need arose, and it performed at irregular intervals from 1922 until Fokine's death. The performances were very popular and those in the Lewisohn Stadium in New York drew huge crowds. In addition, Fokine and Fokina toured extensively in concerts. His choreographic work of this period is lost, for Fokine worked with a loose organization under inadequate conditions and largely with unfinished dancers. Under the circum-

stances the performances rarely achieved truly professional standards. As a training ground the company afforded invaluable opportunities for young dancers, but as the concluding chapter in the career of a great choreographer it was lamentably mediocre. In 1936-1937, Fokine staged several ballets for the Ballets Russes and in his last years the Ballet Theatre invited him to revive *Les Sylphides, Carnaval* and *Spectre de la Rose.* For the same company he composed several new ballets, *Bluebeard* in 1941 to Offenbach's music and, in 1942, the nostalgic tragedy, *Russian Soldier,* set to Prokofieff's *Lieutenant Kije.* He had started to work on *Helen of Troy,* another Offenbach work, but he did not live to complete it and it was finished by David Lichine.



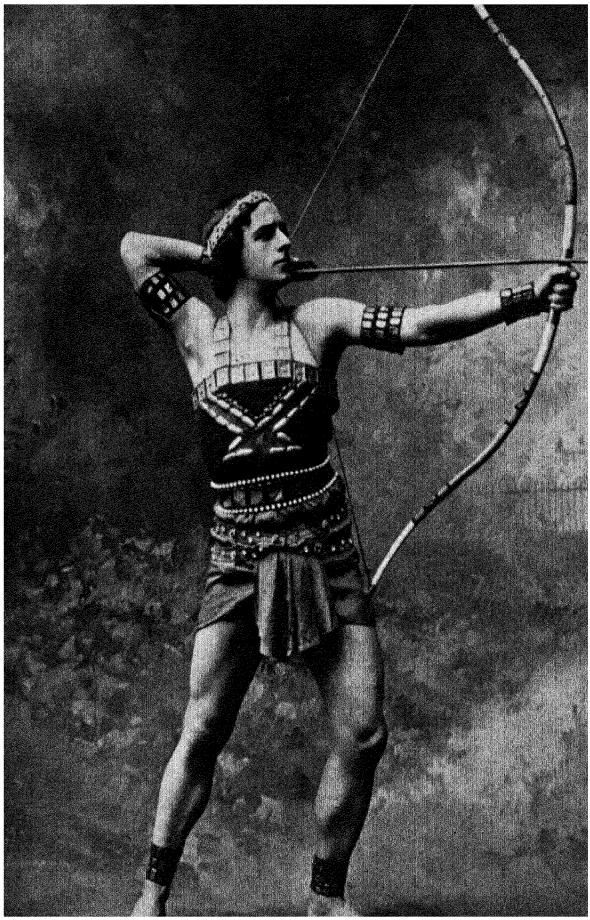
GEORGE WASHINGTON SMIT



Bajadere, N. Currier's Lithography



ANN LEE in *La Smolenska,*



MIKHAIL MORDKIN in *Bow and Arrow* dance, New York, 1910, Photo: Mishkin Studio



Group of dancers from *The Black Crook*



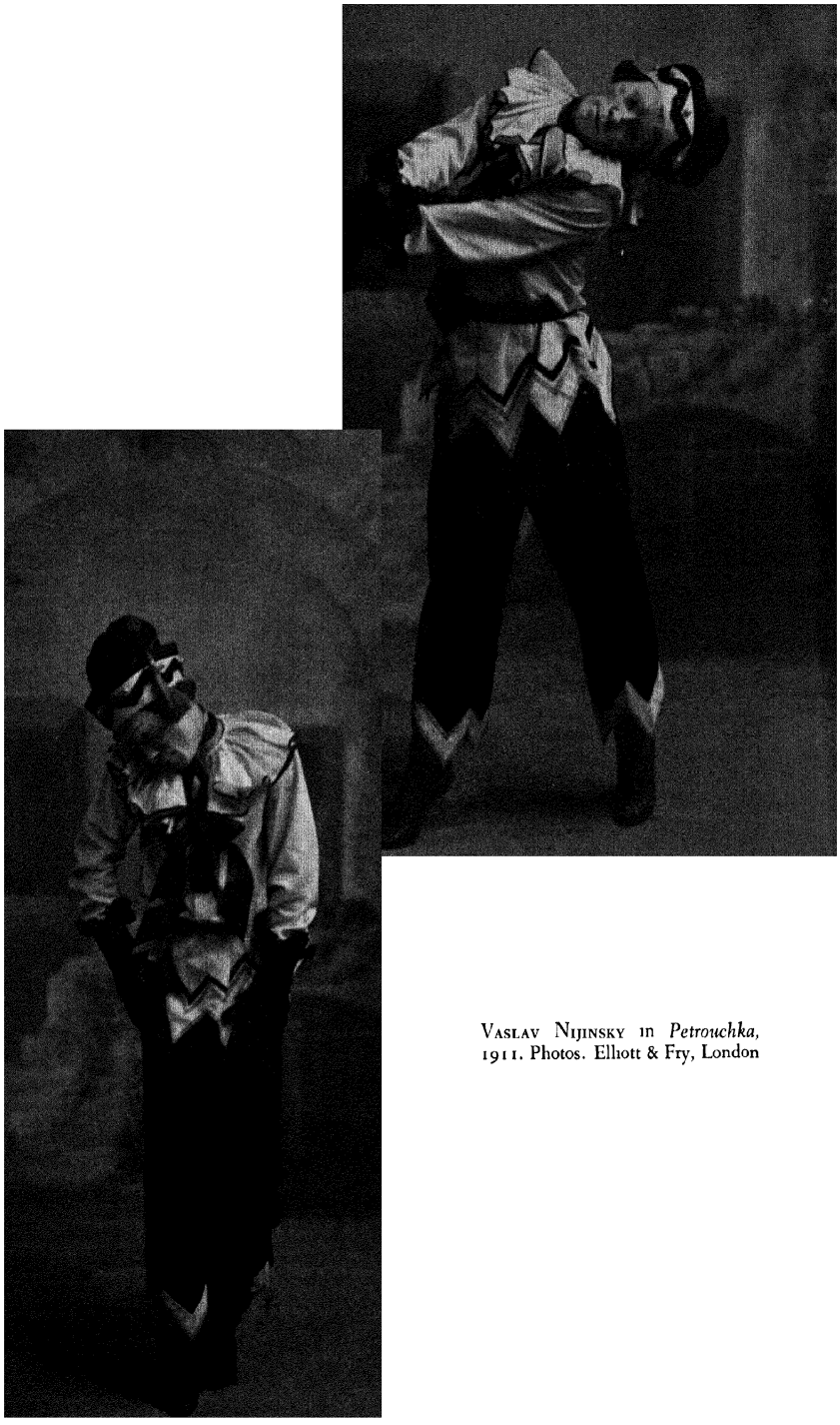
ANNA PAVLOVA in *The Dying Swan*, 1910

ADOLPH BOLM in *Polovtsian Dances,*
ca. 1909. Lithograph by A. Grunenberg





MIKHAIL MORDKIN and PATRICIA BOWMAN in *Voices of Spring*, Mordkin Ballet, 1938, Photo: Ira L. Hill



VASLAV NIJINSKY in *Petrouchka*, 1911. Photos. Elliott & Fry, London

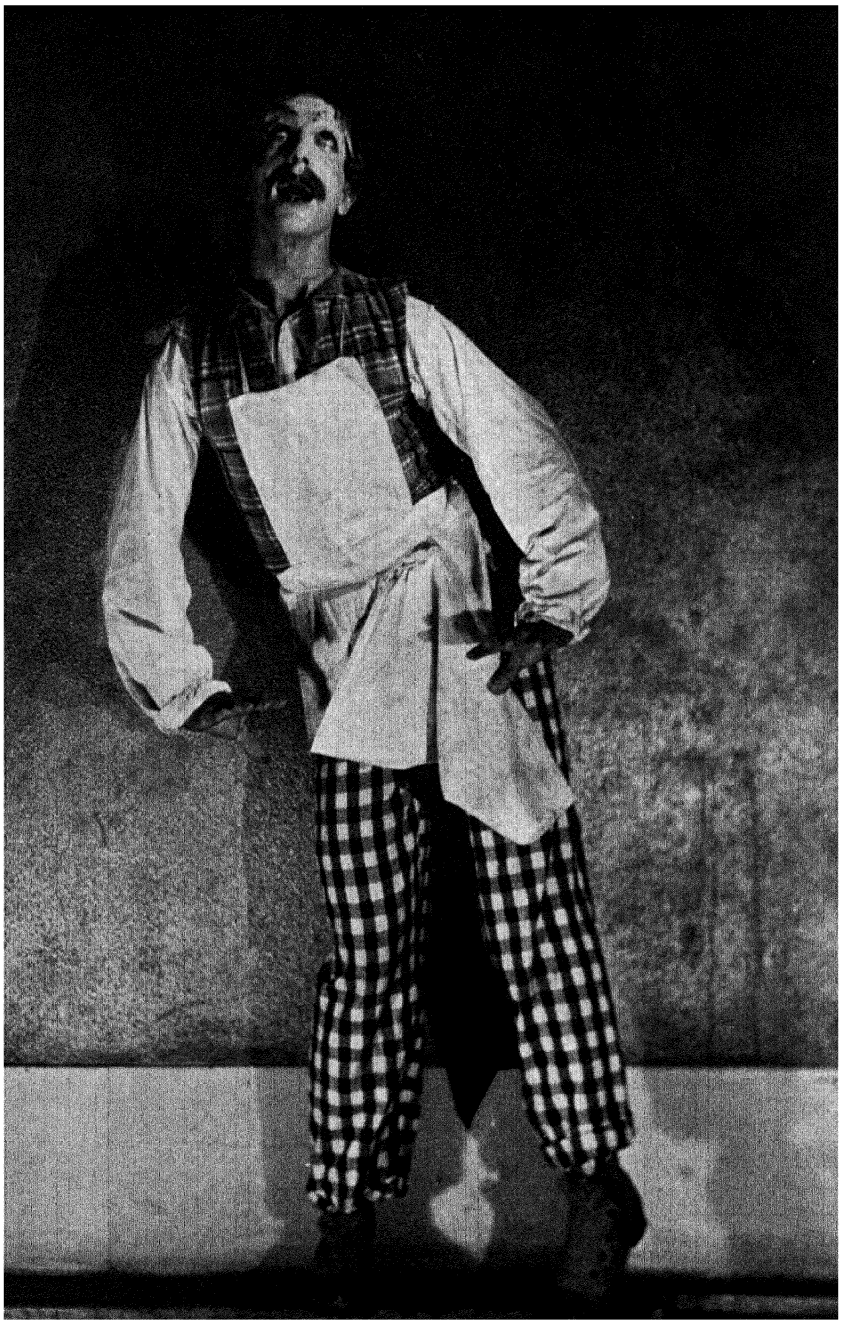


Fokine Ballet *Les Sylphides*. Photo: Alfredo Valente



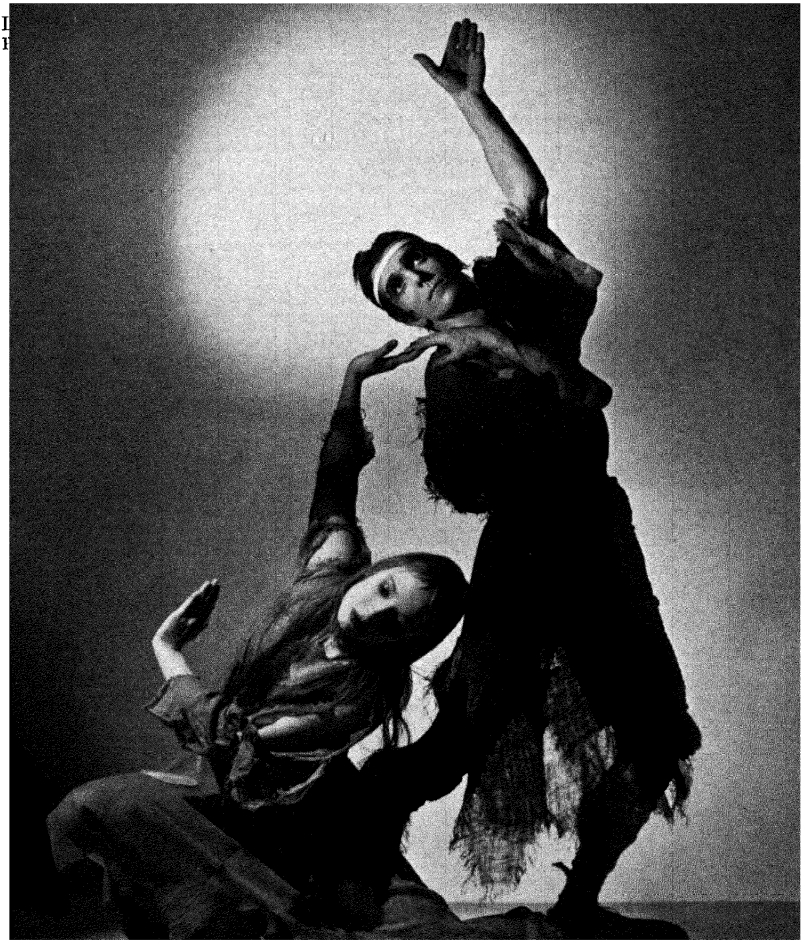
ALEXANDRA DANILOVA in *Mozartiana,* Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1933

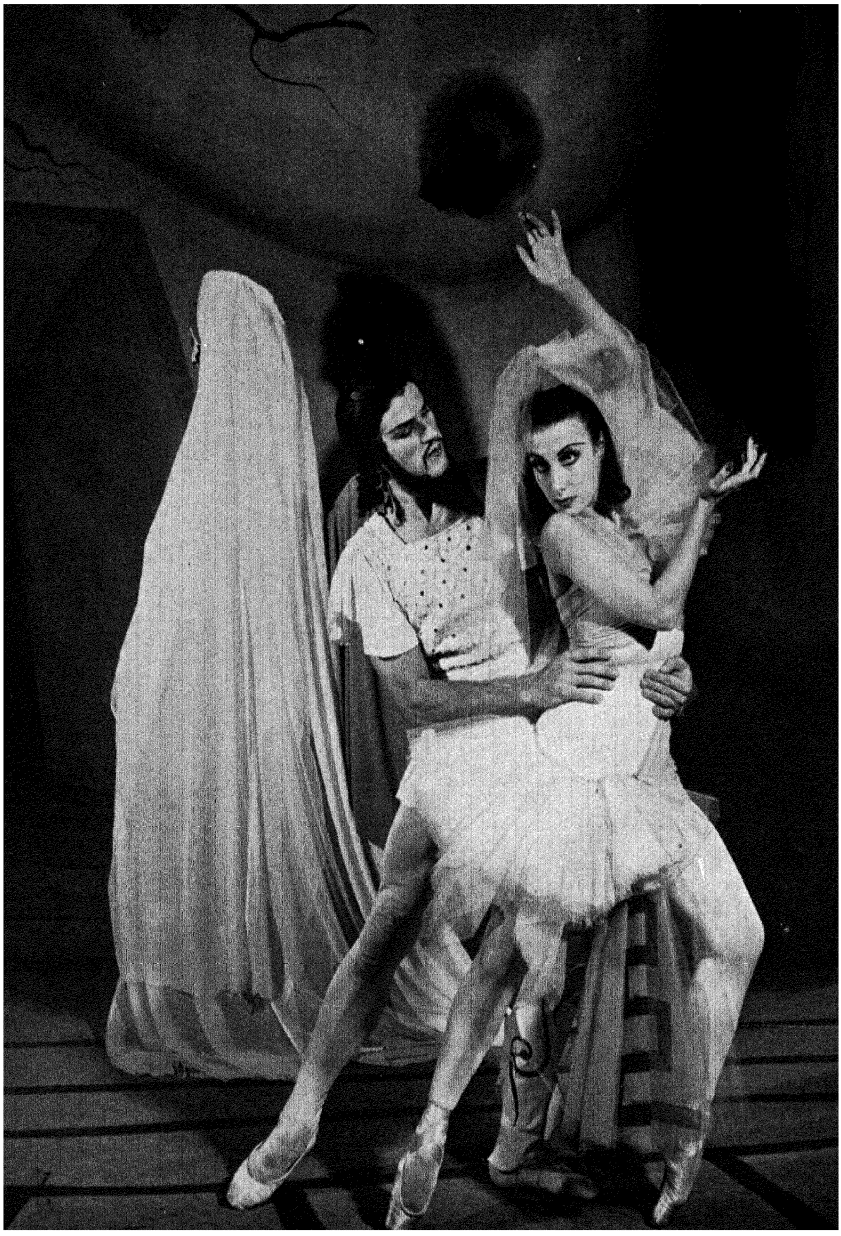
LEONIDE MASSINE as Barman in *Union Pacific*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1934. Photo: Studio Iris, Paris





FREDERIC FRANKLIN in *Baiser de la Fée,* Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, Photo Fred Fehl



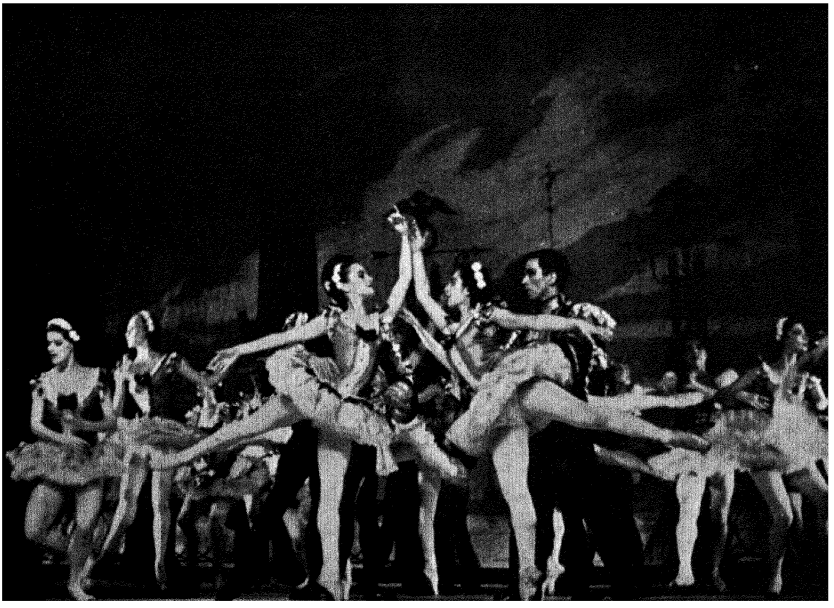


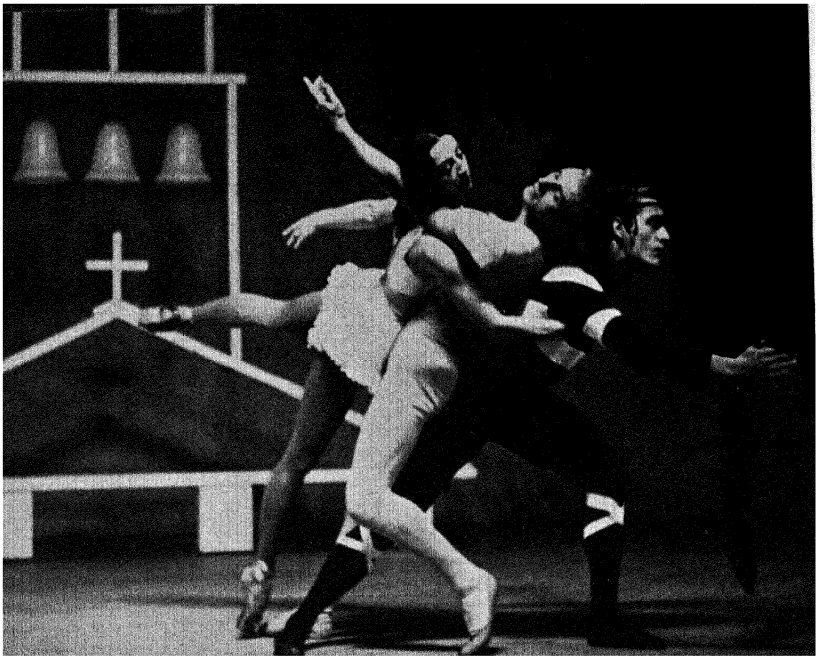
André Eglevsky and Tamara Toumanova in *Labyrinth*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1941. Photo: Alfredo Valente



Group from *Ghost Town*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1939 Photo Hans J. Knopf-Pix

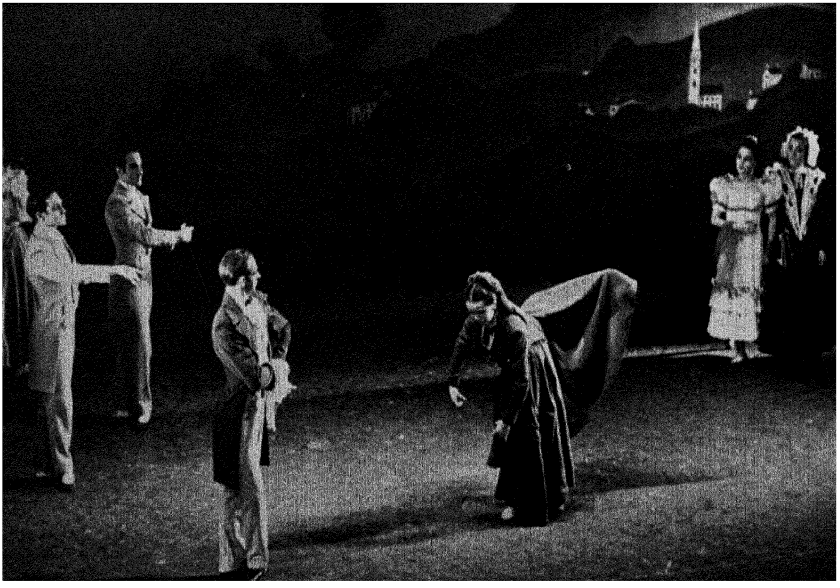
Group from *Ballet Imperial*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1944





Group from *The Bells*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1946. Photo. Fred Fehl

Group from *Virginia Sampler*, Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 1947. Photo. Fred Fehl



IV

The Ballet Russe I

THE DIAGHILEV SUCCESSION

The Diaghilev company of the 1920's got its name—the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo—from the patronage of the Prince of Monaco, who had offered the self-exiled Russian ballet security and ideal working conditions in the pleasant, elegant and sophisticated atmosphere of Monte Carlo. After Diaghilev's death in 1929, René Blum, a Frenchman of taste and culture, took over his vacant contract and organized the customary spring season of ballet in Monte Carlo. In 1932 he was joined by the energetic Russian, Colonel de Basil, who had previously managed a Russian opera company in Paris. The two men shared a passion for the ballet; they pulled together the disintegrated Diaghilev forces, reorganized the company and put on a successful Monte Carlo season.

George Balanchine created three charming works for them that year: *Le Cotillon, La Concurrence* and *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme,* which he later restaged. Then he left Monte Carlo to found his own company, Les Ballets 1933, in Paris. Meanwhile Leonide Massine gave up staging ballets at the Roxy in New York and joined the new Ballet Russe as choreographer. He contributed *Jeux d'Enfants* and *Plages,* his first symphonic ballets, *Les Présages* and *Choreartium* and two earlier works, *Le Beau Danube* and *Scuola di Ballo.* These, combined with several older works from Diaghilev's program, including

Prince Igor, Petrouchka and *Les Sylphides,* constituted a small but very presentable repertory. The new company had a successful season in Paris, made a tentative European tour, appeared the following summer for a triumphant visit to London and sailed for America in December 1933.

At this point it is necessary to trace the genealogy of the vast family of original, Russian and Monte Carlo ballets in order to understand and disentangle the relationships between various companies with similar names, overlapping repertories and competitive aims. It is characteristic of this confusion that Colonel de Basil reorganized his company and changed its name six times in less than ten years: Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo (1932), Monte Carlo Ballet Russe (1933-1936), Colonel W. de Basil's Ballet Russe (1937), Covent Garden Ballet Russe (1938), Educational Ballet Russe, Ltd. (1939) and Original Ballet Russe (since 1940).

De Basil and René Blum were incompatible by temperament as well as artistic taste; they split in 1936. Blum, bound both by contract and predilection, organized a new Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo for which he engaged Michel Fokine as choreographer. De Basil lost the Monte Carlo connection and with it the symbolic Diaghilev association. For a while Massine remained with de Basil's company as ballet master; then he and de Basil had difficulties and parted in 1937. De Basil, supported by a newly formed corporation under the sponsorship of Prince Serge Obolensky, again changed the name of the company and obtained Fokine as choreographer. He also bought the entire wardrobe, scenery and costumes from the Diaghilev and Pavlova estates. Massine, too, found backers; in 1938 a group of sponsors was incorporated as Universal Art, with Julius Fleischmann as president and Sergei J. Denham as executive vice-president. Both de Basil's and Massine's companies were managed by S. Hurok. An attempted merger failed and the ballet war started. Universal Art secured the right to the "trademark" *Monte Carlo* from René Blum, and Massine's company functioned as the authentic Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. The contract with the Prince of Monaco called for a spring season of ballet in Monte Carlo, but left the company free for other commitments during the rest of the year; this agreement was ended by the war, although the title was retained. In 1943 Massine left the Ballet Russe to organize his own

small company, the Ballet Russe Highlights, and since then Sergei J. Denham has been director of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, now a resident company in New York City.

As a result of these complicated comings and goings, conflicts constantly arise over the ownership of ballets; the question of copyright to choreographic creations definitely needs clarification. When the Ballet Russe was organized, Blum and de Basil legitimately owned the complete Diaghilev repertory and the ballets which they jointly commissioned from Balanchine and Massine. After their break, these rights apparently reverted to Blum, who held the contract with Monte Carlo and from whom Universal Art bought them for Massine's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. But many of the Diaghilev titles, in particular Fokine's ballets, also appear in the de Basil repertory and, of course, in that of the Ballet Theatre, rechoreographed by Fokine himself. A spectacular suit was brought when de Basil announced Massine's ballets for a London season the year after their separation; the choreographer asked for a court decision to safeguard his rights. The case turned into a *cause célèbre* for the ballet world. The English court ruled in favor of de Basil, not only granting him the ownership to those ballets, but depriving Massine of the right to revive his own creations anywhere for a period of five years, excepting only *The Three-Cornered Hat, La Boutique Fantasque* and *Le Beau Danube.*

Another grave problem arising from this situation was the scattering of a limited supply of outstanding talent among several companies. The record of fifteen years' consistent effort to maintain the Russian Ballet or the Ballet Russe or, more accurately, the Franco-Russian ballet of the late Diaghilev formula, reveals not only the perpetual struggle for the companies' physical survival, but duplication of effort and the absence of a constructive farsighted policy.

The Ballet Russe formula still held enough prestige and fascination to make the Monte Carlo connection coveted, but neither Blum, nor de Basil nor any of the appointed or self-styled successors of Diaghilev, whatever their qualifications and merits, had inherited the secret of his success. The continuation of the Ballet Russe depended on a few choreographers from the Diaghilev era: Fokine, Nijinska, Massine and Balanchine. (Lifar, ballet master of the Paris Opera, was not available.) For while good dancers were rare, choreographers capable of creating a new repertory in the Ballet Russe

tradition were even rarer. And with the exception of Massine, no choreographer of stature stayed long enough with any of the Ballet Russe-style companies to identify his creative endeavor with the growth of the ensemble.

Colonel W. de Basil's Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo opened at the St. James Theatre in New York on December 21, 1933. It was a venture of considerable risk. If it had not been for Mr. Hurok's resourceful management and promotion, de Basil would certainly not have succeeded where Diaghilev had failed. But the prestige of the Ballets Russes had been built up long in advance by a sensational publicity campaign. The Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo were promoted on the basis of their Diaghilev association; the young dancers, whose names were unfamiliar even to traveled ballet connoisseurs, were advertised as "baby ballerinas." As it turned out, Toumanova, Baronova and Riabouchinska also happened to be fine dancers.

The program of the opening night, *La Concurrence, Les Présages* and *Le Beau Danube,* must have been a surprise for an audience which was prepared for Russian ballet of the pre-World War I description. They had, of course, rather expected the vigor of *Prince Igor,* the scandal of *L'Après-midi d'un Faune,* the sensuality of *Scheherazade,* the candor of *Spectre de la Rose,* all of which were in Diaghilev's American program of 1916-1917 and all of which had since lost point, meaning and interest. What the American public would have made of *Parade, Mercure, La Chatte* and *Ode,* the witty, sophisticated products of Diaghilev's postwar experimental period, is a matter of conjecture. It is just possible that the mounting American interest in contemporary European art movements would have made them successful. As long as the Ballets Russes was going to revive the Diaghilev repertory, a few provocative works of more recent inspiration might have attracted an unprejudiced audience. But the fact is, the public was not unprejudiced; it had not been offered much of a chance to develop its own taste. It had been conditioned for a "Russian" repertory that dimly reflected the fading memories of an earlier epoch.

This tendency was the result of a consistently orthodox ballet policy which had been promoted for sentimental rather than aesthetic reasons. After the Russian revolution the large contingent of White

Russian exiles in Western Europe tried to maintain what they could of Tsarist traditions. For them the Diaghilev ballet was a nostalgic symbol. As members of the nobility and the upper classes, they were true connoisseurs of the ballet, but of the Imperial Russian ballet as they remembered it from Moscow and St. Petersburg, and they disapproved of Diaghilev's cosmopolitan modernism. This group of old-time balletophiles was influential in the ballet world, supported as it was by a considerable number of outstanding exiled teachers from the former Imperial Russian schools whose opposition to liberal and progressive ideas was a matter of principle and self-preservation. The closest approximations to their conservative taste and understanding were ballets to music by Borodin, Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Tchaikowsky, with décors by Bakst, Benois, Korovin and Roerich. Diaghilev himself had been a renegade who had left Russia in protest against the ballet regime which the White Russians represented in spirit and conviction, and he was an autocrat and did not respond to their conservative suggestions. But de Basil, his successor, was a former Tsarist colonel. Even though this was a mere coincidence, it determined the artistic policy of the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo.

In America the situation was different because there were no personal emotions involved—yet. The well-informed, discriminating balletophiles were in a negligible minority and the public at large neither knew nor cared what kind of spectacle the Russian ballet had to offer as long as it was entertaining. The impresario who introduced the new Ballets Russes to America, then, assumed responsibility not only for successful management, which was his business, but also for forming aesthetic taste, which was not. It is suggestive that Hurok, like de Basil, was a Russian and a balletophile. In America, too, Russian ballet teachers influenced American youth; from a strictly professional viewpoint the training they afforded was impeccable and authoritative, but their prevailing spirit was that of the Imperial Academy before Fokine.

There are many people in ballet circles who have criticized Mr. Hurok for his policy in ballet management, particularly for his admitted partiality to the 1909-1914 Diaghilev repertory, for his interference with the artistic direction of the companies, for his fervent and probably justified conviction that "stars pack the houses." In any

case, the ballet in America does owe Mr. Hurok sincere gratitude for his work of propaganda and popularization which profited our native talent. Yet, and partly through his efforts, the Ballets Russes became synonymous with the ballet for the uninitiated American public, a misunderstanding which hindered the development of a native ballet.

Quite by accident the Ballets Russes, soon after their New York début, found themselves presenting a program that must have been the delight of every conservative balletophile in the city. Barely a month after the opening the company was compelled for contractual reasons to divide into two groups. One troupe, with Massine, Danilova and Toumanova, the majority of the *corps de ballet* and the greater part of the repertory, was sent on tour. The other group, augmented by local dancers, stayed in New York and every day for many weeks performed *Prince Igor*, *Petrouchka* and *Les Sylphides*. The audience response in New York as well as on the road was highly gratifying; the Ballets Russes returned in the fall for a limited engagement and, for their third American season, they appeared for the first time at the Metropolitan Opera House. It was an important step toward the consolidation of the company, both artistically and financially, for the Metropolitan is not only the only theatre with an adequate stage for ballet and with sufficient seating capacity to run at a profit, but also a house with established prestige. For those who care for figures, Mr. Hurok volunteers the information that the gross for the fourth American season reached one million dollars.

It was during this successful season that the conflicts between de Basil and Massine became so acute that they separated. The two Ballets Russes, headed respectively by de Basil and Massine, resembled each other like twins. In composition, program policy and artistic direction, they manifested unmistakably their common origin and their common goals. In fact, only in recent years, more precisely since the beginning of the war, did the resident company assume enough independent personality to be judged on its own merits, apart from the borrowed fame of Russian or pseudo-Russian associations. The American tour of de Basil's Original Ballet Russe in 1946-1947 furnished an opportunity for comparison and proved what was expected—that the old Ballet Russe formula had worn perilously thin.

When the war broke out, the Original Ballet Russe was playing in Latin America and remained there for five years, appearing in twenty-three countries in South and Central America. Aside from the good-will tour of the American Ballet in 1941 and the performances at the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires, that continent had never seen ballet, and the influence of de Basil's visit was immense. The effect of his extensive tours in the United States is harder to estimate. It is doubtful whether the average spectator consciously distinguished between the two Ballets Russes. During their last parallel season, 1940-1941, they had the following ballets simultaneously in their repertories: *Giselle, L'Après-midi d'un Faune, Petrouchka, Prince Igor, Le Spectre de la Rose, Les Sylphides, Swan Lake, Scheherazade* and *Le Beau Danube.* In addition, the Original Ballet had several new ballets by David Lichine and the Monte Carlo had new works by Massine. As mentioned before, de Basil owned the Fokine and older Massine ballets, and he announced a total repertory of 128 titles, which must be taken as a purely academic record, for a title is worthless without a choreographer capable of reviving the ballet in its original form.

To give an idea of how the forces were distributed after the split, a listing of the company rosters may be useful. In de Basil's Original Ballet Russe, David Lichine replaced Massine as *premier danseur;* the company included Irina Baronova, Tamara Grigorieva, Olga Morosova, Sono Osato, Tatiana Riabouchinska, Lubov Tchernitcheva, Nina Verchinina and Edward Borovansky, Roman Jasinsky, Yurek Lazovsky, Paul Petroff, Yurek Shabelevsky; Serge Grigorieff remained as *Régisseur Général.* Massine's Monte Carlo company included Alexandra Danilova, Eugenie Delarova, Marina Franca, Nathalie Krassovska, Jeannette Lauret, Milada Mladova, Lubov Rostova, Mia Slavenska, Tamara Toumanova and Roland Guérard, Michel Panaieff, Marc Platoff, Simon Semenoff, Jean Yazvinsky, Igor Youskevitch and George Zoritch. Massine also engaged Alicia Markova and Nini Theilade, Frederic Franklin and Serge Lifar. Yurek Yazvinsky was *Régisseur Général.* Both companies were potentially strong at their formation—the Monte Carlo had a slightly superior and a definitely better balanced group—but a season-by-season account would show that neither company was able to build a permanent, coherent ensemble over the years.

V

The Ballet Russe II

MASSINE'S BALLET RUSSE

Both the Original Ballet Russe and Massine's Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo were, at the outset, predominantly Russian in ensemble and repertory. Both directors were eventually compelled to compromise on the all-Russian policy, either by circumstance or design. The natural process of American infiltration by way of the *corps de ballet* and minor positions was slow at first, although it gained speed after the founding of the Ballet Theatre proved the professional ability and maturity of the American dancers. For the Buenos Aires visit, de Basil engaged Nana Gollner, a brilliant young American dancer, as *prima ballerina;* as the need for replacements arose, he added other non-Russian dancers and choreographers and experimented with American subjects. But by and large, as in the ballet *Yara,* based on Brazilian legend, the assimilation was neither thorough nor successful.

The Monte Carlo ballet, during Massine's regime, did not change its basic character, either, despite the American flavor of such titles as *Union Pacific, The New Yorker, Saratoga* and *Ghost Town.* The Ballet Russe remained a European company visiting in America; its actual and spiritual headquarters were Monte Carlo; New York was a station on a tour, made permanent by the accident of war.

As long as Massine was the director of the Ballet Russe it was an instrument for the realization of his creative inspiration. And Massine is, as Merle Armitage said, "the purest extension into this day of the Diaghilev tradition and attitude." That tradition, for all its aesthetic catholicism, had limits which precluded the easy assimilation of American material—the Fokine version of the Russian tradition, on the one hand, and the continental modernism and cosmopolitan sophistication of the Diaghilev experimental period, with its traces of preciousness, irony and social snobbery, on the other. Hence Massine's American career contributed immensely to the ballet education of this country but, for all its brilliance and fecundity, did little to further the growth of a native tradition.

Leonide Massine, the son of artist parents, was born in Moscow in 1896 and studied drama and ballet at the Imperial School of the Theatre. When the break between Diaghilev and Nijinsky occurred in 1913, Diaghilev recognized the unusual potential talent in the young Massine and undertook to train him as Nijinsky's successor. Diaghilev realized, of course, that no dancer, no matter how gifted, could conceivably replace the unique phenomenon that was Nijinsky; he directed the young dancer toward a full development of his own talents. After a very short period of intensive work with the great teachers Cecchetti and Fokine, Massine made a memorable début in 1914 in the title role of Richard Strauss's *La Légende de Joseph.* A year later he made an equally promising début as a choreographer with a suite of Russian folk dances, *Le Soleil de Nuit.* Brilliantly intelligent, moved by tremendous nervous energies, Massine avidly absorbed everything the intellectual climate of Paris and the progressive Diaghilev circle had to offer in the way of inspiration and information. With the eccentric and fantastic ballet, *Parade* (1917), he proved how completely and easily he had caught the spirit of the *avant-garde* group which then dictated the art of the world from Paris. But his rich and versatile talent was solidly founded; it did not get lost in the snobbery of cliques.

When Massine arrived with the Ballet Russe, he was no stranger to America. He had toured with the Diaghilev company in his youth and between 1928 and 1931 he was *premier danseur* and choreographer at the Roxy Theatre in New York, staging a new ballet each week; among others, a full performance of *Scheherazade.* In 1930

he presented Strawinsky's *Sacre de Printemps* in Philadelphia and New York with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Stokowski's direction and with Martha Graham in the principal role.

The foundation of Massine's dancing and choreography is the classical *danse d'école.* But many important influences modified and enlarged his basic idiom until it assumed an enormous richness of expressive forms and symbols; there were certain elements of the modern expressional dance and group movement, particularly as formulated by Rudolph van Laban and performed by Mary Wigman, and elements of the Russian and Spanish folk dance. Equally important, though harder to perceive, was the influence of the French poet Jean Cocteau, who attempted to "rehabilitate the commonplace" in poetic evocations of the average realities, even banalities, which have lost their true, immanent, significance.

Massine, who is a superb dancer and an extraordinary stage personality, is primarily a character dancer, as one can feel in some of his most spectacular roles, such as the Miller in *The Three-Cornered Hat,* the Peruvian in *Gaîté Parisienne* and the Can-Can Dancer in *La Boutique Fantasque.* His capacity to understand and project, in spirit, movement, impetus and motivation, the essential quality of folk tradition was marvelously demonstrated in *The Three-Cornered Hat* (1919). This ballet is possibly the most perfectly integrated contemporary dance comedy, combining the genius of its choreographer, of its composer, Manuel de Falla, and its designer, Picasso. It may be said, parenthetically, that in its present state of dilapidation the ballet is an offense to both its creator and the taste of the public. Eventually Massine undertook the choreographic interpretation of symphonic works, provoking at once a storm of outraged protest and a tempest of enthusiasm, both exaggerated.

It is surprising that none of Massine's contacts with American life and art show in his work, since his art had so thoroughly and easily assimilated the indigenous qualities of other peoples and he had so keenly reflected the temper of his time and environment and so sharply caught the essence of human types and characters. But nothing in his creation or performance indicates that he was touched at all by the folk or society, the countryside or the climate, the thought or the feeling of America. In fact, his three American-theme ballets—*Union Pacific, The New Yorker* and *Saratoga*—are

among his weakest works and have completely and deservedly disappeared from the Ballet Russe repertory. The twenty-odd titles in the repertory of Ballet Russe Highlights, the company he formed after leaving the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, though international in scope, did not list one American theme, not one American composer. It is impossible to account, either psychologically or aesthetically, for Massine's lack of intellectual interest and emotional response to America without getting lost in gratuitous speculation. The fact remains that this extraordinary artist exhausted his contribution to the American ballet in a brilliant reaffirmation of the Diaghilev formula.

Union Pacific, with book by Archibald MacLeish, music by Nicolas Nabokoff, settings by Albert Johnson and costumes by Irene Sharaff, was staged in New York in 1934. The synopsis in the program notes reads as follows:

The first trans-continental American railroad was completed in 1869. It was built in two sections by rival groups of capitalists, one section from the East toward the West with Irish workmen, the other from the West toward the East with Chinese. As the road was pushed across the plains and the sierras, the workmen were followed by itinerant saloons, of which the most famous was the Big Tent, and by trainloads of camp-followers. Fighting between Irishmen and Chinese was common as the two roads drew near each other and the final stages of construction became a competitive race ending at Promontory Point, in the State of Utah, where, in an elaborate ceremony, a spike of gold was driven into a tie of laurel to join the rails.

Surveyors and workmen are building the two converging sections of the railroad, Irishmen building from the East, Chinese from the West. As the Chinese work they are approached by a girl from the Big Tent called the Lady-Gay. The work is interrupted. The surveyor becomes amorous of the girl. The scene shifts to the Big Tent where Mexicans, gamblers, Irish workmen and girls are gathered at the bar. A Mormon missionary enters. The barkeeper entertains his guests. While they dance, the Lady-Gay enters with her surveyor, followed by some of the Chinese gang. The Irish surveyor approaches her. She prefers her original companion and they dance. Irishmen and Chinese threaten each other. A general fight is imminent. Suddenly the scene shifts back to the roadbed of the line. The hostility of the Big Tent has become a rivalry in work. The two gangs, driving the rails before them, approach each other while

cheering crowds of women and Indians and Mexicans look on. The last rail is about to be laid. Pompously and solemnly the capitalists enter. The golden spike is driven into the tie of laurel. The telegraph instrument beside the track ticks out the word D-O-N-E. And while the nation celebrates with cannon and bells in San Francisco and Omaha and Chicago and with the hymn of "Old Hundred" played upon Trinity chimes in New York, the capitalists and workmen and girls and Indians pose before the camera at Promontory Point.

This unwieldy literary narrative conveys, better than any description of the actual spectacle, the feeling that this theme was more suitable for a D. W. Griffith epic than a Ballet Russe production. As a first attempt to bring a genuine American subject of some scope to visual life on the ballet stage, it was a courageous and meritorious venture. That it failed was not the fault of the genre, as Eugene Loring and Agnes de Mille proved a few years later.

The authors perceived the drama in the ethnic complexities of America and the technical conquest of the vast continent. It was consistent with this conception to stress the emotional and spatial tensions between anonymous groups, that is, the crews of workmen, but actually there was no feeling of human drama, or of "the plains and sierras" either. The immense acceleration as the two crews approach each other needs more space than this hectic and populated ballet afforded to become exciting. The scenario, by a distinguished American poet, should have been genuine and maybe it was, on paper; it was very fine in the establishment of action and locale, but weak in the treatment of the time element which defines the difference between a poet and a dramatist.

The clear and strong stylization of the drama proper and the realistic detail of the subsidiary play could not be developed and reconciled within the limited realm the book provided. While one admired Massine's magnificent choreographic treatment of groups and individuals one was also aware of the fact that the work failed to make any point, in spite of its final music-hall apotheosis. In the last analysis the ballet was American enough in theme, locale and names, but nowhere was there a forceful assertion of native feeling, implied in or derived from the subject. However, the piece was full of admirably worked out characters and delightful detail. Lillian

Moore very properly calls Massine's own solo (he danced the role of the barkeeper) a "miniature masterpiece."

Probably Nabokoff's score, despite its use of familiar tunes, was an additional obstacle in catching the native American flavor. Albert Johnson's settings were workmanlike and undistinguished, as were Irene Sharaff's period costumes.

The New Yorker (Book: Rea Irvin and Leonide Massine. Music: George Gershwin, orchestrated by David Raksin. Settings and Costumes: Carl Kent, after Rea Irvin and Nathalie Crothers).

A dioramic view of New York's café society in three scenes presents a nocturnal adventure of the animated drawings made famous by Peter Arno, Helen E. Hokinson, William Steig, Otto Soglow and other artists' creations whose habitude are the pages of the *New Yorker* magazine.—To Central Park's Plaza come Arno's Colonel, Dowager and Timid Man; Hokinson's Clubwomen; boys and girls; each intent on hotspotting. Venal headwaiters, baby-faced debutantes, keyhole columnists, Steig's "small fry," gullible gangsters, Thurber's introverts, Soglow's Little King, all these with gentle madness people the parade of New York after dark.—The thread of the story is incidental to the portrayal of characters whose lives begin when the city goes to bed.

This ballet, Massine's second excursion into the field of Americana, was not much more fortunate than *Union Pacific*. Probably its authors did not claim any broad human validity for the sketchy revue they composed, but they did not even succeed in matching the cutting neatness, the pointed brevity, the deadly wit and the subtle observations of the original cartoons from which the ballet was derived. Although New York café society may have some American qualities, artificial social attitudes, the ones used in this ballet, are as international as hotel lobbies, cocktail bars and bridge parties. *The New Yorker* might have been an amusing intimate revue; it was a wasted effort on the ballet stage.

Massine did not fare better with his third and last attempt to create an American ballet. The book and music for *Saratoga* were written by Jaromir Weinberger; Oliver Smith did the sets and Alvin Colt, the costumes. It was an ambitious, not to say pretentious, production with a pleasant theme, attractive décor and costumes and

some lovely dancing. Potentially *Saratoga* may have had some of the ingredients of an American *Gaîté Parisienne* but it turned out to be an uninspired piece of no particular description or spirit. The score was exceptionally poor.

Massine's valiant attempts and signal failures in the American medium were additional proof that the Ballet Russe concept could not be reconciled indefinitely with the imperative, though yet unformulated, demands of a new time and a new country. The old European audience, still held together from Diaghilev's time by sheer force of habit, continued to applaud the Ballet Russe seasons as recurrent social events. The new American audience, although less bound by tradition and sentiment, accepted the Ballet Russe because it was the only one they knew, because they had been persuaded that it was unquestionably the genuine best and principally, of course, because they liked it. With prodigious efforts Massine had created a fine company and maintained its standards as long as possible. But how long was it possible?

The Ballet Russe as a creative organism was without roots and sources. Diaghilev had relied on half a dozen choreographers and in his last years was faced by the problems of artistic inbreeding. But now the artistic problem was aggravated by political, social and economic problems which he had not had to face. The symptoms of growing chaos in Europe began to penetrate Amercian consciousness, slowly, raising doubts of the validity, let alone the supremacy, of Old World standards. The significance of the Ballet Theatre's success was not lost on the American public and the pioneer work of Ruth Page in Chicago, Catherine Littlefield in Philadelphia, Willam Christensen in San Francisco and Lincoln Kirstein and Balanchine in New York had begun to bear fruit.

At the same time there were signs of weariness and disunity inside the Monte Carlo organization, robbing the performance of the irresistible effect of concerted effort and drive. Just how critical those internal difficulties were is hard to ascertain. Frictions and clashes are inevitable in so complex an organism depending on permanent, close contact between high-strung personalities. The strains of murderous touring schedules and overwork began to tell and the ensemble gradually disintegrated, as dancers deserted the company for less strenuous and more remunerative work. The surest indication of the

Ballet Russe's difficulties was Mr. Hurok's active interest in the Ballet Theatre at its inception. In his memoirs may be found a tactful but unequivocal paragraph dealing with this situation which actually amounts to an obituary for the Ballet Russe, whose management he was soon to relinquish.

Massine's answer to the accumulating problems was his extraordinary productivity. For several years he succeeded in keeping alive the interest of his dancers and his audience with an amazing output of choreographic novelties. They were of unequal value, it is true, but they were either stimulating and provocative, or delightfully danceable and a few, like *Nobilissima Visione* and *Bacchanale,* were works of great interest or distinction.

The imposing repertory that Massine built during his ten years' tenure with the Ballet Russe perpetuated the Diaghilev formula, as we have said, and not only in his own company, for it was literally copied and adopted by every other company organized since. Its chief characteristic is variety, even to the point and at the risk of confusion. The typical ballet program consists of an average of three complete ballets, usually with a pointless *pas de deux* thrown in for the sake of virtuosity. But neither the individual program nor the repertory policy at large show any awareness of style and direction. The customary argument that the program has to satisfy the public's widely divergent tastes is highly questionable if not false. Surely, there is an audience for every conceivable form and aesthetic level of theatrical entertainment, low-brow or sophisticated, but no audience worth keeping should be expected to enjoy indiscriminately the usual hodgepodge of an evening's ballet fare. No conductor would offer Gluck, Offenbach, Strawinsky and Richard Rodgers in one concert; no museum would display Benois, Dali, Gontcharova and Derain in one exhibition. Yet that is exactly what the ballet companies do. It may be convenient and realistic to justify the current practice by relating the taste of the public to the size and regularity of actual attendance. But on the other hand it is impossible to estimate how large a potential audience is staying away from the ballet, discouraged by the lack of plan and coherence in programming. That is not a purely academic consideration. There can be no doubt that the consistent work of George Balanchine in the classical style gained a vast and faithful audience

for the Ballet Russe, just as Antony Tudor's psychological ballets did for the Ballet Theatre.

Massine's symphonic ballets originally implied a break with Diaghilev principles, for, as Lincoln Kirstein points out, they "could never have been tolerated by Diaghilev." But though the Ballet Russe responded well enough to immediate creative impulses, it never had enough drive to carry them on and develop them. When Massine left the Ballet Russe, discouraged and dissatisfied, nobody felt responsible for the preservation of his work. In spite of occasional announcements of forthcoming revivals, obstacles always seemed to overcome the good intentions.

This is partly due to changes which affected the whole policy of the Ballet Russe. Sergei J. Denham had been appointed director, with Massine, who stayed for one more year, as artistic director. An announcement for the 1942-1943 season stated that "this season is especially significant in the life of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, since for the first time in its history, it takes on full and undivided responsibility for both artistic and business activities." While that sounds like a return to Diaghilev's autocratic principles, it merely indicated that the company would henceforth be run by a businessman with artistic responsibilities, instead of by an artist with business responsibilities. At that moment of interior crisis and wartime difficulties the unification of command, combined with cautious and realistic commercial management, probably preserved the material existence of the company.

Also, since the Ballet Russe was no longer under Mr. Hurok's management, it had lost the Metropolitan and was compelled to move into the dismal City Center Theatre. This change meant not only a serious disadvantage in the physical presentation of ballet; it also meant the need for adjustments in artistic policy, for the low-priced City Center was largely patronized by an unsophisticated audience without balletic education. It is quite possible that the unprepared portion of the audience would not have appreciated the surrealistic extravagance of *Bacchanale* or the somber spiritualism of *Nobilissima Visione;* but then, neither had the balletophiles. However, a public which applauded with genuine enthusiasm Balanchine's abstract classical ballets would certainly be prepared for Massine's *Seventh Symphony* and *Rouge et Noir.*

It is unlikely that *Bacchanale* (1939) and *Nobilissima Visione* (1938) will ever be revived, because neither work has the kind of quality which makes for great popular acceptance. However, both were remarkable—indeed, almost incredible—creations, considering that they were conceived by the choreographer of *Ode* and *The Three-Cornered Hat, La Boutique Fantasque* and *Les Matelots*. The range of Massine's creative vision is amazing and the greater must be our regret that such wealth of inspiration did not benefit the American ballet more incisively and more permanently.

For all its staggering novelty, *Bacchanale* was not nearly as experimental as Massine's earlier *Parade, Mercure, Ode, Jeux d'Enfants* and *Les Présages*. It was not even a more than usually proficient piece of choreographic craftsmanship. Its significance, however, was much broader than its insistent and ostentatious Freudian symbolism, for it was revealing evidence of our artists' ceaseless endeavor to articulate the processes of the subconscious. Massine's method was debatable, not his intentions. The cryptic symbols and mystification he used are as irritating in the theatre as in any other medium and they ultimately condemn *Bacchanale* as a repertory piece. The essential motivation, however, is perfectly valid. If we find Tudor's sensitive probing into the subconscious more convincing and powerful, we still cannot deny the theatrical magnificence of Dali's terrifying images and grandeur of vision. Dali collaborated with Massine three times, on *Bacchanale, Labyrinth* (1941) and *Mad Tristran* (Ballet International, 1944). The latter two were less successfully invented and executed, for the mechanics of the painter's décor, the costumes and intricate props got in the way of the dancing and choreography. All three productions were cerebral works, cold to the freezing point of emotion, and their shock effects were carefully planned.

Nobilissima Visione or *St. Francis* was very different from those compositions. Called "a choreographic legend," it was inspired by "The Little Flowers of St. Francis," Massine said, "translating the moving medieval simplicity and mentality of its strange world into the highly formalized language of ballet." The work was a rejection of the prevailing realistic tendency in the ballet and an affirmation of true spirituality. The choice of the subject matter, the collaboration of Paul Hindemith and the seriousness and dedication devoted to the preparation of this composition confirmed the intention. In no

other ballet did Massine seem so totally absorbed in the world of his creation. In no other ballet did the limited realms of stage space and stage time seem to expand into such unlimited poetic dimensions. The life of St. Francis was presented as a simple narrative in five key episodes, but, as the story unfolded, the actual events appeared as symbolic stations of human inspiration progressing toward ultimate transfiguration. If choreography is the transformation of human actions, states and moods into ordered and meaningful movement, this must be considered Massine's greatest choreographic accomplishment. For while the style of presentation was certainly "highly formalized," indicating a scholar's solid understanding of medieval movement and gesture, it was even more sensitively beautiful and meaningful in translating a mystic experience into masterful kinesthetic language.

The Hindemith score, composed parallel to the successive phases of the choreography, made no obvious concessions to "danceability," that is, to convenient timing and rhythmic cues. The correspondence was one of feeling and it appeared consummately in the choreographic structure and in the noble and admirably restrained interpretation of Massine in the role of St. Francis. It was a profound thought to reveal Poverty in sublime beauty, movingly performed by Nini Theilade. Settings and costumes were designed by Pavel Tchelitchew. James Thrall Soby, in a study about the artist, called them "a contribution of a new and poignant romanticism to the theatre"; but they are painted in a lighter, more Italianate palette than the emotional color of Massine's and Hindemith's ascetic, medieval mysticism would have seemed to suggest.

Evidently nobody but Massine himself is capable of reviving his ballets. Hardly any dancers of the original casts have remained with the Ballet Russe to remember the choreography. But the contemporary ballet cannot afford the total loss of Massine's masterpieces, certainly not while the ancient *Nutcracker* and the faded *Scheherazade* are inflicted on audiences season after season in the patient name of tradition, and it is to be hoped that the directors of the Monte Carlo ballet will invite Massine to restage some of them. Aside from the Ballet Russe repertory, only Ballet Theatre's *Aleko* remains as witness of Massine's long years of activity in this country. How his work would affect today's ballet public is doubtful. It is true that Massine's serious, substantial compositions did not touch the general

American public in a profound, emotional sense. There was always a mutual detachment in feeling, breeding respect rather than affection. The chapter is not closed, however, and should Massine return to work in America, he might find that our dancers and our audiences have grown, changed and matured.

VI

The Ballet Russe III

THE AMERICANIZATION

Chronologically as well as psychologically Massine's departure from the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo coincided pretty accurately with a change in its policy first demonstrated in the fall of 1942 when Agnes de Mille choreographed *Rodeo*. At first glance, there was nothing spectacular about the première of a pleasant and unassuming piece of Americana, but three circumstances made the event memorable, almost historic: First, it was evidence of a deliberate change of policy in the Ballet Russe; second, it showed that the Russian company had developed into an American one; third, it proved the artistic validity of a genre which heretofore had been tolerated rather than furthered.

Before *Rodeo* only a few American ballets by American artists had been presented by the major companies: Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid* (1938) and *The Great American Goof* (1940), performed by the Ballet Theatre, and Marc Platoff's *Ghost Town* (1939), produced by the Ballet Russe. *Ghost Town,* with libretto and choreography by Marc Platoff (an American), music by Richard Rodgers and settings and costumes by Raoul Pène du Bois (also an American), was a real American collaboration. It was a charming and entertaining piece, with many delightful moments of genuine humor and

good fun. The plot, however, was rather involved and introduced a great number of incidental characters who crowded the action and the stage. Consequently, the choreography became needlessly complicated and never had quite the time or space to develop freely. But the main problem was the casting. With the possible exception of Frederic Franklin, the protagonists had not the spontaneous feeling and the spirit to project convincing American characters. However, it was a step in the right direction, and three years later Agnes de Mille created *Rodeo.*

Rodeo or *The Courting at Burnt Ranch* (Book: Agnes de Mille. Music: Aaron Copland. Settings: Oliver Smith. Costumes: Kermit Love) is a Western Cinderella story about a tomboyish cowgirl who is awkwardly competing with the Rancher's Daughter for the attention of the men and in particular of the Champion Roper. Unversed in feminine arts, she is unpopular with the men and her mannish manners shock the visiting girls from Kansas City. Eventually, of course, she dresses up, joins the dance and wins her man.

The work has a solidly built plot, with enough drama to keep up the interest until the happy ending. Its conflicts are real and touching. Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid,* the first important ballet of American origin, derived its poignant effect from its inherently tragic material. *Rodeo* deals with the more general emotions and experiences; everything becomes involved, then pleasantly resolved. While its anonymous characters have no historic significance or heroic stature, like those in *Billy the Kid,* they are none the less genuine and valid human beings and recognizably American.

The beauty and genuineness of *Rodeo* reside precisely in the apparent casualness of its American expression, in the deliberate lightness of touch, in the humorous understatement of emotional undercurrents. Yet it is all planned and timed with masterly accuracy. Miss de Mille makes her points with pithy precision, with admirable restraint and economy and with never an effort or an effect wasted. The gauche little cowgirl is the natural center of the action, not simply because she is choreographically placed there, but much more because her personality imposes itself. And although Miss de Mille originally created the part for herself and danced it beautifully, subsequent changes in casting proved how firmly this character is conceived and established. All the characters, however, are equally

clearly sketched with a few sure and deft strokes. The choreography is simple and effective, making extensive use of folk-dance material, ranch idiom and colloquialisms, with just a hint of commentary here and there. In an interlude the whole cast performs a regular square dance with calls and without any supporting music. This familiar scene has an inexplicable, subtle charm and a captivating atmosphere which are entirely of the theatre. Aaron Copland's score has body and richness and it is just as genuine and honest and just as unselfconscious in its use of American source material as the choreography. Both are frankly theatrical, even in their tender moments and their quieter sentiments. Oliver Smith's sets were the best he had designed.

The kindred works, Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid* and Agnes de Mille's *Rodeo,* have not yet been surpassed in the American genre. In our own ballet history they have the same significance as *Petrouchka, Scheherazade, Prince Igor* and *Coq d'Or* had in the history of the ballet in Western Europe; one fervently hopes they will be spared the fate of Fokine's "classics" and will not be kept alive artificially after their time is up. The exemplary coherence of style achieved in the Russian works, as well as in the American ones, was due in both cases to the congenial collaboration of several talents. But, unlike Fokine, the American choreographers had neither the benefit of Diaghilev's genius of coordination, nor the ready riches of his resources. The responsibility for the unity, integrity and completeness of the total production rested entirely with the good will and mutual understanding of American artists comparatively inexperienced in the ballet medium. Their agreement was native and spontaneous. The common denominator, assuring singleness of purpose and direction, was their complete familiarity with the American spirit. *Billy the Kid,* however, had the misfortune to appear a few years too soon and within too narrow a frame for its scope. It had been direct and uncompromising in attack and it had tried for harder impact and deeper meanings than was customary in ballet choreography. *Rodeo,* on the other hand, was favored by many circumstances, by a more propitious timing, by a more engaging theme, by a more experienced ensemble, by better production facilities and by a readier and larger audience.

That an event of such special consequence for the ballet in America should have occurred in the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo

instead of in the Ballet Theatre demonstrated that both companies were willing to modify their respective "all-Diaghilev" and "all-American" principles. These adjustments resulted in an equivocal program for both companies which was confusing to the public. Their repertories began to overlap and resemble each other and the difference between "Russian" and "American" was ever harder to tell. Just as the Ballet Theatre made a concession by engaging Massine, so the Monte Carlo was prepared to take a chance with an American choreographer—which was quite courageous since its previous attempts had failed. Since *Rodeo* was an unqualified success and the American genre had conclusively proved its value, the Ballet Russe invited other native choreographers to contribute to the repertory, notably Ruth Page, Todd Bolender, Valerie Bettis and Ruthanna Boris. Their productions were not so important in themselves, but they were symptoms of increasing change. The prewar Ballet Russe was fast losing glamor and prestige, as the brilliant Russian stars left the company, as the distinguished Russian choreographers began to repeat themselves, as the famous décors and costumes faded. The very basis of the Ballet Russe reputation—the classical repertory—was weakened to the danger point.

For a while there was hope that the great Russian choreographer, Bronislava Nijinska, would contribute those serious works in the classical medium which were so badly needed. In the same year in which *Rodeo* appeared, Nijinska choreographed two ballets for the Monte Carlo, *Chopin Concerto* and *Snow Maiden,* and the year after, *Etude.* Of these the *Chopin Concerto,* set to the Piano Concerto in E Minor, was by far the most important work. But, significantly enough, it was a prewar ballet, first performed by the Polish Ballet in Paris, in 1937. The most striking impression of this composition is one of an impeccable style with both the nobility of tradition and a contemporary feeling. The purity of its design, the transparency of its structure, the cleanness of its movement pattern, create an effect of truly classic perfection. The restaging preserved the flawless integrity of the original version, and it also carried with it the climate of Paris and the suggestive beauty of a vanishing era. It marked a moment of creative culmination, rather than of a new departure. It was the absolute ballet in retrospect. *Snow Maiden,* to music by Alexander Glazounov, with fine settings and costumes

by Boris Aronson, is a handsome ballet, though not a very substantial one, and somehow the tender emotions and the delicate charm of the fairy story fail to register. On the whole, Nijinska's creations in America did not nearly achieve the distinction, originality and daring of her former work and they did not produce anything comparable to the boldness of *Les Noces* and the sophistication of *Les Biches* which she had done for the Diaghilev company.

The one single individual who miraculously rejuvenated the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo was George Balanchine. Actually all of Diaghilev's choreographic collaborators had been, or might have been, available at one time or another, although their contributions were very unequal in scope and in degree. Serge Lifar's brief connection with the Monte Carlo had been a sequence of unfortunate frictions and unpleasantnesses and lasted but one season. Michel Fokine had not been invited to stage new ballets while Massine was directing the company. Presumably for reasons of academic prestige, the repertory still lists *Les Elves,* taken over from Fokine's own company, and *Don Juan, L'Epreuve d'Amour* and *Les Eléments,* produced during the René Blum period. They are mere titles, for they were never successful here; they have not been performed in a long time and are not likely to be revived in the future. There were, of course, the inevitable "classics," *Les Sylphides, Carnaval, Scheherazade, Spectre de la Rose, Petrouchka* and *Prince Igor,* none of which, for inexplicable reasons, had the benefit of an authentic revival by the choreographer himself. For all the use the Ballet Russe made of Fokine's presence in America, he might as well not have existed at all. Massine and Nijinska had contributed all they had to give to the company. George Balanchine was the last of the Diaghilev choreographers to be called upon, the last one with Imperial Russian background, with Diaghilev associations and with an international prestige. He had returned from the extensive Latin American tour of the American Ballet and the company had been dissolved after its good-will mission; Balanchine was not connected with any other company at the time, and the Ballet Theatre had let the opportunity pass.

George Balanchine was born Georgei Melitonovitch Balanchivadze in St. Petersburg in 1904. His father was a well-known com-

poser and the son's interest in music was so serious that he intended to become a concert pianist after he had graduated from the State School. He was admitted to the Imperial Dancing School in 1914, studying with Andreanov, Gerdt, Skiraev and Galikovsky. He was graduated in 1921 and entered the Marinsky ballet and at the same time the Conservatory of Music, in order to study piano, theory and composition. In Moscow he was deeply impressed and influenced by Kazian Yaroslavlevitch Golizovsky's revolutionary ideas on choreography and "modern" plastic gesture. In 1923 Balanchine organized performances of The Young Ballet which were successful with the young artists but which met with firm opposition on the part of the older academic masters. He arranged the dances for Ernst Toller's *Broken Bow* at the Mihailovsky Theatre, for Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* at the Alexandrinsky Theatre and Milhaud's *Boeuf sur le Toit* at the Art Institute, and he danced at the Marinsky Theatre. In 1924 the Young Ballet was organized by Balanchivadze and Vladimir Dimitriev for an extensive European tour. This group included excellent dancers, among them Alexandra Danilova and Tamara Geva. In Paris they encountered Serge de Diaghilev, whose waning company was badly in need of new, well-trained dancers. Diaghilev incorporated the Soviet state dancers into his Ballets Russes and appointed the twenty-year-old Balanchivadze ballet master of the company. Then the difficult Georgian name was shortened to George Balanchine.

Balanchine produced ten ballets for Diaghilev: *Le Rossignol* (Strawinsky-Matisse, 1925), *Barabau* (Rieti-Utrillo, 1925), *La Pastorale* (Auric-Pruna, 1925), *Jack-in-the-Box* (Satie-Derain, 1926), *Triumph of Neptune* (Lord Berners, 1926), *La Chatte* (Sauguet-Gabo and Pevsner, 1927), *Apollon Musagète* (Strawinsky-Bauchant, 1928), *Les Dieux Mendiants* (Handel-Bakst and Juan Gris, 1928), *Le Fils Prodigue* (Prokofieff-Rouault, 1929), *Le Bal* (Rieti-Georges de Chirico, 1929). After Diaghilev's death in 1929, Balanchine went to Copenhagen as ballet master of the Royal Opera House and to London to choreograph opera ballets. He joined the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo for its first season and created the three ballets we have mentioned before: *La Concurrence* (Auric-André Derain), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (Strauss-Alexandre Benois) and *Cotillon* (Chabrier-Bérard). A year later, together with Vladimir Dimitriev, he

founded his own company, Les Ballets 1933, for which he produced *Errante* (Schubert-Tchelitchew), *Songes* (Milhaud-Derain), *Fastes* (Sauguet-Derain), *Mozartiana* (Mozart-Tchaikowsky-Bérard), *Les Sept Péchés Capitaux* (Weill-Neher) and *Les Valses* (Beethoven-Terry). In the fall of 1933 he and Dimitriev left Europe to found, with Lincoln Kirstein and Edward M. M. Warburg, The School of American Ballet in New York.

Considering that from this list of some twenty works only two, *Apollon* and *The Prodigal Son,* remain in the current repertory, one may lament the futility of choreographic creation. But the ephemeral character of ballet is an essential part of its definition and the uniqueness of any one performance adds to the excitement of seeing a ballet. Time and again revivals are demanded by those who never saw the original as well as by those who recall it with delight, but a literally accurate record of past balletic achievements would be both illuminating and depressing, for with the passage of time our memory modifies the original experience to fit its current needs and values. The selective process which determines what shall be preserved in our cultural heritage is harsh, but it is never final.

Fortunately, enough Balanchine ballets have been presented in recent seasons to permit an appreciation of his work: *Danses Concertantes, Concerto Barocco, Ballet Imperial, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (new version), *Baiser de la Fée* and *Night Shadow* at the Monte Carlo company, *The Prodigal Son* at the Original Ballet Russe, *Apollo* and *Waltz Academy* at the Ballet Theatre, *Divertimento, Renard* and *The Four Temperaments* at the Ballet Society. The unity of style, even in such a diversity of subjects, is immediately observable. Yet this very quality, so unmistakable in actual performance, is elusive and hard to define.

Balanchine's compositions create the exhilarating illusion of effortless achievement. An appreciation of their extreme technical difficulties comes only as a surprising afterthought. A step-by-step analysis of Balanchine's choreography would disclose the admirable balance of its basic structure, but not the beauty of its functional perfection. There is probably no other choreographer who, with equal deliberation, conceives of movement as the ultimate result of his creative efforts. His own statement that, in ballet, "the important thing is the movement itself," implies that, for him, movement is not only the

means and medium of dance expression; it is the absolute realization of what he calls "abstract memories of form." If style may be termed loosely an organic summation of separate aesthetic experiences, then Balanchine's style, in all its variations, indicates clearly his preference for linear development and geometrical abstraction. This may account for the clarity and accuracy of his dance patterns and for the transparency, or what Denby calls the "luminosity," in the spacing of his figures.

Balanchine's often remarked "classicism" or "neo-classicism" has a double implication, one bearing directly on his specific, limpid style, the other on his consistent use of the basic academic idiom. The flawless execution of Balanchine's choreographic compositions is as delicate and exacting a task as the playing of a Mozart score. A good deal of their particular charm resides in the deceptive ease with which they are rendered. The supreme mastery required of every executant is directly derived from the discipline of the *danse d'école* and from absolute confidence in an approved kinetic system. No matter how complex, stylized, abstracted or even distorted, the choreographic work is composed of basic steps and basic movements "in an endless chain of infinite combinations," as Balanchine says. In creating a ballet the choreographer conveys his ideas by means of this basic technical vocabulary; he relies entirely on the dancer's familiarity with it. If this sounds elementary, it indicates nevertheless an essential characteristic of Balanchine's choreographic method. For his richly imaginative use of the dancer's body in expressive movements or repose is determined by the functional mechanics of the classical technique. In the last analysis Balanchine is not interested in the dancer as an individual, but in the dancer as a perfected instrument.

His compositions glorify the classical dance, they do not glamorize the individual dancer. And for this reason some virtuoso dancers, used to star positions, have disliked or even refused to work with him. But like every sensitive artist, Balanchine is naturally influenced by the potential qualities of the material with which he works, specifically the dancers. No matter how complex and difficult the movement he designs, it never destroys or violates the integrity of the executants' human uniqueness. In choreographing for groups he treats the collective unit exactly as he does the individual dancer,

4426

that is, as something specific and unique. The self-denying discipline he imposes ultimately benefits the dancer, for the soloist emerges, at a given moment, from the ensemble much as a magnificent solo instrument arises from the symphonic accord of an orchestra, carried and carrying at the same time.

There is a singular climate of suspense in Balanchine's ballets, totally different in character from the dramatic suspense engendered by a plot or a psychological conflict. "The visual spectacle, not the story, is the essential element," states Balanchine. The libretto is relevant only to the extent that it furnishes danceable substance, but there is no trace of literal explanation or descriptive pantomime. The story of *Apollon,* for instance, never degenerates from a poetic vision into realistic narrative or explicit symbolism. The material potentialities of the story are not nearly exhausted. There remains a wealth of unexplored and unexploited substance which stimulates and challenges the imagination. Yet there is never a feeling of imperfection or frustration, because one agrees spontaneously with the choreographer's selection of essentials. In watching a Balanchine composition, our perception seems to be sharpened and sensitized to experience of a high poetic order. While unfolding in space, the range of significant movement seems to extend beyond the field of physical vision and the moving figures thus define mysterious relationships which transcend physical contacts and connotations. The composer Elliott Carter once observed that "there is something magical and stirring about this drawing of the invisible lines in the air."

The repertory Balanchine brought to the Ballet Russe consisted of a number of older compositions, like *Mozartiana* (1933) and *Serenade* (1935), of more recent ones, created for the American Ballet, like *Baiser de la Fée* (1937), *Jeu de Cartes* (1937), *Concerto Barocco* (1941) and *Ballet Imperial* (1941) and a number of new ones, especially choreographed for the Monte Carlo, *Danses Concertantes* (1944), *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (1944) and *The Night Shadow* (1946).

To understand the significance of Balanchine's active presence in the Ballet Russe, it is not nearly so important to analyze in detail the ballets he staged for this organization, as it is to appreciate the essential character of his contribution. It is probably accurate enough to identify Balanchine's work with the absolute classical tradition in

theatrical dancing. *Concerto Barocco* in 1941 manifested a new departure and a definitive clarification of his style, implying an unhostile rejection of the romanticism and folklore of the Fokine tradition. Just how thoroughly revolutionary was Balanchine's new tendency was concealed by the sheer aesthetic appeal of the performance and, even more, by the choreographer's undeniable respect for the basic *danse d'école.* But just as no one before Fokine had realized the potentialities of the traditional school for expressing material of contemporary interest, so no one before Balanchine had expanded the classic idiom to the magnificently expressive richness it assumes in his creations. It is purely classic, too, in the sense that it remained free from any inspiration of the expressional dance which had so profoundly influenced Fokine's, Nijinska's and Massine's choreographic concepts. Strictly speaking, Balanchine's new direction was no more the "revival" or rejuvenation of a latent style than was Fokine's earlier in the century, or than the humanistic inspiration of the Renaissance was a revival of the Greek classicism. In each instance the essential process was the reaffirmation of absolute laws of balance, harmony, proportion and functional perfection, in the spirit and the aesthetic idiom of a new era. Tradition, properly understood, is not simply the faithful continuation of established practices, but the perpetual rediscovery and reapplication of those basic laws, as stated and amplified in the cumulative wisdom of countless generations.

The original impulse for Balanchine's creative inspiration is music, or rather, the relation between music and movement. Rhythm and emotion, in sound and motion, are identical for every individual work that materializes in performance. Balanchine explains: "The organizing of rhythm on a grand scale is a sustained process. It is a function of the musical mind." Since *Concerto Barocco,* Balanchine has avoided ballets with story content, and the two exceptions, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *The Night Shadow,* hardly rank with his best accomplishments. His inventiveness is greatest in pure, abstract dance design. In the Ballet Russe repertory are three abstract or plotless ballets, *Concerto Barocco* (Bach), *Ballet Imperial* (Tchaikowsky) and *Danses Concertantes* (Strawinsky), which demonstrate that the dramatic pathos, as well as the lyrical emotion, inherent in

the score are directly transformed into movement impetus without any cerebral strain or visible mechanical effort.

Although Balanchine has, more precisely than anyone else, formed and formulated the classical style of the contemporary American ballet, he has never used native subject matter, except in the collegiate trifle, *Alma Mater* (1934), but there is more to the creation of an American ballet than the use of local color. Very few compositions in Balanchine's previous work could have been defined in terms of historical time and geographical place, but they clearly indicated the time and the place of their creation. Thus Balanchine's American work gives evidence of native character, but evokes no such literally recognizable associations, as do *Saratoga* or *Rodeo.* Balanchine's understanding stems from long years of practical experience and intensive work with American dancers, both in the classroom and on the stage. It is a mutual relationship, with mutual obligations and responsibilities loyally fulfilled. Consequently it would be just as correct to say that Balanchine's choreographic style is undeniably influenced by the qualities of our dancers as it is true to say that they owe him the realization of their latent style. As we watch our dancers, this style is revealed in the manner of execution, suggestive of the spirit which motivates and animates it. It evolves from movement-feeling and movement-tenor, from the ambient climate and the unconscious possession of a cultural heritage. Presupposing the same absolute technical finish, the same movement phrase would be different in different countries: a Russian dancer would tend to demonstrate more power, a French dancer more poise, an American dancer more speed.

When Balanchine withdrew from the Ballet Russe as permanent collaborator, in order to devote himself to the organization of the Ballet Society, the company was again left without a choreographer. This situation was perilous not only for the repertory, but even more for the maintenance of group discipline, collective morale and performing standards. In 1944 Frederic Franklin was appointed ballet master, a position for which he was eminently qualified both by his professional experience and by his personal integrity. It is doubtless due to his skill and efforts that the overworked ensemble has preserved its precious repertory without the benefit of a resident choreographer. It is not an easy task. Since Franklin is not a choreographer,

he never had the opportunity of inspiring the company with the unique experience of a collective working-out of a creation; he could not impose the discipline of a unified style which is justified in terms of a creative intention. His was and still is the responsibility for the choreographic integrity and the accuracy of execution of some twenty-odd active ballets which constitute the company's main asset. Potentially it is a rather imposing repertory. In reality, some of the productions of the classical ballets are unpardonably shoddy, other works are frequently inadequately rehearsed or cast and the actual seasonal programs fall far short of the balance, variety and stimulation that the choice of available titles seems to suggest.

In recent years the Ballet Russe has been compelled to work with various guest choreographers of unequal stature. They have had uneven success and a meager total result. Igor Schwezoff staged *The Red Poppy* (1943), to music by Reinhold Gliere, with settings and costumes by Boris Aronson and a dramatic role for Alexandra Danilova; it was a workmanlike piece with an abundance of dramatic action, but without artistic distinction. Pilar Lopez, the sister of Argentinita, did *The Cuckold's Fair* (1943), to music by Gustavo Pittaluga, with a décor by Joan Junyer, an excursion into Spanish folklore—a wonderful subject in a pedestrian performance. Another Spanish piece, *Madroños* (1947), by Antonia Cobos, to music by Moszkowsky, Yradier and others, with exquisite costumes by Castillo, is a slight, but pleasant and stylish composition. Todd Bolender choreographed *Commedia Balletica,* with music by Igor Strawinsky and décor and costumes by Robert Davison. Miss Danilova herself, assisted by George Balanchine, presented a three-act *Raymonda* (1946), the revival of a Petipa work, set to music by Alexander Glazounov, with unbelievably dull and antiquated settings and costumes, especially commissioned from the old master, Alexander Benois. It was an anachronism, like playing at Imperial Russian Ballet. Danilova evidently enjoyed herself immensely in the title role; she is such a brilliant dancer and has such irresistible stage personality that one actually did not mind the fanciful ballet that went with her performance. Edward Caton contributed a stillborn piece of Americana, called *Lola Montez* (1947), occurring "in a Midwestern Town in the period of the Gold Rush," with a specially composed score by Fred Witt and the old décor and most of the

costumes by Raoul Pène du Bois salvaged from *Ghost Town*. This act of rescue, presumably, was the reason for doing the ballet. Ruthanna Boris made her choreographic début with the charming *Cirque de Deux* (1947). Ruth Page revived *Frankie and Johnny* (originally composed in 1938) and created a new ballet, *The Bells* (1946), and Valerie Bettis experimented with *Virginia Sampler* (1947).

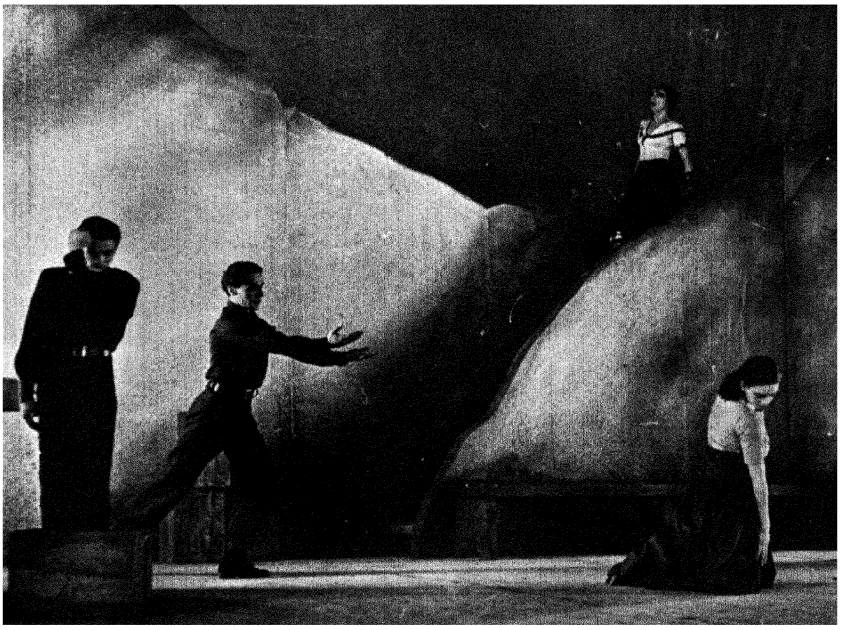
This record shows a laudable effort, but little artistic plan or discrimination. It is in no way comparable to the brilliance and vitality of the company's first years, the interest and excitement of the Massine period, and the elegance and distinction of the Balanchine work. Since Balanchine's departure not one ballet of consequence has been added to the repertory. Todd Bolender and Ruthanna Boris are very promising talents in the classical field and, if given the opportunity, may assert distinct choreographic personalities. Antonia Cobos is an artist of wit and originality, entirely capable of working on a large scale, as she proved elsewhere with the delightful *Mute Wife*.

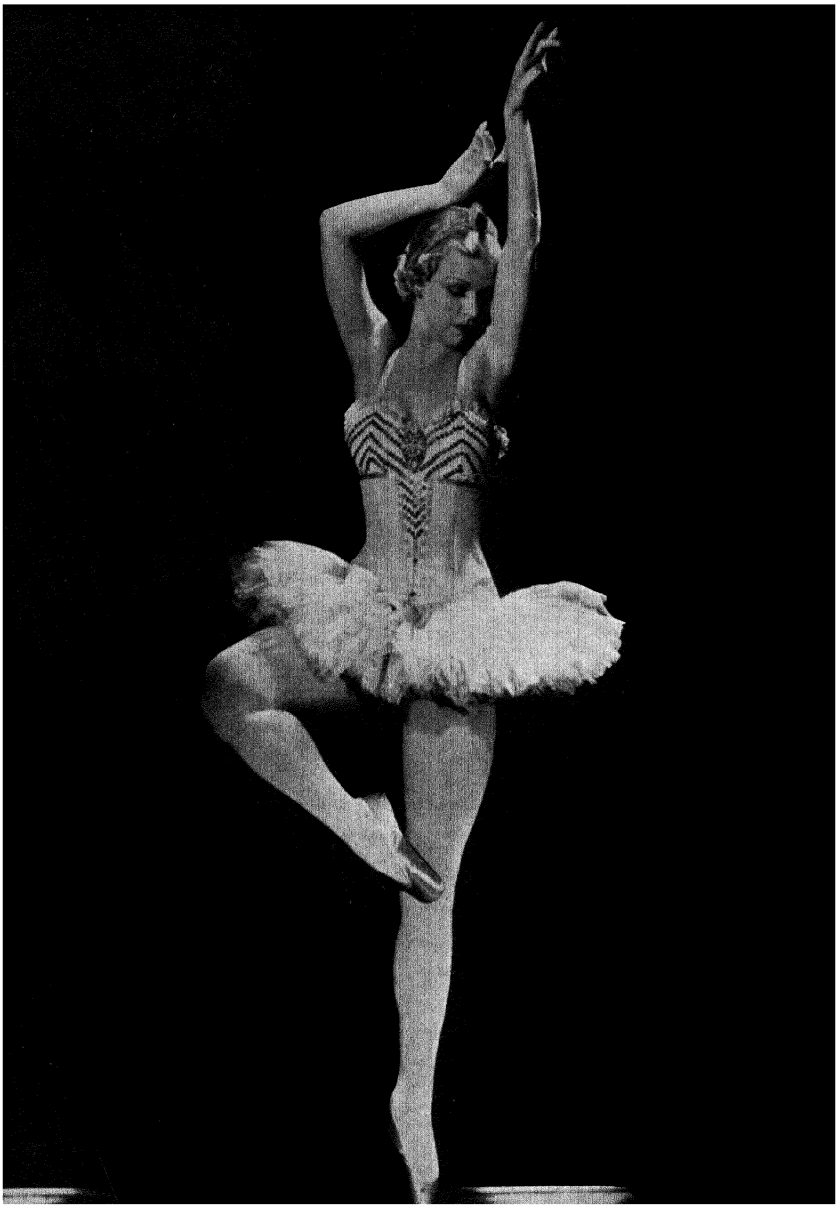
Virginia Sampler, with book and choreography by Valerie Bettis, music by Leo Smit and setting and costumes by Charles Elson, was an interesting and unsuccessful experiment. It had only a sketchy story about the disruption of the conventional pattern of a Virginia town, in the period after the American Revolution, by the arrival of strangers, frontiersmen, soldiers and a mysterious Woman on Horseback. The ensuing conflicts were not fully developed in ballet terms; they merely served the purpose of contrast and color. The dramatic tensions were slight and the emotional range was narrow. This limitation was partly deliberate, to suit the modest size of the work, partly due to peculiar circumstances. Miss Bettis, who has an established reputation in the field of expressional dance, both as a choreographer and a performer, had no experience in the ballet idiom. Because of her particular background, she was used to a different kind of dance impulse and dynamic response, another kinesthetic pattern and a more directly intuitive projection of emotional states. The result was altogether unsatisfactory, since the dancers went quasi-mechanically through the motions prescribed in the choreography, but evidently, through no fault of theirs, did not fully grasp the essential meaning they were called upon to convey.

In the ballet, Eugene Loring, Agnes de Mille and Antony Tudor,



RUTH PAGE as Infanta in *The Birthday of the Infanta,* 1920. Photo: Daguerre Studio





CATHERINE LITTLEFIELD



Group from *Barn Dance,* Philadelphia Opera Ballet, 1937



WILLAM CHRISTENSEN

Group from *Now the Brides*, San Francisco Ballet, 1939. Photo. Morton & Co.





Group from *Alma Mater*, The American Ballet, 1934



Group from *Billy the Kid*, American Ballet Caravan, 1938. Photo: George Platt Lynes

Group from *Filling Station*, American Ballet Caravan, 1938. Photo: Schulman

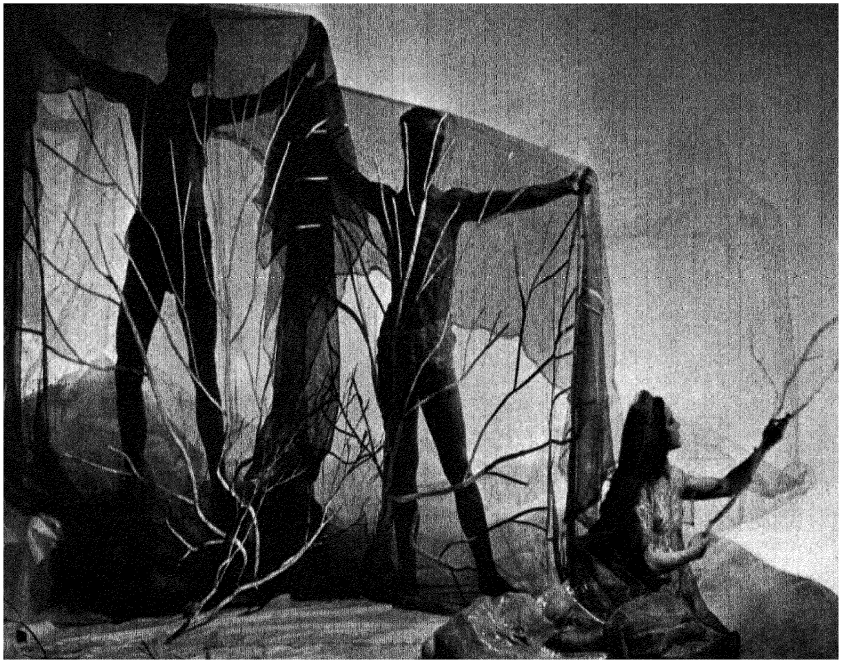




LEW CHRISTENSEN in *Filling Station*, 1938. Photo: George Platt Lynes

Group from *Time Table*, The American Ballet, 1941, Photo: George Platt Lynes

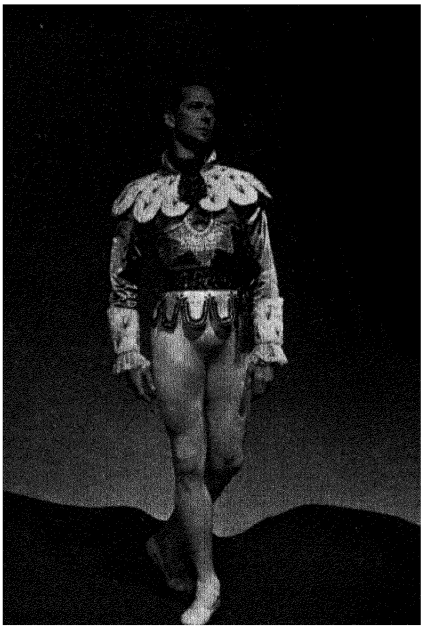




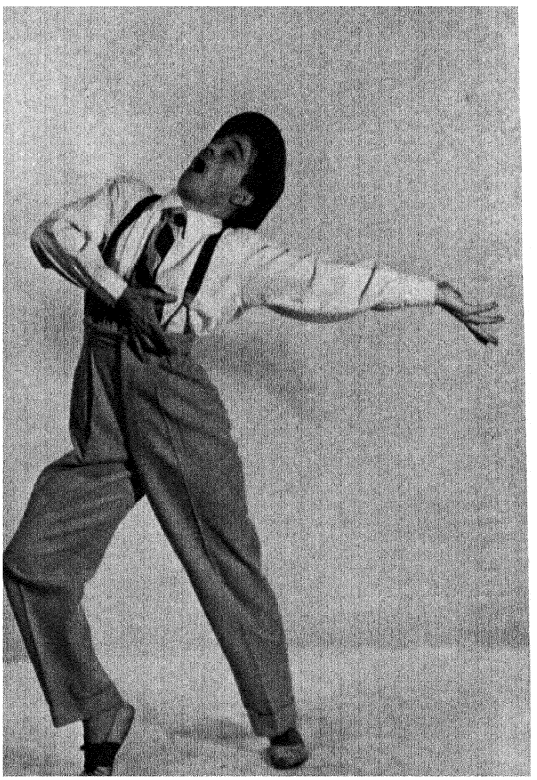
Group from *Orpheus*, The American Ballet, 1936.
Photo: George Platt Lynes

Group from *Yankee Clipper*, American Ballet Caravan, 1937. Photo. George Platt Lynes





William Dollar in *Ballet Imperial* The American Ballet 1941 Photo George Platt Lynes



Eugene Loring in *The Great American Goof* Ballet Theatre 1940 Photo Louis Melançon



Groups from *Les Sylphides,* Ballet Theatre. Photo: Larry Colwell





ALICIA MARKOVA. Photo: Maurice Seymour



ALICIA MARKOVA. Photo: Walter E. Owen



ALICIA ALONSO and ALICIA MARKOVA in *Pas de Quatre*. Photo. Fred Fehl



ALICIA MARKOVA. Photo Fred Fehl

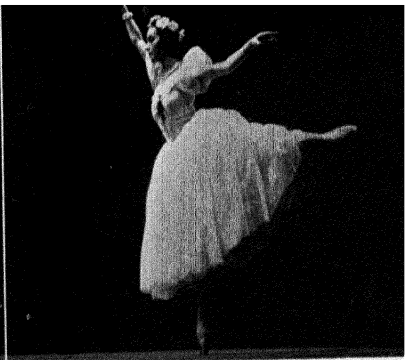


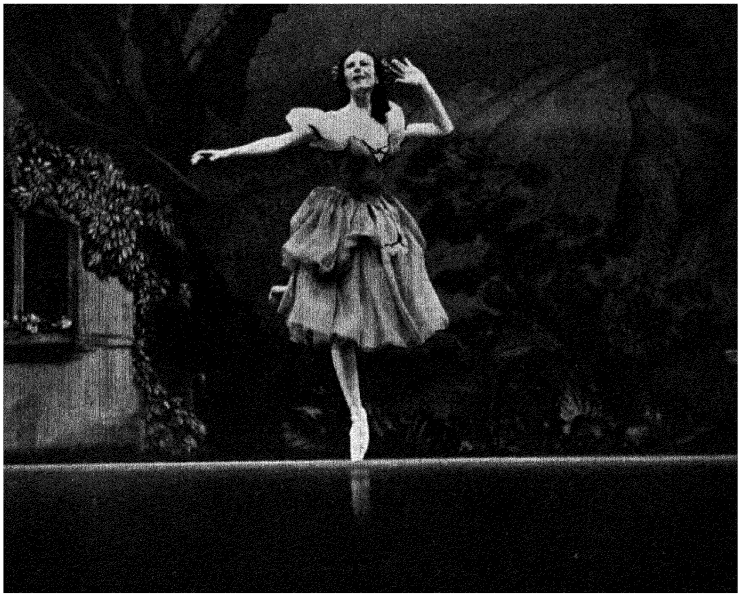
ALICIA ALONSO and ANTON DOLIN. Photo. Fred Fehl

ALICIA MARKOVA and ALICIA ALONSO. Photo: Fred Fehl

NANA GOLLNER in *Pas de Quatre*. Photo: Fred Fehl



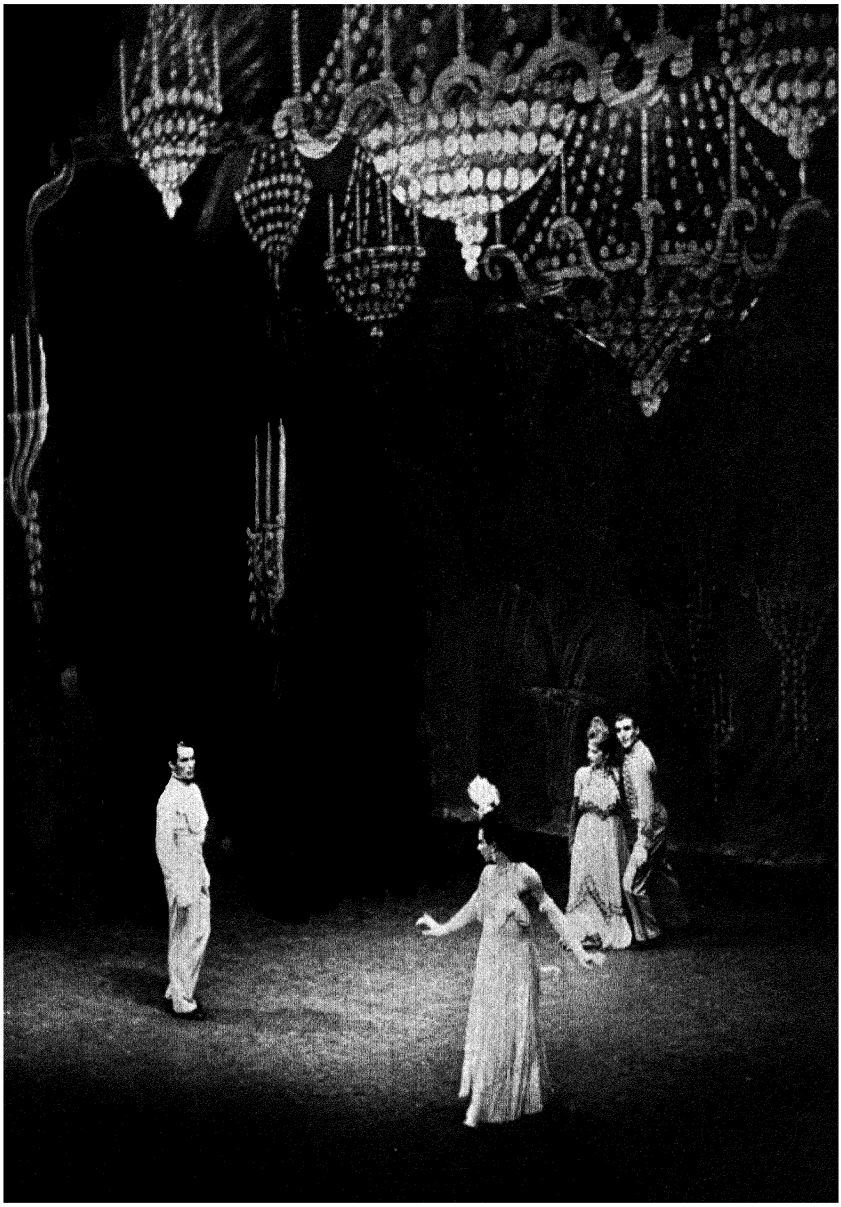




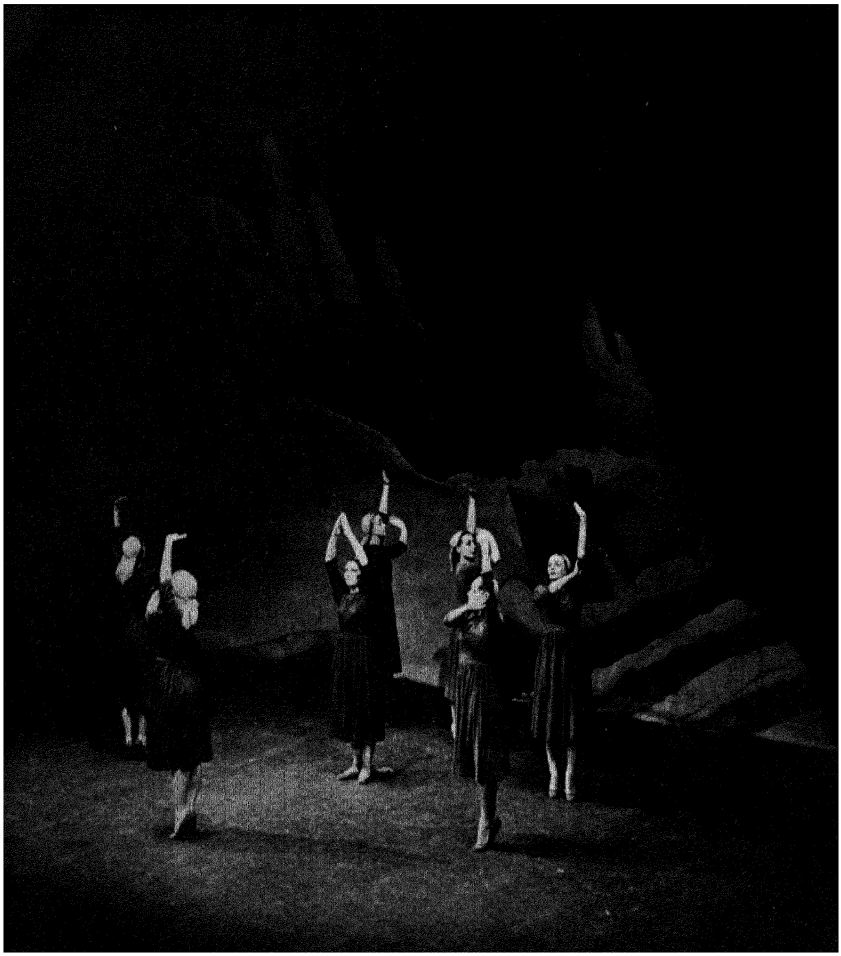
ALICIA MARKOVA in *Giselle*, Ballet Theatre. Photo: Fred Fehl

ALICIA ALONSO in *Giselle*, Ballet Theatre. Photo: Fred Fehl





HUGH LAING and NORA KAYE in *Dim Lustre*, Ballet Theatre, 1943.
Photo. Larry Colwell



Group from *Dark Elegies,* Ballet Theatre, 1940. Photo: Larry Colwell

and Fokine, Nijinska and Massine before them, have shown the influence of the expressional dance in varying degrees. This refers not merely to movement tendencies, muscular function and the characteristic displacing of the center of gravity away from the balletic vertical; it is even more notable in the introspective tendencies of new ballets as against the character of the strict classical ballet. Massine's *St. Francis* and Tudor's *Jardin aux Lilas* are two striking examples. But to expect or attempt a fusion between classical ballet and expressional dance amounts to denying the very origin and the essential function of either. It is clear that the psychological ballets of Antony Tudor, for instance, approach the problem of emotional expressiveness from a basic aesthetic concept diametrically opposed to that of Martha Graham, Doris Humphrey and Valerie Bettis. Thus, *Virginia Sampler* ended on a compromise which was not satisfactory in balletic, or in expressional terms. And it was very revealing that by far the most compelling performance in the ballet was Miss Bettis's own portrayal of the mysterious lady. She is, of course, a magnificent dancer in any terms. Leo Smit's music was handsome and danceable but Charles Elson's décor was rather too neutrally reserved to blend with the ballet's lively action.

Two other young native choreographers each produced a fine ballet for the Ballet Russe that showed just as much American spirit in abstract invention, in fact, that seemed the consummation of the cleanness and precision, the ease and friendliness we have come to associate with our dancers. Ruthanna Boris choreographed a delightful little ballet called *Cirque de Deux,* set to the ballet music from Gounod's *Faust,* with an ingeniously simple and charming décor and costumes by Robert Davison. In form it is a classical *pas de deux,* with an extra couple of attendants. The grand adagio is wittily designed as a devastating exhibition number on a mechanical turntable, and several circus acts provide the material for the ballerina's and her partner's variation. Within its modest size and ambition the work achieves perfection. Todd Bolender composed a *Comedia Balletica,* to music by Igor Strawinsky, with décor and costumes by Robert Davison. Formerly called *Musical Chairs,* the whole action of the ballet consists of the change of seats between five dancers, with solos, duets and ensemble numbers in between. It is pure dancing in the classical idiom, yet with a subtle comment, a twist of irony, a hint

of eccentricity, all of which amounts to an original and fascinating little piece of balletic fun.

In spite of these and other assets, at the present moment the Ballet Russe is in a critical though not desperate position. Some of the old prestige of the Russian-Diaghilev-Paris-Riviera associations still clings to its name—which is no doubt useful for promotion purposes. But the American public has become ballet wise, and the war and postwar experiences have seriously discredited the old idea of European supremacy in art. The Ballet Russe has a rich repertory, with a good balance of traditional and modern ballets, with some of Fokine's, Massine's and Balanchine's unequaled masterpieces, and with some worthwhile Americana and experimental works. But this repertory needs a thorough revision in terms of modern requirements and standards. It must be revived and restaged and be kept alive under competent direction, preferably by the original choreographers. The preservation of the so-called "classics," such as *The Nutcracker, Scheherazade, Swan Lake,* so prominently featured in the repertory, must be justified with first-rate performances, careful productions and general respect for the integrity of each work of art. The old décor and costumes must either be discarded or authentically restored, and in many cases new designs are indicated. *Swan Lake* is a case in point.

One of the Ballet Russe's greatest assets is the *ballerina assoluta,* Alexandra Danilova, a dancer who possesses the magic of personality, who is adored by the public and respected by her colleagues. But no one dancer is strong enough to carry the responsibilities and the inhuman strain of such a lonely position. The Toumanova, Riabouchinska, Baronova, Slavenska, Markova, Youskevitch, Eglevsky and Massine of the former seasons are irretrievably lost and many fine younger artists, like Maria Tallchief and Marie-Jeanne, and a score of less accomplished ones of unusual promise have recently deserted the company. The Ballet Russe must establish a policy which makes it attractive for the dancers to stay, not so much in terms of salary as in terms of growth. Freedom from guest stars affords opportunity for young dancers to develop, provided they have the chance to work with good choreographers. At present, Mary Ellen Moylan and Ruthanna Boris seem to have ballerina potentialities. On the male side, the roster is distressingly poor. The excellent and versatile Frederic

Franklin and the immensely talented and pleasant Leon Danielian are the only ranking soloists. They, too, are inevitably overworked. The Ballet Russe has the advantage of unified direction and undivided responsibility under Sergei Denham, and praise as well as blame for the present situation should go exclusively to him.

Many circumstances, of course, are determined not by principles of policy, but by the force of objective factors. From the outside it is impossible to estimate the financial situation and the restrictions and limitations dictated by budget considerations. Many of the shortcomings in production may be explained by the inadequate stage facilities at the City Center. The touring schedule is the ruin of any ensemble; the physical and moral hardships of a transcontinental trip kill spirit and initiative and illusions. Also, the settings and costumes suffer from continual traveling. The fast turnover in the ensemble, largely resulting from these demoralizing tours, makes any long-range personnel policy and continuity of work nearly impossible. However, an audience is not concerned with backstage problems and the difficulties of running a large ballet company. To suggest or initiate remedies is not the public's task.

It is not too optimistic, but quite deliberately realistic, to expect the Ballet Russe to live up to its former prestige and to the expectations of our dancers and our audience. The future of the Ballet Russe depends on the quality of its ensemble, the quality of its repertory, the quality of its productions and a clearly stated, progressive policy. America cannot afford to lose the Ballet Russe; neither can it tolerate its being less than perfect.

VII

Three American Pioneers

During the decades of Russian supremacy on the American ballet stage, a few Americans working in the ballet were able to assert their abilities and win themselves leading positions. Willam Christensen, Catherine Littlefield and Ruth Page were the first of these; they were convinced that American dancers had come of age and they worked with determination and consistency to prove themselves and their companies.

They were wise enough not to attempt the conquest of New York with its unpredictable metropolitan audience; instead, each of them concentrated in a local theatrical center where the public's willingness to respond compensated for its lack of balletic education. In terms of organization they followed the European tradition of affiliating their companies with large existing opera houses—Willam Christensen, with the San Francisco Opera, Catherine Littlefield, with the Philadelphia Opera and Ruth Page, with the Chicago Opera.

Willam Christensen, the eldest of three dancing brothers, was born in Utah; the family had a dance tradition and the three boys started their early training with their parents, continued in the ballet school of their uncle, L. P. Christensen, and later studied with Fokine, Novikoff and Vladimiroff. Willam established himself in

San Francisco, dancing, teaching and organizing a small company. In 1937 he was appointed artistic director, ballet master and principal dancer of the San Francisco Opera Company. He had trained many of the members of the company; among his distinguished students were Janet Reed, who became *prima ballerina* of the new company, and Harold Lang. In the next few years the group made some very successful tours in the West and Middle West—in Portland, Seattle, Omaha, Wichita and many other places. The company expanded gradually and built a fine, well-balanced repertory, including *Rumanian Wedding* (1936) with music by Georges Enesco, *Romeo and Juliet* (1938) to Tchaikowsky's score, *A Bach Suite* (1938), *Swan Lake* (1941) and Beethoven's *Sonata Pathétique* (1943). Christensen choreographed most of the repertory himself.

In November 1947 the company was established as an independent organization—the San Francisco Civic Ballet Association—with a long-range program for the development of a permanent resident and touring company on the west coast, under Christensen's artistic direction with Irving Deakin as general manager. This is a new and promising chapter in the already remarkable ballet history of the city. The San Francisco Opera Ballet had been organized as early as 1923 by the Italian director Natalie Carosio; she had been succeeded by Serge Oukrainsky, Theodore Kosloff and Adolph Bolm as ballet masters.

Christensen has made an invaluable contribution to the ballet in America during ten years of methodical work in one place and with one group entirely composed of native dancers. In the confused and constantly shifting ballet picture in America today, the San Francisco Ballet is a telling example of what admirable results can be achieved in a modest frame with personal and artistic integrity and singleness of purpose and direction.

Catherine Littlefield's career is more varied than Christensen's, although her main contribution, too, was made with one company. She was born in Philadelphia in 1908 and first trained by her mother, Caroline Littlefield; later she studied with Luigi Albertieri in New York and Leo Staats and Lubov Egorova in Paris. She made her début in Ziegfeld's *Sally* in 1923 and danced in several other Ziegfeld productions and at the Roxy. In 1925 she became *première danseuse*

of the Philadelphia Civic Opera Company and from 1926 to 1933 was *première danseuse* with the Chicago Opera Company. She staged all the ballets in the opera repertory and quickly won a reputation as a choreographer.

In 1934 she formed the Catherine Littlefield Ballet Company, made up of thirty young American dancers; Leopold Stokowski became interested in the organization and offered it the exceptional advantage of performing regularly with the Philadelphia Symphony, under himself and, later, with Alexander Smallens. Encouraged by the immediate success of her small group, Miss Littlefield organized the Philadelphia Ballet Company in 1936, a large, permanent repertory company with sixty American dancers. Miss Littlefield was directress and *première danseuse;* Alexis Dolinoff de Wels was ballet master and *premier danseur* from 1935 to 1937. Except for Dolinoff the group was exclusively composed of American-born and -trained dancers, including Joan McCracken, Karen Conrad, Miriam Golden, Dorothy Littlefield and Jack Potteiger. In 1936 this company presented the first performance of Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloe* since Diaghilev's visit in 1916 and, in 1937, a complete version of Tchaikowsky's *The Sleeping Beauty,* a ballet whose last act is usually given alone as *Aurora's Wedding.* In a comparatively short time Miss Littlefield had built a substantial repertory of more than twenty ballets.

The Philadelphia Ballet was invited, as a representative American company, to appear in Paris during the International Exposition in 1937 and performed one week at the Théâtre des Champs Elysées in Paris, then one week in Brussels, three days in The Hague and three weeks in London. It was the first American ballet company to visit Europe and it was enthusiastically received; in particular, Miss Littlefield's *Barn Dance* seemed to captivate European audiences.

Barn Dance, with music by David Guion, L. M. Gottschalk and John Powell, and setting and costumes by Salvatore Pinto, has no connected story, except for an inconsequential bit about a country girl who has "gone wrong" and reforms. It consists of a sequence of lively scenes which are mainly—and exuberantly—dancing. The sources are square dances, reels, rounds and other American community dances, broadened, strengthened and organized for theatrical effect while preserving their inherent form and spirit. Miss Littlefield

controls the popular medium with wonderful humorous superiority, consistently avoiding the air of slightly pedantic dedication which so often prevails in the gatherings of folk-dance addicts. The freshness and spontaneity of the ballet is derived not so much from folklore material as from the inexhaustible stock of American legend alive in its people, its types, its humor. Above all, it is full-bodied theatre and dance and an admirably expert job of ensemble composition. Everything seems to happen at once on the almost constantly crowded stage, although never for a moment is there any danger of confusion. The music is nicely fitting in rhythm and spirit, though the setting and costumes are regrettably inept. *Barn Dance* was revived for the Ballet Theatre by Miss Littlefield in 1944.

In general, Catherine Littlefield showed a marked interest in American subjects and usually employed American composers and designers. Among her best-known works are *Snow Queen* (1935), *Terminal* (1937), *Parable in Blue* (1937), *Let the Righteous Be Glad* (1937), *Ladies' Better Dresses* (1938) and *Café Society* (1939), all of which were well received, although none of them is a work of great distinction. The scores were not outstanding and the designers were not artists of great stature. The fine collective spirit of the group and Miss Littlefield's authoritative direction appeared in the cleanness, coherence and unity of each production; the work was all safe and pleasant and competent, but it lacked daring, breadth and a keen contemporary feeling. In 1939 the Chicago Civic Opera engaged the company as its official ballet; in 1940 Miss Littlefield staged the dances for Albert Johnson's *American Jubilee* at the World's Fair in New York, presenting her ballet with Paul Haakon. Since the 1940 revue, *It Happens On Ice,* Miss Littlefield has been engaged for all the consecutive ice shows at the Center Theatre in New York.

Ruth Page is the most progressive and intellectually and artistically curious of these three ballet pioneers. She was born in Indianapolis, studied with Ivan Clustine, the ballet master of the Pavlova company, and joined this company on an extensive Latin American tour. She continued her studies with Adolph Bolm, who cast her in the role of the Infanta in John Alden Carpenter's *The Birthday of the Infanta* at the Chicago Opera Company. As principal dancer

in Bolm's Ballet Intime, she toured America and went to London in 1920. For two years she danced in Irving Berlin's second *Music Box Revue* and joined the Chicago Allied Arts as *première danseuse* in 1924. She also appeared briefly with the Diaghilev company while she was studying with Maestro Cecchetti in Monte Carlo in 1925. In the same year she accompanied Adolph Bolm as *première danseuse* at the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires. From 1926 to 1931 she was ballet mistress and principal dancer with the Ravinia Opera Company, the open-air festival theatre near Chicago. During the winter season of 1926-1927 and again the following year, she was guest solo dancer at the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York. She made an Oriental tour with a small company in 1928 and presented a series of American Dances before workers' societies in Moscow in 1930. She toured America in solo concerts and toured for two seasons with Harald Kreutzberg in 1932. In 1934 Miss Page was appointed ballet director and *première danseuse* at the reorganized Chicago Grand Opera Company, a position she held until 1937. She and Bentley Stone, the *premier danseur* of the company, toured in a concert program until they organized the Page-Stone Ballet Company in 1938. Stone had first won recognition in Broadway musicals and as a partner of Margaret Severn. He was born in Plankinton, South Dakota, and was soloist with the Chicago Civic Opera Company from 1930 to 1932 and in 1933 was the principal dancer of the Chicago Grand Opera Ballet under Laurent Novikoff, and from 1934 to 1937, under Miss Page. In 1937 he was affiliated with the Marie Rambert Ballet in London and danced several leading roles. In 1938 he joined Miss Page as first dancer and co-director of the Federal Theatre Project in Chicago, for which they jointly created *Frankie and Johnny* (1938) and *Guns and Castanets* (1939).

Frankie and Johnny, which Miss Page restaged for the Monte Carlo ballet, is based on what Carl Sandburg has called America's "classical gutter song." The book is by Michael Blandford and Jerome Moross; Jerome Moross composed the music, Clive Rickabaugh designed the set, and Paul DuPont, the costumes.

The program reads:

Faithful Frankie loves Johnny. Johnny loves Frankie, too. But immediately after a tender love duet with her, he visits Nelly Bly. Then

"Frankie goes down to the corner saloon to buy her a large glass of beer." Her friends form a group around Nelly and Johnny to keep Frankie from seeing what is going on between them. However, the bartender takes keen delight in telling her the real situation, which at first she refuses to believe. Now "Frankie was a good girl as everybody knows" but when she finally realizes that Johnny is actually in love with Nelly, she works herself up into a frenzy of jealousy, and melodramatically shoots Johnny "root-a-toot-toot." All their friends have a fine time celebrating at Johnny's wake. Frankie tries to hang herself, but is saved by Nelly. Finally Frankie is left alone with her lover in the coffin, and the philosophic words of the Three Singers are heard in song:

This story ain't got no moral,
This story ain't got no end,
This story just goes to show you,
That you can't put no trust in any man.

This bawdy and violent melodrama is decidedly odd company for *Swan Lake* and *Giselle* and its legitimacy on the ballet stage is debatable. But the definition of the ballet genre has become rather loose and inclusive and in its own terms *Frankie and Johnny* is an admirable theatre piece, solid, tight, fast and dramatic. Its action occurs on a level of imagination which removes it entirely from the police-blotter reality and its unpleasant concrete associations. Its vulgar and brutal and sordid incidents are transformed into sharply focused images which have visual power and impact. Its characters have the cut-out neatness of collective folk types rather than human dimensions, yet they are credible figures within their realm. It is a genuine, popular ballad which touches the sentiment, if not the heart, and which persists in the memory like the original tune. This love tragedy of the corner saloon is choreographically quite remarkable. The movement pattern is simple and to the point and completely consistent in style throughout, halfway between burlesque and candid realism. Jerome Moross has composed an excellently fitting score and Paul DuPont's settings provide a suitable atmosphere.

In *The Bells,* which Miss Page created for the Monte Carlo ballet in 1946, she attempted a choreographic experiment eminently worth doing. The book is based on Edgar Allan Poe's poem, the music was written by Darius Milhaud and the setting and costumes were designed by Isamu Noguchi.

"The action of the ballet parallels the psychological development of Poe's poem. At the outset all is life, love and gaiety; but this mood is not allowed to endure. Disintegration and decay set in, until at the end there remains only that peculiar Beauty, divorced from Truth and the Moral Sense, which is found, according to Poe, in the 'pleasurable sadness' of the contemplation of death and destruction."

The Bells is a demanding work, original in approach, daring in execution and unlikely to become popular. Its abstract drama has strength and persuasive power which build up toward a terrifying climax; it is impossible to escape the grip of the mounting crescendo and the ultimate disintegration of the world of order. The ballet's general structure follows the poem; it has five clearly separated sections which progress from order to chaos. It is of minor importance how much the work is obligated to Poe, because it conveys meaning entirely in its own choreographic terms and its symbolism is completely transposed and abstracted in absolute dance movement.

And yet the visual impact of the symbols is perhaps greater than is justified by their inherent meaning, for there is at times a discrepancy between the magnitude of the poetic vision and the scope of its realization. In choreographic design and invention the ballet shows an uncompromising determination to reveal the full force of the drama. The second half of the work, with the growing threat of impending disaster and the appearance of the Ghouls is particularly convincing. The ballet is splendidly supported by Milhaud's compact and dramatic score, which has drive and intensity and a weird, haunting beauty. Noguchi designed an ingenious skeleton setting that seems a little thin for its function and, while some of his costumes are fascinating, those which represent bells are too literal in design and unbecoming to the human body.

Active as Miss Page is, her energies are not derived from exceptional physical resources, a restless temperament or burning ambition, but entirely from an irrepressible natural interest in the exciting diversity of life. It is, therefore, impossible to define her artistic achievements in any one formula. They change in content and style, in character and scope and even in medium in a completely pliant response to the dominating stimulus. During her formative years she was fortunate enough to have met Adolph Bolm who gave her a respect for the traditional ballet of the Imperial Academy, the

experience of the Diaghilev-Fokine era and the incentive for progressive, experimental work. In the twenties the Chicago Allied Arts had an importance similar to that of the Ballet Society today and her connection with this vital little organization offered an aesthetic education such as few young artists in the American ballet got. During this time Miss Page became thoroughly acquainted with the theatrical work and ideas of the Russian painter Nicholas Remisoff who later collaborated on most of her ballets. However, in her creative work, both as a concert dancer and as a choreographer, Miss Page was stimulated, rather than dominated, by these influences and she developed very definitely in her own way. Compositions like *Frankie and Johnny* or *Hear ye! Hear ye!* (Bentley-Stone Company, 1934) are of an uncompromising, dramatic directness without precedent or parallel on the ballet stage.

Every one of her creations has drama, whether it be a solo dance or a duet or a group composition, whether it be conceived in abstract, non-representational, symbolic terms, like Ravel's *Bolero,* which she called *Iberian Monotone* and *The Bells,* or presented as straight drama, like *Guns and Castanets,* which is actually the *Carmen* story. The basic structure of her work is determined by her acute sense of the theatre and of the need for dramatic accentuation. In her own words, she tends "to emphasize the drama or the dramatic purpose of the movement" and she does not hesitate to employ expressional or "modern" movement, if she feels that "the work will be more effective dramatically as a result." For the same reason she has experimented with the use of speech in connection with the dance. She argues that "in our Western civilization the theatre arts have become so separated that a few spoken words in a ballet seem to be quite revolutionary." Granted the validity of the argument, the work has yet to be created that demonstrates a convincing fusion of the two media. At present Ruth Page is preparing a new work for the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, based on the colorful personality of Billy Sunday, in which she intends to blend speech, acting and pantomime with dancing. Whatever the result, one may be sure that it will be a stimulating and worthwhile experiment. America has very few native choreographers as yet. The contributions of so active, vital and provocative an artist as Ruth Page are helping to assert and formulate the character of the ballet in America.

VIII

Lincoln Kirstein I

THE FOUNDATIONS

Lincoln Kirstein, as scholar, patron, impresario and pamphleteer, is one of the key figures in the development of the American ballet. Within the last fifteen years he has written several important books and numerous articles; he has edited the only scholarly dance periodical—*Dance Index,* assembled a superb dance collection, founded a prominent ballet school and consecutively organized three fine performing companies—the American Ballet, the Ballet Caravan and the Ballet Society. He has lavished enough energy, initiative and ideas on the ballet for any normal lifetime; he is still young, active, independent and unpredictable and he still has not given half the measure of his vision and capacity.

Kirstein's attitude is emphatically individualistic and aristocratic. He derives his authority from the assertion of his personal convictions, which are at once categorical and catholic. It would be a dangerous authority if held by a man of less integrity and greater vanity, but Kirstein has proved his completely disinterested devotion to an idealistic task which will earn him neither wealth nor honors, neither popularity nor gratitude. The American Ballet and the Ballet Caravan are already monuments of the past, but the dancers and choreog-

raphers who were formed in those companies are still young and their high standard of achievement justifies the time, money and energy expended.

Kirstein's scholarly research, which was to lay the academic and theoretical foundations for his later accomplishments, was brought together in *The Book of the Dance,* published in 1935, which condensed an immense amount of material into a well-integrated, well-written compendium. During his years of study Kirstein assembled a collection of dance documents and dance books which he thought of as the nucleus of an American archives of the dance, similar to the Archives Internationales de la Danse in Paris. Kirstein offered his collection to any institution which would guarantee proper interest, space and care; there was no response to his generous offer and all his efforts to merge with any or all of the more important dance collections were in vain. The material was finally accepted by the Museum of Modern Art; since 1943 the collection is divided between the Museum of Modern Art and the Harvard Theatre Library, which has all the historical material on an extended loan. The Department of Theatre Arts at the Museum of Modern Art, devoted primarily to contemporary trends and achievements in the field, has continued and expanded his collection into a dance archives. Today it is the only large specialized public library and collection of the dance in this country offering adequate facilities for research and exhibition. It is also the only official agency equipped for international exchange with corresponding institutions in Paris, London and Amsterdam.

The foundation of a dance school was Kirstein's next undertaking, for if his vision of ballet as an American art were to be realized, it had to be proved that America could produce dancers as good as those of Europe not only in technique, but in progressive interests.

With Edward M. M. Warburg, Kirstein opened the School of American Ballet in January 1934. What distinguished Kirstein's venture from similar and older institutions was the underlying spirit of its organization, an awareness of specific problems never before clearly realized, formulated and tackled. An early announcement said: "The School is not a mere mechanism designed for the training of a given number of students of balletic dancing. It is an institution founded on an ancient and still lively tradition. Its aim is to preserve and

further the tradition of classical theatrical dancing in order to provide adequate material for the growth of a new national art in America." Such affirmative language had not been heard before in the American dance world. Until that time ballet was "Russian"; it was an imported, highly valued commodity, as alien in origin and flavor as caviar and vodka.

Today we know that the first essential requirement of Kirstein's ambitious dream has come true magnificently. He proudly stated in the 1946 announcement of the Ballet Society: "Americans have demonstrated an inexhaustible power to create classic dancers who perform with a brilliance rivaling the most distinguished foreign artists." This artistic competence is the more gratifying because it is not limited to exceptional or isolated cases, but applies generally to our dancers in consecutive generations.

Although firmly determined to establish model standards, Kirstein did not map his school's program along esoteric lines. He conceived of a national art which would reach deeply into the richly varied sources of the nation. He was convinced that a vast store of anonymous talent was waiting to be discovered and formed.

The task ahead was immense. It could not be accomplished overnight. Yet Kirstein anticipated the peculiar problem. "Americans are impatient," he said, "due increasingly to the pressure of economic insecurity; and time, more than almost any other secondary ingredient, is necessary for the development of any able artist." This stress on length of time, when the usual ballet-school announcement promised a maximum of proficiency in a minimum of time, was a reassuring indication of true professional honesty. Kirstein realized at the start that the future of classic theatrical dancing depended on a long-range educational policy of the widest scope, designed to make the latent national qualities conscious, articulate and visible. When the school opened in Isadora Duncan's former studio, it was after many years of intellectual preparation and after many months of ceaseless, sometimes dramatic efforts to secure the collaboration of George Balanchine.

As an "exponent of the purest contemporary ballet style," Balanchine appeared to Lincoln Kirstein "an inexhaustible source of information." And it is perfectly evident why Kirstein made every conceivable effort to win Balanchine as teacher, ballet master and

choreographer for the projected American Ballet company. For the school was the means toward an end, the severe training ground for a permanent performing company which was to grow coincidentally with the progress of the students. It was able to offer the students a specific and concrete objective worth working for and guarantee a constant supply of new performers for the projected company.

The Producing Company of the School of American Ballet presented its first program at the Avery Memorial Theatre, Hartford, Connecticut, in December 1934. George Balanchine was ballet master, artistic director and choreographer; Edward M. M. Warburg was director. The program consisted of four ballets, all unknown in America: *Mozartiana, Transcendence, Serenade* and *Alma Mater;* for the spring season in New York *Les Songes* and *Reminiscence* were added. At first glance this program seems an odd statement of faith in native creative capacities since only *Alma Mater* was, strictly speaking, an American creation; *Transcendence* avoided any specific definition and three of the ballets were revivals from Balanchine's Ballets 1933 in Paris. Consequently the critics received the company with mixed feelings; while willing to concede its verve, vitality and fine accurate performing technique and to commend the superb choreography, they were grieved and disappointed that this promising American company was not literally more American.

Alma Mater, with book by Edward Warburg, music by Kay Swift, orchestrated by Morton Gould and costumes by John Held Jr., was collegiate, amusing and slight. The synopsis says:

Crowds at the stadium entrance hail the half-back piled on his admirers' shoulders. Flappers dash up for autographs; as he poses against the fence, a photographer snaps his portrait. Snake dance is a rah-rah Bacchanale; not even the goal-posts are left standing. The villain in a coon-coat, his charger a bicycle built for him and his cock-eyed girl-friend, encounters the hero and socks him as he plucks daisies for her. We are transported to a ragtime dreamland, a paradise of Rover Boys at College and the girls of Standish Hall. No sooner met than married and to the triumphal march which hailed him on the gridiron, he weds his pantied bride. Dozens of children emerge from the union to kill their nightmare pa. Comes dawn. A janitor with a Phi Beta Kappa key sweeps up the pieces. The villain is confounded in the midst of a rotogravure forest. The ensuing duel is business-like and to the point. A final snapshot is scarcely

taken when the storm breaks and the little photographer is swept up in the parachute of his umbrella.

The real success of the company's first short New York season was not so much in the public response as in the proof it furnished the company that they were heading in the right direction and were fit to face an audience. With one successful season behind them, they started preparations for a more ambitious venture: the balletic conquest of the continent on a coast-to-coast tour. That summer they appeared in the Lewisohn Stadium in New York, their first and only few performances for the masses, but the tour, begun in the fall, collapsed almost before it got under way. The troupe had hardly started when the managing agency, the Musical Art Management Corporation, unable to meet its obligations, left the company stranded on the road, a predicament from which Warburg rescued it with royal generosity.

At this moment of failure and despair the American Ballet was engaged by the Metropolitan Opera Association's new general manager, Edward Johnson, as the official ballet company for the Metropolitan Opera, to create opera ballets and present its own repertory. As Kirstein said in his *Blast at Ballet* (1938), "The invitation was so unsuspected, the opportunity seemingly so wonderful, there was scarcely any thought of refusal." Surely, the intentions on both sides were sincere. The young American ballet was eager to prove that it fully deserved the confidence of so venerable an institution. The Opera, probably tired of a dancing style which was theatrically as dull and inept as the performing style in opera, required "freshness, youth and novelty." But today it is difficult to understand how either group could have entertained such innocent illusions. There never was a basis for common aesthetic understanding between progressive ideas in art expression and the familiar, obsolete concept of opera presentation, anxiously preserved in the name of tradition. While Kirstein states that "everything proceeded on our part with a fatal and precipitate enthusiasm," it may be said that the Metropolitan proceeded with caution and without any clear conception of what they wanted or expected.

Despite increasing difficulties, the American Ballet, with Balanchine as choreographer, staged an imposing number of opera ballets

for *La Gioconda, Mignon, Aida, La Traviata,* and *La Juive,* and several independent ballets, *Mozartiana, Serenade, Reminiscence,* an arrangement to Strauss's *Fledermaus* music, *The Bat,* and William Dollar's first choreographic venture, *Classic Ballet* (Chopin's Piano Concerto in F-Minor). This novelty, although noticeably derived in style from Balanchine, showed a promising talent, excellent craftsmanship and a fine gift for classical choreography. But the company was given little opportunity to prepare an independent repertory, the Metropolitan management claiming it could not afford the cost of extra rehearsals. The situation was distressing and unsatisfactory to all concerned, including the public and the critics. Sometime later Walter Ware took the trouble to investigate the reasons for the failure of the attempted collaboration in an interview with Edward Johnson which appeared in *The American Dancer* for September 1938. Mr. Johnson's account sounds like a belated and polite justification. It appeared that the main requirements for a good opera ballet were modesty, unobtrusiveness and respect for "tradition." Furthermore, it was unequivocally stated that "innovations" do not belong in opera, an attitude which already had been made clear in the Metropolitan Opera's general artistic policy. Balanchine, on the other hand, contended flatly that "the tradition of ballet at the Metropolitan is bad ballet," which was a matter of common knowledge and concern. The very engagement of Balanchine and the American Ballet had been an indication of good intentions on the part of the opera management. But, as Balanchine remarked about Edward Johnson, "he is an artist and could do fine things, but he has no wings."

The inevitable happened. In the spring season of 1936 Balanchine staged Gluck's *Orpheus* with the haunting décor and magnificent costumes of Pavel Tchelitchew. This was the *coup de grace* for the American Ballet. As Kirstein relates in *Blast at Ballet:* "We were, naturally, all eager to put into immediate action all our theatrical ideas we had developed from Diaghilev's day to our own tenure at the Metropolitan, concerning the proper presentation of lyric drama. These ideas were in essence revolutionary and hence unsuitable for the Metropolitan. The Metropolitan is scarcely the place for experiment, even in an 'experimental' spring season. We knew that at the time, but there was little enough to lose and everything to gain by going ahead."

Deliberately the American Ballet threw all its enthusiasm and resources into the final offensive, determined to perish with honor. As Kirstein said, "It was by way of a reckless manifesto." *Orpheus* was indeed conceived and designed as an uncompromising summary of several years of consistent artistic endeavor, as a conclusive statement of essential artistic principles and as a supreme test for the artistic and technical capacities of the dancers. When Kirstein called the actual production of *Orpheus* "a complete failure" he excepted "the forty dancers who performed it as a conscious dream" and his bitter resignation was mingled with legitimate pride at the splendid achievement of his company. The production of *Orpheus* was torn to pieces by reviewers and public. But the disagreement was on essentially different issues. The Metropolitan defended a well-established tradition of performing opera, confirmed and sanctioned by continuous success. The powerful position of operatic leadership it assumed had never been seriously challenged; nobody had taken the trouble to evaluate its cultural contribution. Balanchine's *Orpheus* might have passed as an experimental ballet; as a revolutionary concept of opera it was an implied attack on the Metropolitan's prestige.

Nevertheless the American Ballet returned to the opera in the fall of 1936, although merely on sufferance. In order to revive interest in the ballet and, in Kirstein's words, "to establish the American Ballet once and for all as a major institution in the American theatre," Balanchine prepared a Strawinsky festival for the spring of 1937 with the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra and the composer as conductor. For many years there had been a deep friendship and mutual admiration between the composer and the choreographer, as the results of their collaborations showed; the Strawinsky festival was a brilliant success. Three works were performed: *Apollon Musagète, Le Baiser de la Fée* and *Jeu de Cartes.*

Apollon Musagète (Book: Igor Strawinsky. Music: Igor Strawinsky. Settings and Costumes: Stewart Chaney) was not new to the American audience. Commissioned by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, it had been performed in 1928 at the Chamber Music Festival, in Washington, D. C., with Adolph Bolm as choregrapher and dancer of the title role. Judging by contemporary accounts it was not a memorable performance. Strawinsky later revised the score for Diaghilev and Balanchine. Of the many famous Strawinsky ballets this is one

on which opinions disagreed most strikingly. Some responsible critics dismissed it as "silly and arty," while others considered it Balanchine's "masterpiece." It never was popular and its intimate and subtle qualities make it impossible to discuss without allowing for personal taste. Strawinsky had composed the score specifically for a ballet in the academic medium; Balanchine presented a superb interpretation of Strawinsky's diaphanous score as a lyrical drama in the classical style. The intricate relationships between Apollo and the Muses are established and developed in a slow crescendo with the clarity and discipline of spiritual geometry. In the sense that all poetry arranges emotions and meanings in an invisible pattern of interdependent measurements, *Apollon* is immensely poetic. (Edwin Denby has written a penetrating analysis of the work which is recommended to the reader.)

The ballet calls for only four dancers and is very demanding on those dancers, requiring absolute mastery of the classical style. The performance at the Metropolitan, brilliantly staged, was very successful. In *Apollon* Lew Christensen confirmed what he had promised in *Orpheus:* that in him America had a magnificent classical dancer, with flawless technique and a sure grasp of noble style.

Le Baiser de la Fée (Book: Igor Strawinsky. Music: Igor Strawinsky. Settings and Costumes: Alice Halicka) had been performed in 1928 in Paris with choreography by Bronislava Nijinska for the Ida Rubenstein Ballet, at the Teatro Colon in Buenos Aires in 1933 and with choreography by Frederick Ashton for the Sadler's Wells Ballet in London in 1935. The plot is based on a story by Hans Christian Andersen and contains the carelessly irrational and brutal drama of a typical fairy tale. As an homage to Petipa in its choreography and to Tchaikowsky in its music, the ballet evokes the Marinsky Theatre tradition of Balanchine's Russian past and for this very reason it proves how far removed Balanchine's academic style is from the school of Petipa and Ivanov. While everything seems historically right and familiar, it assumes a strange transformation, a twist toward sophistication which implies a subtle comment on the genre. It indicates in no way an ironical or patronizing attitude but rather the generous and mature recognition of an old debt of gratitude. The ballet has a wonderfully sustained atmosphere of transcendental drama, enhanced by nostalgic charms reminiscent of the early romantic era. In choreo-

graphic design the work is brilliant and beautiful, with an invention which is at all times clear, direct and fast without ever breaking the delicate spell of a strange enchantment. It was immaculately performed by the young dancers of the American ballet, particularly the tender and poignant *pas de deux* between The Girl and Her Fiancé danced by Giselle Caccialanza and William Dollar.

Jeu de Cartes—also *The Card Game,* or *Poker Game*—has book by Strawinsky and M. Malieff, music by Igor Strawinsky and setting and costumes by Irene Sharaff. It has little substance and less meaning and contains neither poetry, nor drama, nor any warm human quality. In that respect it is very different from *Coppelia* and *Petrouchka* in which the animated figure assumes a droll or pathetic life. The program gives the following excerpt from the libretto:

> The characters in this ballet are the chief cards in a game of poker, fought out between several players on the green cloth of a card room. At each deal the situation is complicated by the endless tricks of the perfidious Joker. During the first deal, one of the players drops out but the other two remain with even "straights." Although one holds the Joker, he is unable to upset the balance of power. In the second deal, the hand that holds the Joker is victorious, thanks to four Aces who, sweeping all before them, beat four Queens. Now comes the third deal. The situation becomes more and more tense. This time it is a question of a struggle between three "flushes." Although at first victorious over one adversary, the Joker, strutting at the head of a sequence of Spades, is beaten by a "Royal Flush" in Hearts. This puts an end to his nonsense and knavery.

Jeu de Cartes is rigid, formal and two-dimensional like playing-card figures and it was danced with the intelligence, the versatility, the deliberation and the well-mannered discipline of a card game in good company. Balanchine's choreography here followed the composer's directions and score more literally than usual; he achieved a work of stunning precision and elegant clipped humor. However, in the parallel evolution of the Strawinsky-Balanchine ballet cooperation *Jeu de Cartes* occupies a significant position because it indicates a break with the Tchaikowsky-Petipa tradition, so deliberately demonstrated in *Baiser de la Fée.* Musically as well as choreographically *Jeu de Cartes* reveals a sharp tightening of style that is new in both the composer's and the choreographer's work. Jazz elements in the

score and musical comedy elements in the dance accentuate and exaggerate the staccato rhythm of the composition. The general tendency of stressing the rhythmical structure, as against the melodic line, remains and from there on the pattern is frequently repeated until it crystallizes in a definitely new style. *Danses Concertantes,* first presented in 1944, is actually a refined, abstract version of *Jeu de Cartes.*

Unfortunately, the success of the Strawinsky Festival was of little avail as far as the American Ballet was concerned. The three Strawinsky ballets were not even taken into the regular Metropolitan repertory, with the exception of two performances of *Apollon,* again because the management refused additional rehearsals. Eventually, after three miserable years, the unfortunate collaboration between the Metropolitan and the American Ballet ended. But, as Merle Armitage remarks in his book, *Dance Memoranda,* "Kirstein's failures have been magnificent. The very lack of success which his American Ballet experienced in its association with the Metropolitan Opera Company is its most telling Medal of Merit."

IX

Lincoln Kirstein II

THE PERFORMANCE

Even before the disbanding of the American Ballet, Kirstein had begun to organize another ensemble, partly with dancers recruited from the American Ballet and partly with students from the School. This new company was called The Ballet Caravan. Although he had the dancers, Kirstein had no repertory and not one choreographer of Balanchine's stature, background and practice. This responsibility rested with three relatively inexperienced young Americans: Eugene Loring, Lew Christensen and William Dollar. In an amazingly short time they created a new repertory of both classic and character ballets which proved the basic soundness of Kirstein's impulsive optimism. Eugene Loring created *Billy the Kid, City Portrait* and *Yankee Clipper;* Lew Christensen choreographed *Filling Station, Pocahontas, Encounter, Charade* and *Pastorela;* William Dollar contributed *Promenade* and *Air and Variations.*

Eugene Loring was born in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. He began his career as an actor, won a fellowship in the School of American Ballet and had danced in the American Ballet as well as in the Fokine Ballet during 1934-1935.

Billy the Kid, a character ballet in one act, has survived as a genuine American classic. It was produced in 1938, with book by Lincoln

Kirstein, music by Aaron Copland and décor and costumes by Jared French. *Billy the Kid* marks the beginning of American ballet and it fulfilled generously all the promises Lincoln Kirstein had made in pioneering for a native ballet. The young Eugene Loring emerged at once as one of our most talented choreographers. Librettist, composer, designer and dancers all contributed an essential part toward the creation of a truly representative American dance work. In particular Aaron Copland's eminently fitting, theatrical score was a distinguished composition, combining motifs of popular songs with a rich, easily flowing invention.

City Portrait, called a ballet-document in one act, with book by Lincoln Kirstein, music by Henry Brant and costumes by Forrest Thayr Jr., was an intense little drama which gave further indication of Loring's talent. It was, as the program pointed out, an attempt to use "the material of everyday life. . . . Eugene Loring has attempted to give a lyric pattern to colloquial gesture. Henry Brant has invented a score full of contemporary rhythm of city sounds indoors and out and Forrest Thayr Jr. has found an unsuspected beauty in the banal clothes." Revised and improved, *City Portrait* was later included in the Dance Players' repertory.

Lew Christensen, the ballet master of the Ballet Caravan, began his stage career in 1927 in a vaudeville act with his two brothers. He joined the American Ballet at its foundation and his magnificent stage presence, his noble style, his vast stage experience and his prodigious technique distinguished him immediately as an outstanding classical dancer.

Filling Station, a ballet-document in one act, with book by Lincoln Kirstein, music by Virgil Thomson, choreography by Lew Christensen and décor and costumes by Paul Cadmus, deserves to be rescued from oblivion for the significance of its attempt as well as for its merits. The program synopsis reads:

America has so many kinds of people in so many parts of the country, with so many local stories, that it is difficult to find a contemporary fable to fit a modern Hero. But everyone who has ridden in an automobile recognizes the typical, self-reliant, resourceful and courteous Filling Station Mechanic as a friend indeed. . . . We call him Mac. He keeps his washroom spick and span. The chromium on his gaspumps gleams.

His road-maps are neatly stacked to be given away on request. His friends are two truck-drivers, Roy and Ray, chased by a State Trooper who warns them against speeding and overloading. A distressed Motorist inquires the route he has lost. His wife and children burden him down with demonstrations of domestic bliss. A rich young couple from the country club stagger in and turn the filling station into a dance-hall. A nervous gangster finds himself involved in murder. Mac summons the State Trooper. The station is emptied and Mac, finding himself alone again, spreads his tabloid and turns on his radio, waiting for whatever will turn up next.

Filling Station demonstrated that the ballet was capable of furnishing first-rate theatrical entertainment without relinquishing its claim to balletic dignity. If the underlying realism was American, so was the tender and humorous detachment in dealing with life's incidents. It was no more accurate a portrayal of life in America than are the Sunday funny-papers, yet it was just as valid and nearly as familiar. One first-night reviewer called the ballet "a completely unified expression of American life in its present tempo." It may not have been very substantial but it was more than just good fun. Virgil Thomson's witty and elegant score and Paul Cadmus's effective backdrop and comic-strip costumes contributed greatly to its success.

Christensen has, of course, proved himself as a brilliant dancer but his work as a choreographer is hard to classify as yet. *Pastorela* was vivid, colorful and richly theatrical, although its revival at the Ballet Society confirmed the opinion that it is not a work of depth or consequence. *Charade,* though gay and pleasant as a dance composition, was not quite as original and effective in its stated attempt to "recapture the nostalgic charm of a phase of American life that has changed with the rushing world today." *Pocahontas* suffered from self-consciousness and was overburdened with ethnological imagery and references. *Encounter* presented the "balanced dances and perfect equilibrium" of Mozart's Haffner Serenade; it was a fine and precise exercise in academic ballet geometry. *Jinx,* created for the Dance Players in 1942, was choreographically undistinguished but it manifested Christensen's flair for atmosphere and sustained drama. *Blackface,* his most recent work, while cleverly devised for virtuoso dancing, was essentially hesitant and tentative.

Christensen's choreographic talent is rich and versatile, with a strong sense of theatre and superior mastery of the classical idiom,

but it shows a lack of definition and direction. Of course it is impossible to estimate the effect of the years he spent in the army, with their consequent interruption of work, on a career which announced itself as brilliant and which justifies great expectations.

William Dollar, who choreographed *Promenade* and *Air and Variations* for the Ballet Caravan, was born in St. Louis in 1912. During his childhood he worked in his parents' modest business and had little time or opportunity to become acquainted with art and dance. Inspired and guided by a dance magazine, he started to teach himself, earned a scholarship in a professional school and appeared in the local summer theatre. His early professional years were a chain of disappointments and a model of courage, perseverance and indomitable will. He came to New York to enter Mikhail Mordkin's school and company and he later studied with Volinine in Paris. He joined the School of American Ballet at its inception and has been associated with it ever since. He has been a featured dancer at the Radio City Music Hall, with the Fokine Ballet, the Ballet Theatre, Ballet International, the Metropolitan Opera Association and the American Ballet.

He produced the ballet, *A Thousand Times Neigh,* for the Ford Motor Company at the New York World's Fair in 1940 and composed *Juke Box* for the Latin American tour of the American Ballet in 1941.

His work is characterized throughout by flawless craftsmanship which testifies to his long years of intensive training and varied stage practice. At the very beginning of his dancing career his artistic personality was clearly defined and, to use the theatrical term, projected easily. As soon as he was given adequate opportunity he distinguished himself by an exceptional technical command, fine muscular grace and a sure grasp of style. The stylistic precision of his performance was never purely mechanical, but inspired and emotionally intense and honest. This excellent artistic equipment accounts for the professional finish of all his choreographic endeavors, including the less successful ones. The ballet he choreographed to Chopin's F Minor Piano Concerto, his first, although heavily influenced by Balanchine, preserved an imaginative perspective truly surprising considering his youth. He made intelligent, creative use of the essentials of Balanchine's style which Edwin Denby defined in this very context as

"mass, direction, clarity and above all swiftness . . . that gives physical exhilaration to the whole." When the ballet was restaged as *Constantia* for the Ballet International in 1944 it had preserved and confirmed its qualities—the clarity of design, the exactness of gesture, the transparency of groupings and the swift changes. *Promenade,* set to Ravel's *Valses Nobles et Sentimentales,* was less fortunate, possibly because it was hampered by unnecessary story content and such arbitrary characterizations as "the First Consul as Satyr and the Ladies of Josephine's Court as Nymphs, etc." and never quite reached a visual equivalent to the drive and breadth of the score. *Air and Variations,* a classic ballet to Bach's Goldberg Variations, was a laudable and honest attempt to "equal the variety, nobility and large design" of the music. Certainly Dollar would be capable today of giving this work the maturity, simple nobility and sustained line it was lacking then. *A Thousand Times Neigh* was a virtuoso production in content, choreographic originality and mechanical accomplishment. The surprising use of academic steps was quite successful and the whole work turned out as a highly entertaining, witty piece; to quote John Martin, "It had far more style and taste than such an assignment would seem to allow." *Juke Box* was an unpretentious bit of jazz ballet, good-humored, exuberant and slight.

The pioneer work in the use of American themes in Ballet Caravan ballets was a demonstration of Kirstein's grasp of essentials and his gift for poetic interpretation. The simplicity with which the American myths were presented was deceptive, for actually they are as significant as the legends of the Old World which supplied so many themes to the European ballet repertories. American folklore contains a wealth of lyric and dramatic elements which are eminently theatrical and danceable. The limitations involved in the use of realistic subject matter were in one way an advantage, for they determined a characteristic style of movement, directly derived from the familiar content and context of American life. The style was infinitely more intimate than the detached Russian manner; it eliminated the footlights, as it were, and spectators in every American audience delighted in the experience of recognition and participation. This trend is continued in such ballets as Jerome Robbins's *Fancy Free* and Michael Kidd's *On Stage!*

The Ballet Caravan was modest in size, comparable to a chamber ensemble. Although it did not last long as an active company, the few years of exacting work contributed invaluable knowledge and experience; the number of outstanding native dancers who have come out of the School of American Ballet and the Ballet Caravan is the most telling confirmation of Kirstein's sound concepts and discriminating choice. As a matter of principle, every dancer in the Ballet Caravan had to be a graduate of the School of American Ballet. The company included Fernando Alonso, Todd Bolender, Lew Christensen, Fred Danieli, William Dollar, Erick Hawkins (who left the ballet eventually to join Martha Graham's company as dancer and choreographer), Michael Kidd, Eugene Loring, Marie-Jeanne as ballerina and Alicia Alonso, Ruthanna Boris, Gisella Caccialanza, Annabel Lyon and others who have become prominent since.

The Ballet Caravan toured extensively from 1936 to 1939 and presented the Ford Ballet, *A Thousand Times Neigh,* at the New York World's Fair. In 1941 the company was temporarily reorganized and combined with the remnants of the late American Ballet for a good-will tour through Latin America for the State Department. The company was again called The American Ballet, with Lincoln Kirstein as director general, George Balanchine as director of choreography, Emanuel Balaban as musical director and Lew Christensen as ballet master. The principal dancers were Gisella Caccialanza, Lorna London, Marie-Jeanne, Marjorie Moore, Mary Jane Shea, Olga Suarez, Beatrice Tompkins, Lew Christensen, Fred Danieli, William Dollar and Nicolas Magellanes. The repertory kept a fine balance between dramatic and narrative ballets and some of Balanchine's most noteworthy classical creations; it included: *Juke Box* (Wilder-Dollar), *Pastorela* (Bowles-Christensen), *The Bat* (Strauss-Balanchine), *Billy the Kid* (Copland-Loring), *Charade* (Rittman-Christensen), *Errante* (Schubert-Balanchine), *Serenade* (Tchaikowsky-Balanchine), *Apollon Musagète* (Strawinsky-Balanchine), *Ballet Imperial* (Tchaikowsky-Balanchine) and *Concerto Barocco* (Bach-Balanchine). At the conclusion of this tour, which visited twelve countries in seven months, the company was definitely disbanded.

The war interrupted all Lincoln Kirstein's Ballet activities, with the exception of the School, which was continued under Balanchine's direction. But immediately after his discharge from the army Kirstein

started intensive preparation for the Ballet Society, "a non-profit membership organization for the encouragement of the lyric theatre by the production of new works." In announcing the Ballet Society in 1946 Kirstein stated, "Since ballet in the United States is relatively new, our interest has been primarily in the revival of productions already famous or the creation of works based on national themes. Now, with the close of a second world war, broader directions are possible and desirable." This statement is interesting for two reasons: first, because it signifies the deliberate close of the self-consciously "American" phase; second, because it promises an exhaustive evaluation of our creative resources. The first is clearly demonstrated in the Ballet Society programs. The second may be summed up tentatively in Edwin Denby's prediction that the Ballet Society "may well, after several years of trial and error, turn out to have been the foundation of the sensibly organized, exciting American ballet company we need now so badly."

Announcing the artistic policy of the new organization, Kirstein said, "The Ballet Society will present a completely new repertory, consisting of ballets, ballet-opera and other lyric forms. Each will have the planned collaboration of independent easel painters, progressive choreographers and musicians, employing the full use of advance-guard ideas, methods and materials." This policy is, of course, the formula of the later Diaghilev period. In adopting artistic principles which he himself had analyzed in his essay on Diaghilev, Kirstein reaffirms his considered belief in their aesthetic soundness. But, forewarned by Diaghilev's experience, Kirstein has provided his organization with a school. Indeed, the performing company of the Ballet Society is unique in this country in that it is based on the solid foundation of an excellent school. All dancers and several choreographers in the ensemble are students and graduates of the School of American Ballet and Balanchine and Kirstein share responsibility both for the School and the Society.

The scope of the Ballet Society is illustrated in a six-point program, which seems destined to fill very real needs:

1. Presentation of new theatre pieces, including ballet, ballet opera and chamber opera, either commissioned by the Ballet Society or unfamiliar to the American public as well as individual concert dancers. 2. Cooperation

with other educational and cultural institutions to enable the production of performances, exhibitions and publications difficult to accomplish alone. 3. Publication of books, prints and articles which will award to the dance a serious and consistent attention long enjoyed by painting, sculpture, architecture and music. 4. Production and circulation of ballet companies, individual dancers and national dances as well as experimental films using dance as a main element. 5. Publication of record albums of music used in the performances of the Ballet Society with photographic documentation and full program notes. 6. Awards of fellowships to enable talented young dancers and choreographers to work by themselves or with groups of dancers to develop technically and professionally.

At this writing the Ballet Society has completed its first season. The greatest interest in its offerings was in their absolute newness rather than in provocative assertions of an *avant-garde* or experimental character. This moderation, whether intentional or accidental, gave the performing company time to grow into a coherent ensemble before having to cope with more unusual or exacting assignments. The standard of balletic proficiency was remarkably high although the whole *corps de ballet* and some of the soloists were students without previous stage experience. Outstanding among the male soloists were Todd Bolender, Lew Christensen, Fred Danieli, William Dollar, Francisco Moncion and John Taras and, among the girl soloists, Gisella Caccialanza, Mary Ellen Moylan, who is one of our most promising ballerinas, and a student, Tanaquil Le Clercq, who made a very impressive début. Despite the excellent dancing of qualified soloists, the prevailing impression was that of particularly fine amateur performances. This, although a valid observation, is irrelevant as a criticism; the Ballet Society is neither conceived nor equipped to compete with established professional companies. It is intended to provide a testing ground for students and young choreographers and a laboratory for non-commercial experimentation.

The creative contributions of the younger choreographers were generally disappointing, although judgment should be reserved until the company is better organized, integrated and trained. Unfortunately George Balanchine was commissioned to reorganize the Paris Opera ballet and had to leave in mid-season, which put unexpected strain and responsibility on the remaining choreographers. Before he left Balanchine created two fine ballets which remain the outstand-

ing events of the first season: *Divertimento* and *The Four Temperaments. Divertimento* had the benefit of a wonderfully transparent, liquid score by the young composer Alexei Haieff, which was choreographed in Balanchine's purest style. At a swift but unhurried pace the ballet wove an intricate subtle pattern with the easy assurance of a superb improvisation. *The Four Temperaments* (Music: Paul Hindemith. Setting and costumes: Kurt Seligmann) was commissioned originally by Lincoln Kirstein and George Balanchine for the Latin American tour of the American Ballet in 1941. This production, then called *The Cave of Sleep,* did not materialize because the composer considered Tchelitchew's décor unsuited to the music. The idea of the score is based on a musical exposition of the four medieval temperaments. Balanchine's choreography was an audacious and thoroughly convincing interpretation of Paul Hindemith's magnificent music. The dance composition held a quality of contained power which was the exact visual counterpart of the profound and beautiful music. Balanchine himself felt that his dances "form a negative to Hindemith's positive plate." Kurt Seligmann's haunting décor and weird costumes seemed to be made of strangely animated amorphous matter and created an uneasy impression of being as real and alive as the dancers.

The Seasons (Music: John Cage. Choreography: Merce Cunningham. Setting and Costumes: Isamu Noguchi) was a well-balanced, fluid composition, delightfully danced and remarkable for the perfect dynamic and visual integration of music, movement, setting. Generally speaking, on both the musical and the decorative side the Ballet Society's program offered several interesting and distinguished creations, in particular Strawinsky's rarely performed *Renard* with exciting décor and costumes by Esteban Francés, who also designed *Zodiac* (scored by Rudi Revil and choreographed, unevenly but imaginatively, by Todd Bolender). The integration of stage design and costumes by Joan Junyer for *Minotaur* (Carter-Taras) was a fascinating experiment. William Dollar's *Highland Fling* (music, Stanley Bate; décor, David Ffolkes) was workmanlike and competent throughout, although it might gain by tightening. According to the program notes it "uses the double and parallel tradition of national folk-dances theatricalized, combined with the classic theatrical dance. Its plot combines elements of the Sylphide story in a new synthesis. It is

neither a reconstruction nor a revival, but a contemporary ballet based on Romantic themes." This subject sounds promising enough, but the synthesis was not entirely successful, possibly because the folk-dance parts were weak. The Sylphides sequences, on the other hand, revealed a captivating beauty and a delicate poetic charm which seemed to prove that Dollar's real strength resides in abstract design in the classical tradition.

Whatever criticism has been voiced or might be suggested, the sum total of Ballet Society's activity has more than justified the immense efforts of Kirstein, Balanchine and their artistic collaborators.

There is no doubt of Kirstein's importance to the American ballet and it is significant that Kirstein, who has not revealed any creative ambitions of his own in the many organizations which he has founded and directed, has actually been the creative spirit in all of them. Each enterprise and activity has carried the unmistakable imprint of his personality and has reflected distinctive phases in the evolution of his principles and concepts. Each stage, seen in retrospect, has corresponded to a concrete need and fulfilled a real purpose: the Dance Archives, *The Book of the Dance* and *Dance Index* established historical foundations; the School of American Ballet was necessary as a technical basis; The American Ballet was a tool for Balanchine and the pure classical dance; *Blast at Ballet* was a polemic prelude to the launching of the Ballet Caravan. The Ballet Society, one may be sure, represents another logical step in the evolution of ballet in America.

Mr. Kirstein's own view of the future of the American ballet is expressed in this statement, written especially for this book:

As the twentieth century approaches 1950 it is easier to see where its main currents in the dance have led us. Perhaps not in a century had such a violent revolution taken place as with the emergence of the Diaghilev international seasons from 1909 to 1929. A decade later, their impact was still felt—but dissipated on the one hand by an insistence on fashionable, rather than creative easel-painting, and on the other by the use of music which was famous, rather than conceived as collaboration. This was the epoch of the "symphonic" ballet, scarcely an example of which is retained by the current repertory. During this time, there was the assertion of both English and American nationalism in the dance, a necessary historical development which is by no means a permanent genre.

At the present, and for the next decade, we may expect instead of revolt and novelty, simply the creation of important works, along the lines that have re-emerged out of forty years of experiment. Standards of aristocratic aesthetic judgment and humanism of expression may combine to create a new classicism, which may one day seem directly to continue the line of Petipa and Ivanov, which was interrupted, but not broken, by the impact of the Post-Impressionist and Cubist painters. As Fokine was the leader of the early period of exoticism and picturesque nationalism, and Massine defined the second period of theatricalized character-dancing and pantomime, Balanchine is responsible for an insistent interest in the classic dance for its own sake, with music as its ruling basis. Since 1926, it is he alone who has continued the line of tradition of the absolute ballet, which now, with the century half done, is seen to be the staple of our repertory and the school of the future.

X

The Ballet Theatre I

ANTONY TUDOR AND AGNES DE MILLE

The Ballet Theatre was organized in 1939 by Richard Pleasant, a young man who had been on the executive staff of the Mordkin company. Its objectives were neither as radical as those of Lincoln Kirstein's earlier projects nor as conservative as those of the various Russian companies which had succeeded each other in the United States. Richard Pleasant's method and plan of action indicated a departure from previous ballet ventures. Firmly determined to avoid the mistakes of their successful competitors as well as those of their less fortunate predecessors, the organizers of the Ballet Theatre translated their idealistic plans into a realistic program.

They intended to compete in the major league and they knew that if the company were to survive it had to be able to meet any competitor, not only artistically but in regard to size and funds, personalities and glamour. Richard Pleasant believed that a ballet company should assume aesthetic responsibility, respect vital traditions and preserve significant masterpieces of every style, period and origin, just as an art museum does. But he also believed that a vigorous organization should be truly representative of contemporary trends and achievements; it should encourage and further modern artists,

offer and promote stimulating and provocative creations and be independent enough to afford the risk of controversy and dissent. He believed, finally, that there was an enormous potential audience for the ballet if it could be reached and his whole project was conceived and prepared to attract the new public and, at the same time, interest the balletophiles. The new company was organized and advertised on a scale which recalled a three-ring circus. America's first Ballet Theatre was "staged by the greatest collaboration in ballet history" and comprised eleven choreographers, twenty principal dancers, fifteen soloists, a company of fifty-six, a Spanish unit of nineteen, a Negro unit of fourteen, eleven designers, three conductors and contributions by eighteen composers.

The Ballet Theatre gave its first performance at the Center Theatre in Rockefeller Center, New York, on January 11, 1940. The program offered *Les Sylphides, The Great American Goof* and *Voices of Spring*. The enormous house, which seats 3500, was full. The opening night was a brilliant success and the first New York season was equally brilliant. This instantaneous public acceptance proved the merits of the Ballet Theatre's policy and presentation and the audience's predisposition toward and the need for such a company. Apparently the Ballet Theatre had hit upon the right formula.

From the beginning the Ballet Theatre established itself as the representative American company and it has preserved this title of honor. Yet neither the original company, nor its choreographers and repertory were literally American. In commenting on the new company John Martin pointed out that "to have a ballet company of and by Americans is, of course, immensely important, but perhaps less fundamental to ultimate success than to have it for Americans."

Among the eleven original choreographers only Agnes de Mille and Eugene Loring, both of them young and comparatively unknown, were Americans, while the Russian choreographers included Fokine, Bolm and Mordkin. The other choreographers, soloists and the *corps de ballet* hailed from many lands. There was an inevitable contingent of Russians; Andrée Howard, Hugh Laing and Antony Tudor were English. But most of the large company was made up of the most promising young dancers available in this country. The disbanded Mordkin company contributed the remnants of its well-trained ensemble, among them, as prominent soloists, Lucia Chase,

Karen Conrad, Viola Essen, Nina Stroganova, Dmitry Romanoff and Leon Varkas. The commercial failure of the Kirstein and Mordkin ventures had deprived a great many fine dancers of opportunities to prove their value and to gain experience. The Ballet Theatre offered them both on a large scale and demonstrated conclusively that there was sufficient technical and artistic ballet material in America to compare with the best.

With rare singleness of purpose and direction, the new company was sifted, organized, rehearsed and gradually shaped into a homogeneous coherent unit. When it appeared in public it had enough professional finish and artistic competence to convince the most skeptical. One glance at the initial repertory demonstrates that soloists and *corps de ballet* were submitted to a particularly difficult and exacting test; during the first season this super-company offered eighteen ballets: Adolph Bolm's *Mechanical Ballet* and *Peter and the Wolf,* Agnes de Mille's *Obeah (Black Ritual),* Anton Dolin's *Giselle, Quintet* and *Swan Lake,* José Fernandez's *Goyescas,* Michel Fokine's *Carnaval* and *Les Sylphides,* Andrée Howard's *Death and the Maiden* and *Lady into Fox,* Eugene Loring's *The Great American Goof,* Mikhail Mordkin's *Voices of Spring,* Bronislava Nijinska's *La Fille Mal Gardée,* Yurek Shabelevski's *Ode to Glory,* Antony Tudor's *Dark Elegies, Jardin aux Lilas* and *Judgment of Paris.*

The signal success of the first season was Michel Fokine's *Les Sylphides;* its patent failure was Eugene Loring's *American Goof.* The acclaim of *Les Sylphides* confirmed emphatically the popularity of the *ballet blanc;* the American audience had learned to appreciate the charm and beauty of the pure classical *danse d'école.* That first-season performance of *Les Sylphides* was also memorable because it was the last authentic revival of a lyrical masterpiece which had suffered many inferior presentations before—and has since. Fokine conveyed his exquisite taste and style to a *corps de ballet* which responded like a perfect instrument and to young soloists who did some superb dancing. "Rehearsed every day for weeks by the author himself," writes Richard Pleasant, "old patterns blurred by decades of carelessness had become clear again. It was now evident that this best-known and most abused of ballets had been so placed (at the beginning of the very first program) by design: a challenge to immediate comparison." Here, indeed, the Ballet Theatre proved that its

ambitious announcements had been fully justified, that the new company was artistically and technically qualified to compete, and to survive.

The same public, however, refused coldly to applaud the antics of the *American Goof,* although it would seem that subject and treatment had much to appeal to an American audience. The ballet, with book written by William Saroyan, promised, in its full title, *A Number of Absurd and Poetic Events in the Life of the Great American Goof.* These events happen indeed, but they fail to arouse genuine interest. Every character in the large cast is burdened with a heavy symbolism. The Goof is "the naive white hope of the human race," The Dummy is "tradition and the ordinary," The Woman is "the bright potential," The Policeman is "orderly idiocy," Women are summarily "sex," Workers are "misfits." There is no objection to the author's thesis that "if ballet is to tell a story at all, it must tell a very fundamental story, and if it is to have characters at all, they must be aspects of human character in general." Precisely. But this ballet is not about anything general or fundamental, as Saroyan contends; it is rather the specific case of a particularly inept young man who has the misfortune of getting involved with some exceptionally unpleasant and obscure characters. Under the circumstances—as they appear on the stage—nobody can honestly blame the Goof for his constantly repeated intention to resign. However, despite its weakness and infantile philosophy, this work has a certain haunting quality and cannot be dismissed. The essential seriousness of its intentions, although it is considerably clearer in the introduction than in the dramatic action, demands respect. The theme proper is depressingly misanthropic and desolate; the world in which it materializes is "in reality a figment in a nightmare of an idiot. . . . What this ballet says is that you need six or seven thousand years to get this place out of the nightmare it's in now," which is a cheerless prospect, particularly considering that America had not yet entered the second world war when William Saroyan wrote his explanatory notes.

After having made these statements, Saroyan expects us to believe that "the Great American Goof is a nameless young man who is delighted to be alive, curious about all things, eager for understanding, full of affection, love, comedy, sorrow, anger and all the other things

which are part of a man's identity, excepting that strongest of all in him is affection for good." He is not very convincing as a character who sets out "to change the world," yet he is fairly credible as a young American who gets involved in absurd and poetic events. Actually Eugene Loring based his interpretation of the Goof on this piece of information, the only one that has any substance. He created a figure which was more clearly defined and much more real and alive than Saroyan's pallid specter of incompetence. Loring's concept of the Goof conveyed to the drama its supreme *raison d'être,* although this alone could not save it. The failure of the central character is mainly due to a forced sophistication which dilutes whatever blood and vigor the "nameless young man" may have had. The fate of this anonymous American is of no real consequence, either as a personal experience, or a symbolic one. *Billy the Kid, Filling Station* and *Frankie and Johnny* were far more moving stories, not merely because they had been derived from familiar and popular subject matter, but essentially because they had warmth and poetry and humor, because, as Robert Edmond Jones has said, they had a "fundamental relevance to the reality of American experience."

The performance was outstanding in many respects, "an admirable and moving experience," according to John Martin. Loring's choreography actually amounted to the creation of a complete dance drama, because Saroyan's ballet-play is all play and no ballet; essentially it neither requires nor suggests choreographic elaboration. That the ballet, in the actual production, conveyed a valid American quality, and that it assumed a contemporary relevance, was primarily owing to the concerted creative endeavor of the artistic collaborators: Eugene Loring, who had already proved his outstanding gifts with *Billy the Kid;* Henry Brant, the composer of *City Portrait,* who wrote a fine, dramatic score; Boris Aronson, the designer, who solved the extremely difficult scenic problems with an ingenious use of projected décor; and the soloists and *corps de ballet* who performed superbly. The unique importance of Saroyan's work resides in the fact that it introduced a "new American form," as the author points out. It is a "ballet-play" in which dance and speech are combined and it anticipated by many years a recent trend. *The Great American Goof* was a splendid failure—an opportunity to produce a significant contemporary, native ballet that was wasted. But it was also a large-scale experiment

on the American ballet stage that showed daring, imagination and vision.

In the same season, 1940, Ballet Theatre presented *Obeah (Black Ritual)*, another novelty and in many ways an even more courageous experiment than *The Great American Goof*. This was Agnes de Mille's first major choreographic composition and it turned out to be mature, beautiful and moving. It was set to Darius Milhaud's sharp, jazzy, thrilling score for *La Création du Monde* which had preserved all its spirit since its first presentation by the Ballets Suédois in 1923. Nicholas de Molas designed two settings with a fine sense of space and atmosphere, quite different from the violent cubist décor which Léger had done for the Paris performance two decades before. The change in style was profound and significant. Jean Borlin's choreography had created striking pictorial effects; Miss de Mille's interpretation conveyed an indefinable dramatic excitement with a minimum of theatrical means. Without introducing any literal ethnological references, she succeeded in "projecting the psychological atmosphere of a primitive community during the performance of austere and vital ceremonies." She made beautiful and intelligent use of the exquisite artistic potentialities offered by a cast of sixteen Negro girls. There was a sustained tension throughout the rhythmical rise and fall of movement and immobility, and there was a simple seriousness in the collective spirit of the group which carried the work emotionally beyond the limited technical capacities of the dancers. It is regrettable that this fine work disappeared from the repertory with the disbanding of the Negro unit, but two of her pieces—*Three Virgins and a Devil* (1941) and *Tally-Ho* (1944)—remain in the repertory.

Agnes de Mille is the granddaughter of Henry George, the daughter of writer-director, William C. de Mille, and the niece of the movie pioneer, Cecil B. De Mille. She was born in New York in 1908 and went to school in Hollywood. Her first impressions of dance interest were performances by Anna Pavlova and Ruth St. Denis; by chance rather than choice she began to study ballet with Theodore Kosloff. She continued her studies methodically and made a conspicuously successful début with Jacques Cartier in 1928 in New York. The next years she directed the dances for Christopher Morley's revival of the old melodrama-spectacle, *The Black Crook*, in Hoboken. After a few well-received and well-reviewed concerts in America,

she sailed for Europe where she appeared successfully in solo and group recitals in Paris, Brussels, Copenhagen and London. She returned temporarily to America and then went back to London where she was highly acclaimed as a performer. In 1933 she arranged the dances for Charles B. Cochran's *Nymph Errant* and in 1937 she participated in the organization of The Dance Theatre, a small ballet company including Antony Tudor, Hugh Laing, Peggy van Praag and Margaret Braithwaite. She choreographed the dances for the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer production of *Romeo and Juliet* in 1936, for Ed Wynn's two musicals, *Hooray for What* (1938) and *Swingin' the Dream* (1940) and for the Kurt Jooss ballet *Drums Beat in Hackensack* (1941). She returned to America with her long-time friends and collaborators, Antony Tudor and Hugh Laing, to join the Ballet Theatre.

Three Virgins and a Devil (Book: Ramon Reed. Music: Ottorino Respighi. Setting: Arne Lundborg, after Margaret Harris. Costumes: Motley) is a bold and pungent farce, telling with boisterous spirit and spicy humor how the devil lures three virgins into hell. The story is related in the broad and deliberate manner of the Flemish masters, reminiscent of Breughel in its sensuous richness of life, love of the grotesque and attention to detail. The three virgins, The Priggish One, The Greedy One and The Lustful One are sharply characterized and there is truly dramatic tension in the devil's changing tactics as he pursues and eventually catches each one in turn. Superbly performed by the original cast, with the choreographer herself as The Priggish One, the little piece has since lost much of its subtlety and nearly all of its hearty vigor. Respighi's arrangement of the Antichi Danze ed Arie is perfect for the purpose and setting and costumes are in style, though not especially imaginative.

Tally-Ho or *The Frail Quarry* (Book: Agnes de Mille. Music: Gluck, arranged by Paul Nordoff. Setting and Costumes: Motley) was the last ballet Miss de Mille choreographed for the Ballet Theatre, and it is wonderful since she has revised and tightened it. The story deals with a Genius who is too preoccupied with his books to pay due attention to his lightsome wife until she starts flirting with the Prince and arouses her husband's anger and jealousy. Eventually, of course, they are reconciled with the help of the eager Innocent. This little drama is set in a stylish Louis XVI park, brimming with

the gallant and not too secret adventures of the gay young people of the French court. There is just a suspicion of a discrepancy between the troubles of a neglected wife and the spectacle of outright frivolous love affairs on a generous scale. This might not be noticeable were it not for the fact that there is also a difference in feeling, style and movement pattern. There are moments of genuine emotion and tenderness between husband and wife which do not agree with the merciless sarcasm of the other scenes. But the young wife, because of her intimate charm, is one of the most exquisitely feminine characters to grace the ballet stage, and in Miss de Mille's own engaging performance it assumed a human freshness and fullness which made all the Sylphides look anaemic. As a whole piece the ballet is a virtuoso translation of eighteenth-century social dance and social customs into modern ballet, with sufficient authenticity to establish the period style, and with enough ironical commentary to avoid any trace of pedantry. The dance invention is delightfully witty, the choreographic structure impeccably precise and the whole work has rhythm, pace and drive from beginning to end. Paul Nordoff's musical arrangement has similar qualities of style and wit and subtle comment. The Watteau-ish setting totally misses the point, but the costumes hit it to perfection.

In time and geography these two ballets are far removed from the American scene and yet they are as unmistakably indigenous as *Rodeo*. The broad medieval farce and the French court comedy both assume a local and familiar air. For it is as impossible for Miss de Mille to escape the powerful influences and idiosyncrasies of her New World background as for the dancers to disguise in Old World manners their essential character and their constitutional movement tendencies. It is indeed fascinating to observe how our ballet artists, unconsciously and intuitively, transform foreign matter into American matter. Our dancers, and probably our audiences too, are readier to identify ballet style with their own kinesthetic experiences than with an alien concept recommended by tradition. The flagrant similarity betwen the courtesans in *Tally-Ho* and the sexy picture-postcard girls in *Oklahoma!* offers an amusing example; they are loose girls of the same mettle, no matter how many centuries and how much ocean separates them. But what they illustrate above all is Miss de Mille's superior sense of humor. The creation of A Lady

No Better Than She Should Be in an extraordinary performance by Muriel Bentley, and Two Others Somewhat Worse, in *Tally-Ho,* reveal the profound understanding of the human character and the philosophical tolerance which distinguish the great humorist and which relate her to Antony Tudor, rather than to Ruth Page, Jerome Robbins and Michael Kidd. While Miss de Mille has the sanguine temperament of the true comedienne, if she chooses to cut loose in the best style of the entertainer, she is also aware of the latent human conflicts in the realm of the absurd and the incongruous. Her best funny characters are not the cumulative result of witty details and observations; they are created directly in human humorous matter.

During its first season, the Ballet Theatre also presented three Antony Tudor works which had been performed in England, but were new to the American audience: *Dark Elegies, Jardin aux Lilas* and *Judgment of Paris.* The last of these was originally composed as a curtain-raiser; hence its brevity and condensation. In actual performance, however, it has a curiously indefinite duration. Like every genuine drama, it develops in psychological time, measured by emotional units, instead of minutes. And like every genuine comedy, it is potentially a human tragedy with a deliberate twist toward the ridiculous. But this particular comedy is almost unbearably sordid and close to the point where even the most glaring exaggeration seems rationally plausible. The delicate balance in this microcosm depends on a perfection of performance rarely granted to such a small work in an evening of glamorous ballet. Kurt Weill's cynical music is as essential as Tudor's direction. It is a hilarious work with uneasy undertones.

Dark Elegies has a somber lyrical quality quite apart from the spirit of the subject by which it is inspired. Gustav Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder* are songs of grief and mournful resignation with a definite, literarily conveyed meaning. Tudor's choreography derives its emotional quality from Mahler's profound music rather than from Rückert's intimately personal, elegiac poems on the death of his children. Thus the singer's concrete, realistic words tend to interfere with the pure enjoyment of an abstract dance compositon. The work is set in a low key which reduces the range of movements to poignant essentials and demonstrates Tudor's power of imagination. The vocabulary employed throughout is of deceptive economy, achieving

an infinity of variations mainly by slight shifts of emphasis and subtle changes in phrasing. Tudor departs almost completely from the conventional ballet idiom, using instead an admirably sustained, free movement of no specific description, but eminently fitting the purpose. As the choreography unfolds, it weaves a simple and lucid pattern of compelling beauty. The cycle comprises five *Lieder,* each having a distinct, individual character, yet as a sequence forming a completely integrated, unified whole. Unfortunately the rhetorically obvious settings, after Nadia Benois, distract from the quiet dignity of the well-costumed figures.

Jardin aux Lilas or *Lilac Garden* (Book: Antony Tudor. Music: Ernest Chausson. Setting and Costumes: Raymond Sovey, after Hugh Stevenson) is a distinctly modern ballet, not so much because of the times and circumstances in which the action happens to occur, as because it is the beginning of a new phase in the artistic exploration of the human mind in terms of ballet, a beginning which Tudor followed with *Dim Lustre, Pillar of Fire* and *Undertow.* Tudor treats the psychological constellation, out of which the actual drama evolves, as a rational premise—a conception which explains his interest in Marcel Proust. The compact emotional intensity which characterizes this specific group of works never degenerates into a display of sentiments for the sake of effect. There is always a psychological motivation and this motivation is clearly and resolutely expressed in the language of movement. Every action, every movement or gesture, visually translated with flawless precision, has a stirring and disquieting significance. The story of *Jardin aux Lilas,* simple enough in its basic pattern, involves four main characters in a tense moment of coincident, fatal climax. It is as arbitrarily contrived a situation as there ever was on the stage. But out of such stuff Tudor creates a work of haunting beauty. The continuous flow of movement is never interrupted by the episodes which tell the story, which suddenly come to the surface, float for a brief instant and are submerged again. The relationships between characters and incidents are alternately established and disturbed, then clarified and resolved, with an unfailing authority. This engrossing drama of troubling memories and missed oportunities resembles nothing ever done before on the ballet stage. In order to realize it, Tudor created a new ballet style which has been analyzed admirably by Edwin Denby. As Denby points

out, the choreographer used a deliberately rigid classical terminology as a means of characterizing convention and constraint; he uses a more colloquial language for uninhibited, transparent characters; he uses pantomime for the descriptive clarification of a character or a situation; he introduces spectacular lifts and leaps which are suddenly arrested to signify moments of supreme dramatic impact.

Antony Tudor was born in London in 1909. He seemed destined for an uneventful business career when he saw Anna Pavlova dance and was so deeply impressed by her exquisite art and by the performances of several seasons of Diaghilev's Ballets Russes that he determined to become a ballet creator. Encouraged by Cyril W. Beaumont, he enrolled in the Rambert School and studied in his spare time with Pearl Argyle, Harold Turner, Margaret Craske and Marie Rambert. When Miss Rambert founded the famous Ballet Club in 1930, Tudor eagerly accepted her offer to join the new organization as secretary and dancer. Tudor's predominant interest was dance composition and as early as 1931 he choreographed and presented his first work *Cross-gartered,* after an episode from Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night.* The ballet was very successful and his contract with the Ballet Club was renewed. In 1933 he joined the Vic-Wells Ballet as a dancer, but without severing his connection with the Ballet Club where he continued to produce his own ballets. He created in fast sequence *Lysistrata* or *The Strike of the Wives* (Prokofieff, 1932), *Adam and Eve* (Lambert, 1932), *Atalanta of the East* (Seelig, 1933), *The Planets* (Holst, 1934), *The Descent of Hebe* (Bloch, 1935) and the dances for several operas at Covent Garden. With *Jardin aux Lilas* (1936) and *Dark Elegies* (1937) he deliberately departed from the classical pattern. In 1937, together with Agnes de Mille and his friend and collaborator, the dancer Hugh Laing, he founded the Dance Theatre for which he choreographed *Gallant Assembly* (Tartini, 1937), and in 1938 he organized his own company, The London Ballet, together with Hugh Laing. The opening novelty of the company was *Gala Performance.* The London Ballet gave a successful season through the winter and spring in London and was engaged by Sir Thomas Beecham for the International Grand Opera Season at the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden. When Tudor was invited to join the new Ballet Theatre just forming in New York in 1939, his fame as dancer and choreographer was already well established.

Tudor's influence on contemporary ballet is incalculable. In John Martin's words, "He is the next logical step beyond Fokine in the progression of periodic revolts within the ballet by which it has grown. It is always the same revolt, to be sure, directed against the meaninglessness which accumulates from overrefinement, overformalization, overclassicism; and its end is always a return toward function, though with varying and, indeed, increasingly vital manifestations in each epoch." This would seem to indicate that not only Tudor but every progressive artist in the ballet is in a state of active rebellion. While this is true for some—Agnes de Mille and Eugene Loring, for instance—it does not apply to all, for the simple reason that "meaning" and "function" have different implications for different people and different circumstances. A great deal of interesting experimentation in our ballet, for example, Ruth Page's *The Bells* and Valerie Bettis' *Virginia Sampler,* is tentative, rather than conclusive.

On the whole our ballet reformers, in search for function with a contemporaneous meaning, have been courageous, but not radical. Many promising talents of the younger generation, such as William Dollar, Lew Christensen, Todd Bolender and John Taras, continue to work deliberately in the classical medium. For progress in every creative endeavor has two meanings which are not necessarily mutually exclusive: the exploitation of known possessions and the exploration of unknown territories.

Hence it may be argued, at variance with Mr. Martin's opinion, that Balanchine's classical ballets demonstrate a signal return toward vital function. To paraphrase and extend John Martin's sentence, Balanchine is the next logical step beyond Petipa in the continuation of a classical tradition which is still meaningful, as manifest in the pure perfection of *Concerto Barocco, Serenade, Danses Concertantes* and *Divertimento.* He is, as Edwin Denby puts it, "Petipa's heir." Many authorities agree with Kirstein that Balanchine, by continuing "the line of tradition of the absolute ballet, restated for our time the absolute aesthetic validity of a new classicism."

These definitions should clarify the primary question at issue here: *the creative interpretation of the classical tradition.* This is not to suggest, however, a comparative evaluation of Balanchine's and Tudor's artistic stature. The assumption is that both artists consummately achieve in their work the end for which they are striving.

Balanchine's individual version of classicism is acceptable to a modern audience because it grew entirely away from the Imperial Academy whence it stems and now assumes contemporary relevance. But if this is one way to understand tradition as a living force, it is not the only way. It is equally important to bear in mind that Tudor is convinced and determined to continue "naturally and logically" in the great ballet tradition. In fact, the technical foundation of all his compositions is clearly recognizable as that of the classical academic ballet, although often substantially modified or characteristically distorted. In his case the transformation of the expressive idiom is largely determined by his intense preoccupation with psychological themes. This is new in the ballet—a surprisingly retarded acknowledgment of new methods of interpreting emotional processes which had decisively influenced literature and painting for the past two or three decades. Not before Tudor had ballet choreographers dealt with essentially psychological states, experiences and conflicts. Familiar in the field of modern dance, this discovery amounts in the ballet to a challenge of all conservative concepts of the use and the function of the *danse d'école*. Indeed no major change in the contemporary ballet is likely to have such profound and far-reaching consequences, although there is no evidence of a rapid or exclusive development in this particular direction. Those who fear for the traditional classical ballet have no reason to be alarmed. *Jardin aux Lilas* is more than ten years old.

Probably the psychological themes which inspired *Jardin aux Lilas, Dim Lustre, Pillar of Fire* and *Undertow* appear obscurely significant to a modern audience which is vaguely familiar with Freudian concepts and the notion of unconscious processes. But to call those ballets psychological dramas is only half right, because, applied to Tudor, the term defines the premise rather than the treatment. This distinguishes Tudor's creations from similar, emotionally complex compositions in the modern dance. That this is not merely a matter of different techniques is clearly illustrated in a comparison between the tragedy of frustration as conceived by Martha Graham in *Deaths and Entrances* and by Tudor in *Pillar of Fire*. Both works deal with similar dramatic conflicts caused by a specific psychological situation. In a simplified definition one may say that Martha Graham attempts a direct and spontaneous communication of inner states of

mind, while Tudor is concerned with the significance of their exterior manifestations. One is an ineluctably subjective presentation, the other a deliberately objective one. They are essentially different modes of expression, notwithstanding many apparent analogies in subject, structure and form. This distinction explains why there is no reason for Tudor to break radically with the formal, traditional language of the classic regime. He uses it as one of several means of dance expression because, and whenever, it serves a specific purpose of characterization.

Dim Lustre (Book: Antony Tudor. Music: Richard Strauss. Setting and Costumes: Motley) barely has a plot. The Lady With Him and The Gentleman With Her are dancing together in a ballroom, occasionally interrupted by some slight incident—a touch, a dropped handkerchief, a kiss—which happens alternately to him or to her evoking, much like flashbacks in a film, the memory of past and forgotten partners. This sophisticated Edwardian story is presented with a lightness and a playful charm which at first conceals the author's secret cynical amusement. But gradually, from episode to episode, Tudor exposes with merciless detachment the true significance of this frivolous dance dialogue. Eventually the brittle, well-mannered drama is smoothly resolved in the pathetic disillusionment and irreparable alienation of an irresponsible couple. The lovers' problem, which makes the drama, resides in their preoccupation with themselves, even to the point of self-destruction. This may be interpreted as a very subtle and decidedly contemporary version of the theme of frustration. It illuminates the reverse side of love which is not necessarily hatred, but more poignantly still, the incapacity for fulfillment. Technically the ballet is designed with unusual skill. The choreographer makes very effective use of a suggestive dim-out, indicating the moments of transition between present and past, and back again to the present. He also introduces the old music-hall trick of seemingly mirrored pictures which are actually danced by corresponding partners. This device, in representing two equivalent, though not identical, states of reality at the same time, serves to reveal visual images of memories as they might appear in the experience of the protagonists. For brief moments the key figures are made quasi-transparent, each episode supplying another clue to the understanding of the psychological conflict around which the action

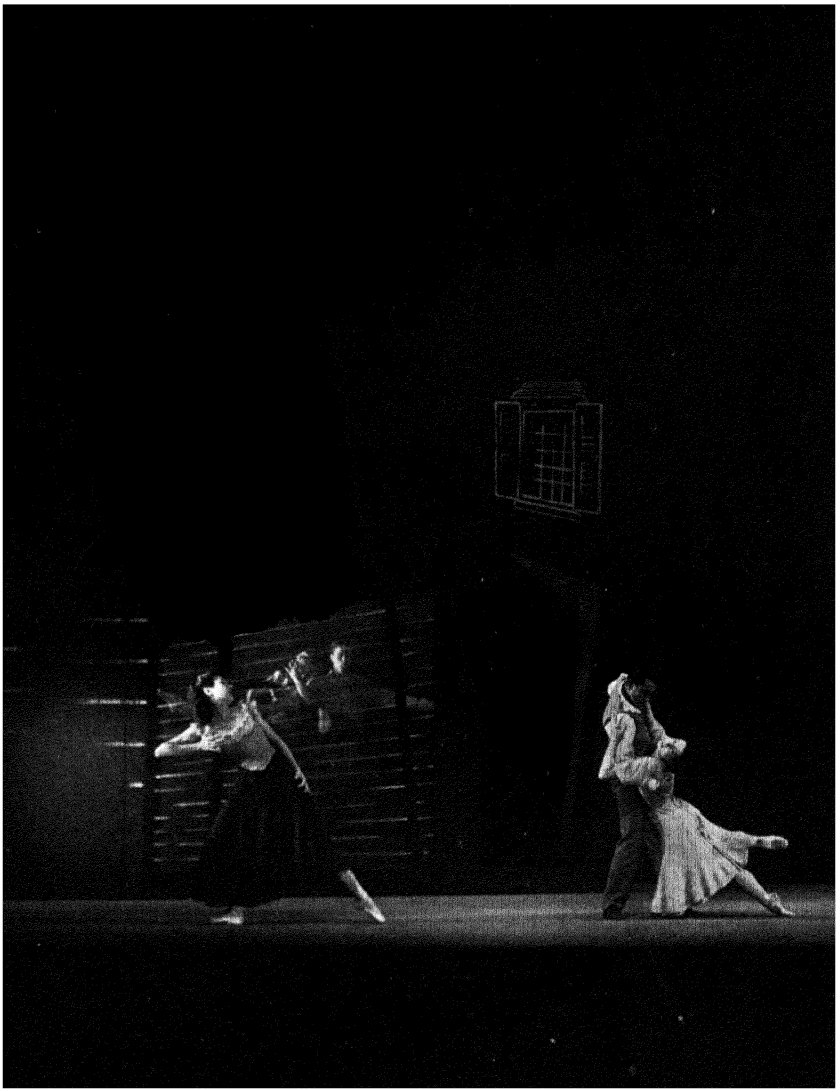
evolves. Every move and movement is clearly motivated, and apparently irrelevant incidents become suddenly significant and rationally intelligible. The ballroom dancing forms a continuous, moving background for the more intimate scenes which are isolated and accentuated in several exquisite and precise *pas de deux.*

Pillar of Fire (Book: Antony Tudor. Music: Arnold Schönberg, Settings and Costumes: Jo Mielziner), to quote John Martin, "is a tremendous work which nobody in the ballet field, not even Tudor himself, has yet succeeded in topping." Like *Jardin aux Lilas,* the ballet is based on a story. Its central figure is Hagar, who loves the Friend and temporarily loses him to the scheming and coquettish Youngest Sister. Hagar feels incapable of competing with the obvious charms of the younger girl and she fears the dismal fate of the Eldest Sister, a cold and loveless spinster. In passionate desperation Hagar gives herself to the experienced Young Man. She feels guilty and unworthy of the Friend who returns to her and who, with moving and reassuring simplicity, leads her toward fulfillment and happiness. Thus reduced to factual content the story recalls the banal middle-class melodrama of the nice girl who does wrong and is forgiven. Indeed, the sequence of fateful events by which the action proceeds follows a familiar pattern. But the fascination of realistic theatre is very powerful. There is a deep satisfaction in seeing the expected on the stage, because it confirms in an exemplary form the validity of common social and moral concepts and because it permits identification with the fictitious characters in the drama. It would therefore be wrong to minimize the relevance of the realistic story element in Tudor's ballets. As the actual narrative is rationally conceived and organically resolved, it becomes convincing, or at least credible, in its own right and thus sets the spectator at ease. This, it would seem, is an important factor in the appreciation of Tudor's work; incidentally it offers an explanation for his frequent use of conventional dramatic situations and characters.

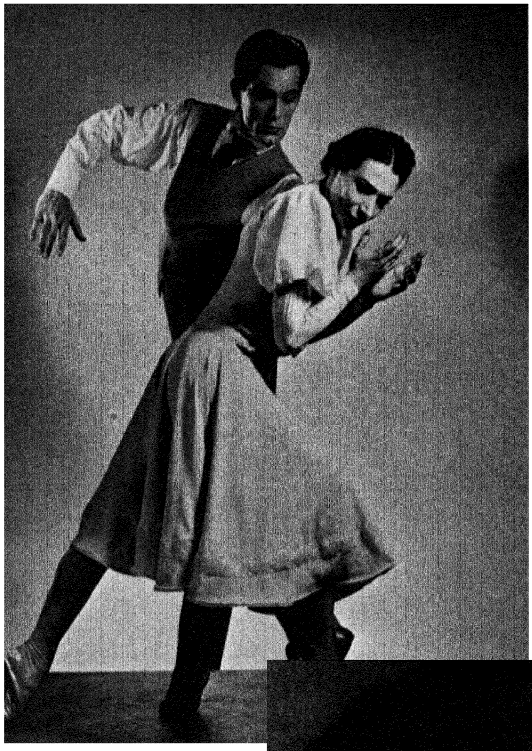
Consistent with this principle, his style of interpretation often originates in colloquial gesture, such as, in *Pillar of Fire,* a casual greeting or the arranging of a strand of hair or the adjusting of a sleeve—gestures directly derived from daily life and conveying, as Edwin Denby says, a "narrative meaning." All these clearly recognizable, tangible indications establish unequivocal points of reference for

the subsequent understanding of more complex, allusive gestures and movements. Almost imperceptibly those explicit meanings are carried over into the dance movement. There is an infinite scale of degrees from colloquial gesture to highly abstracted stylization, degrees which correspond to the varying complexity of the respective emotional state or situation. The Friend, for instance, simply walks through the drama at an even and assured pace. Hagar, in striking contrast, changes between moments of intense immobility and frantic speed. Each movement or phrase is at the same time descriptive and allusive, specific and suggestive. If the turbulent conflicts of a tormented soul occur in the obscurity of the subconscious, their interpretation in dance terms is lucid and precise. This visual clarification is particularly helpful in a mute drama whose essential conflicts happen in, or extend into, the psychological dimension.

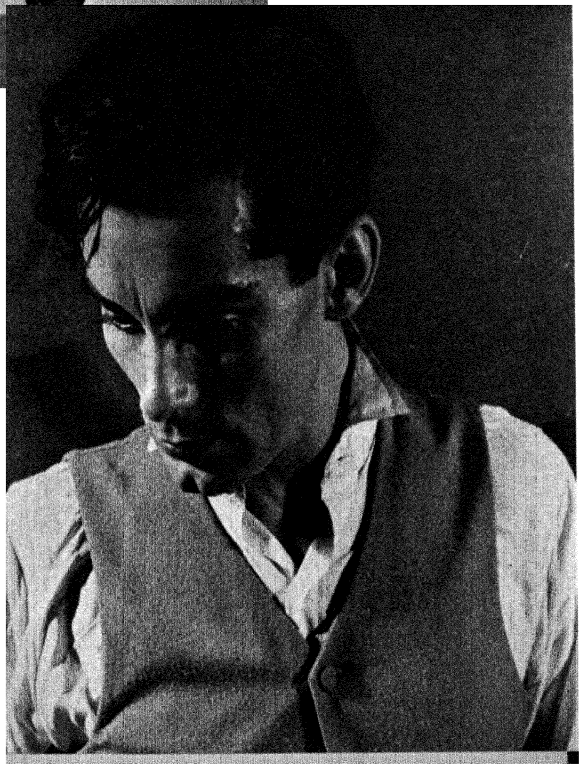
The language of gesture and movement must be considered an equivalent, not a substitute, for spoken language. In the ballet version of *Romeo and Juliet* the inevitable recollection of the spoken word at times condemns the pantomime to a minor importance, to an expedient as it were. *Pillar of Fire* is not a literary statement, quasi-accidentally deprived of the benefit of speech. It is originally conceived in a specific pantomime language. This quality distinguishes it from the traditional narrative ballet which is merely descriptive, though often very successfully so. How profoundly those different principles affect the actual style of performing is easy to realize if, for example, one compares the poignant and exquisite moments of physical intimacy between Tudor's dramatic characters with the ostensible sensual contacts in *Scheherazade*. It is still understandable today that the explicit realism of Fokine's famous oriental ballet scandalized the audiences of 1910. This literal, descriptive realism is of an entirely different order from the pithy authenticity which distinguishes Tudor's work. In the traditional narrative ballet the *dramatis personae* are created and moved according to the practical requirements of the action. In Tudor's ballets it is just the reverse. The psychological constellation is the absolute premise for the development and presentation of the theme. The actual plot is determined, with an almost scientific precision, by the compulsive behavior of characters who are in no way realistic portrayals, but rather bold abstractions of characters with just so many traits as are necessary to justify their



Group from *Pillar of Fire*, Ba



HUGH LAING and NORA KAYE in *Pillar of Fire*. Ballet Theatre, 1942. Photo: Alfredo Valente



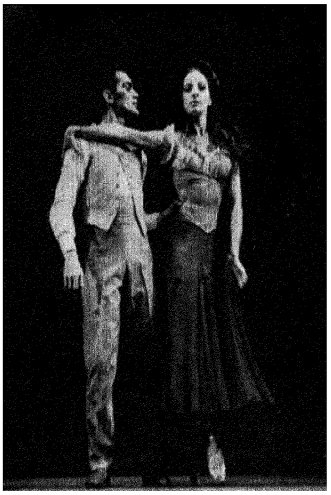
; in *Pillar of*
Theatre, 1942.
Van Vechten



Group from *Romeo and Juliet,* Ballet Theatre, 1942. Photo. Baron

Alicia Alonso and Antony Tudor in *Lilac Garden,* Ballet Theatre, 1940





NANA GOLLNER and HUGH LAING in *Undertow*, Ballet Theatre, 1945.

HUGH LAING and ALICIA ALONSO in *Pillar of Fire*, Ballet Theatre 1942. Photo: Fred Fehl

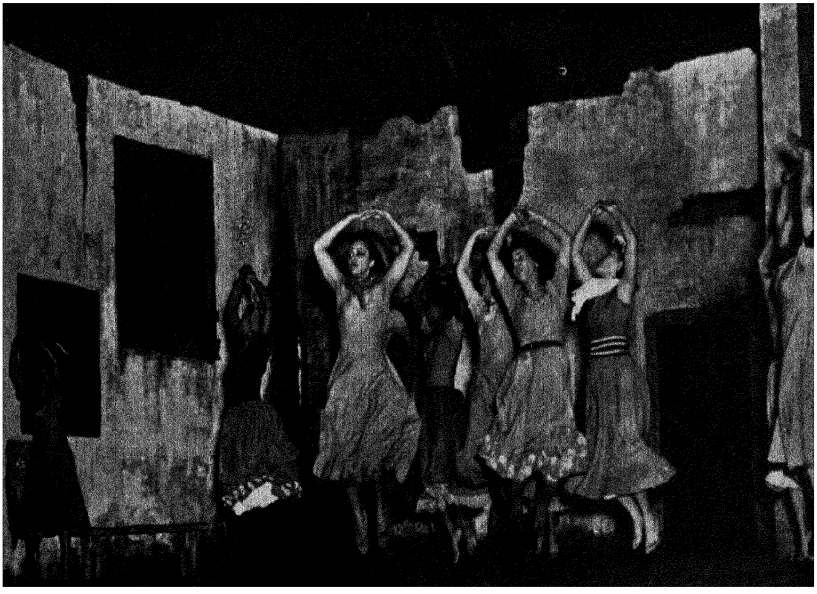
Group from *Undertow*, Ballet Theatre, 1945. Photo: Baron

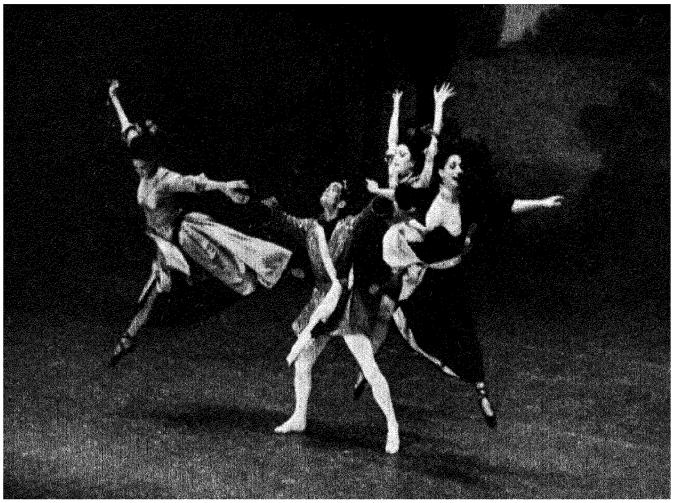




Group from *Three Virgins and a Devil,* Ballet Theatre, 1941.

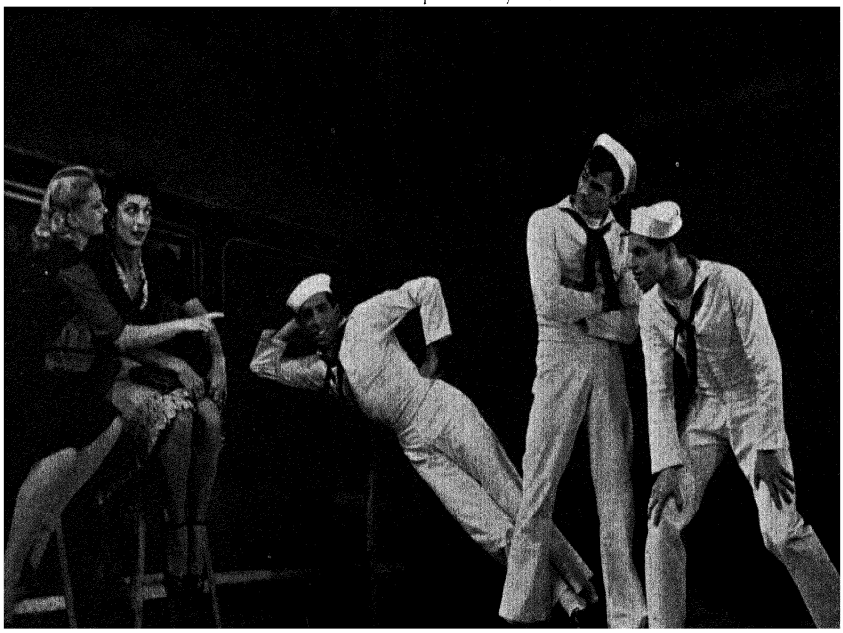
Group from *Black Ritual,* Ballet Theatre, 1940. Photo: André Kertesz

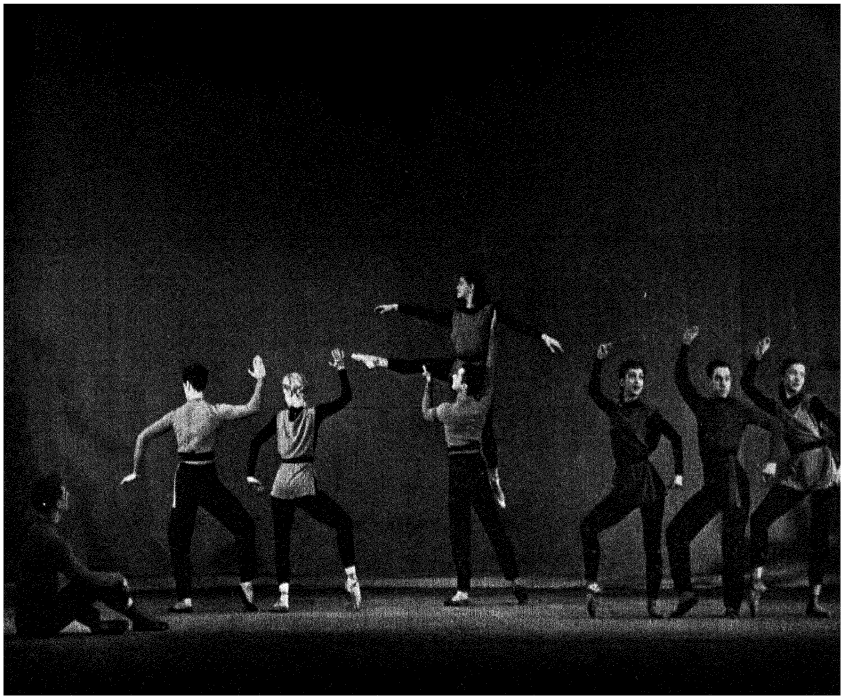




Group from *Tally-Ho*, Ballet Theatre, 1944. Photo: Fred Fehl

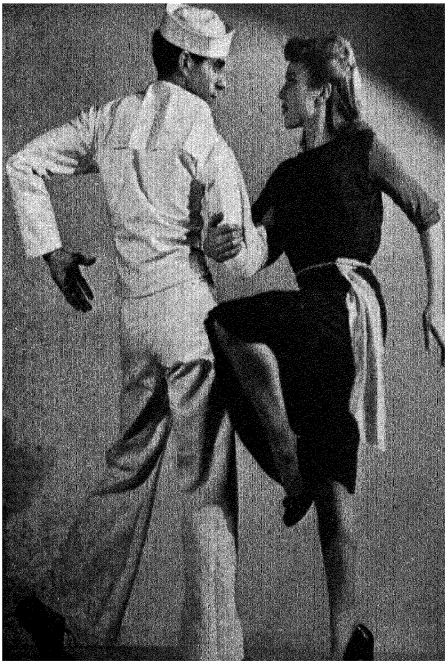
Group from *Fancy Free*, Ballet Theatre, 1944.

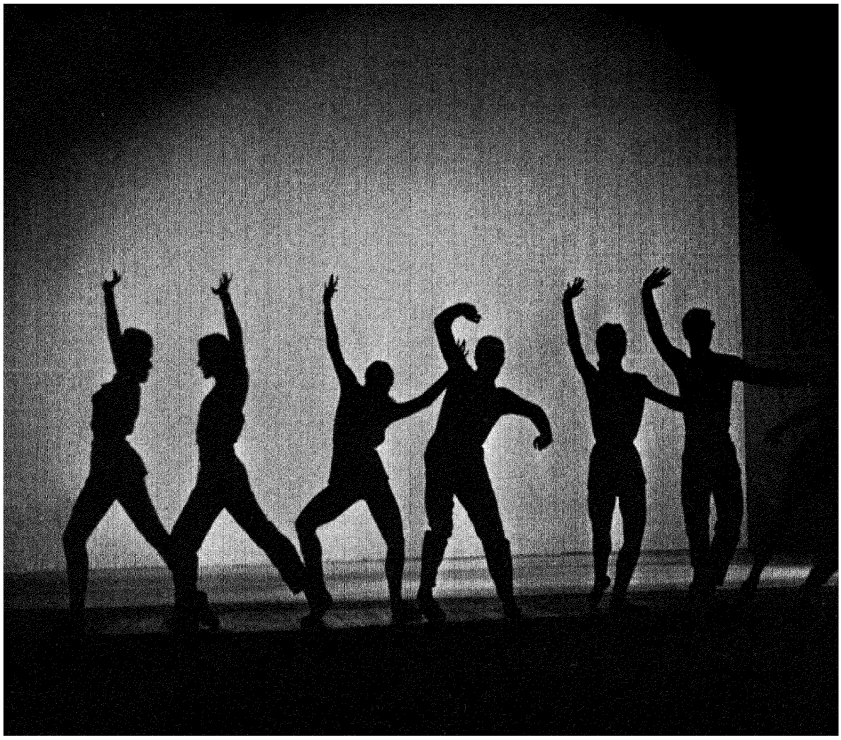




Group from *Interplay,* Ballet Theatre, 1945.

JEROME ROBBINS and JANET REED in *Fancy Free,* Ballet Theatre, 1944. Photo. Alfredo Valente

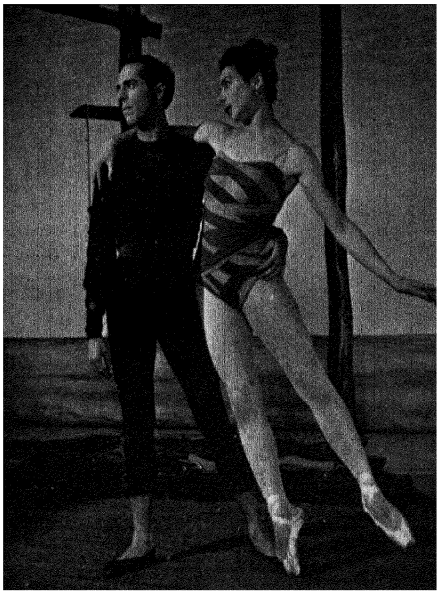




Group from *Interplay,* Ballet Theatre, 1945.

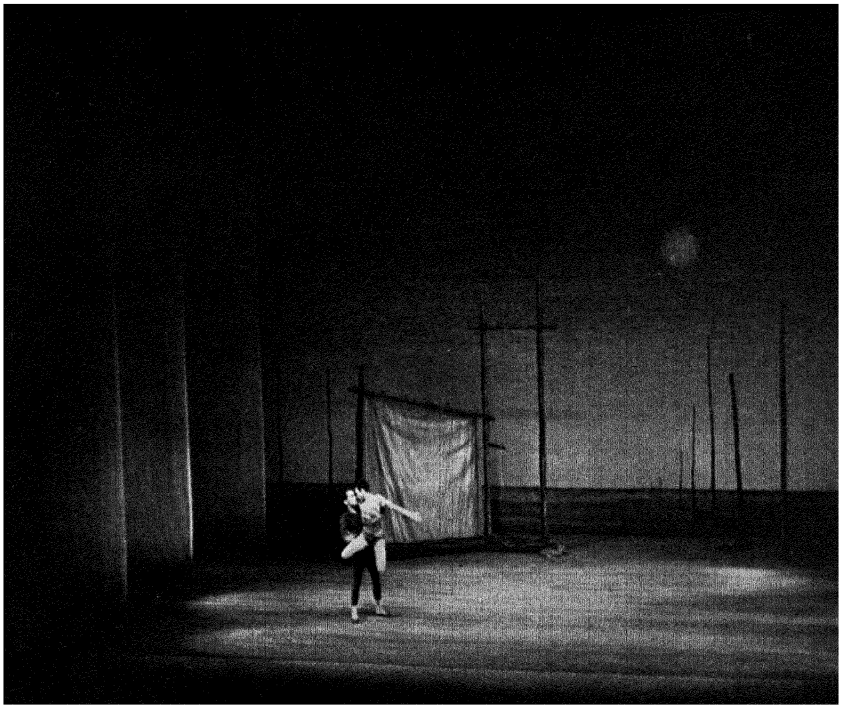
Group from *Facsimile,* Ballet Theatre, 1946. Photo: Fred Fehl

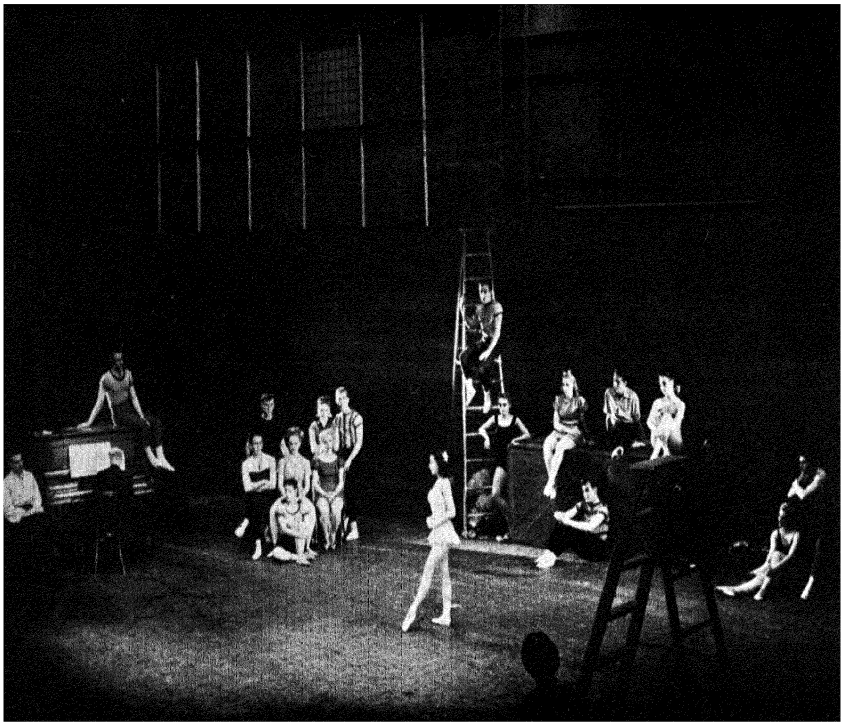




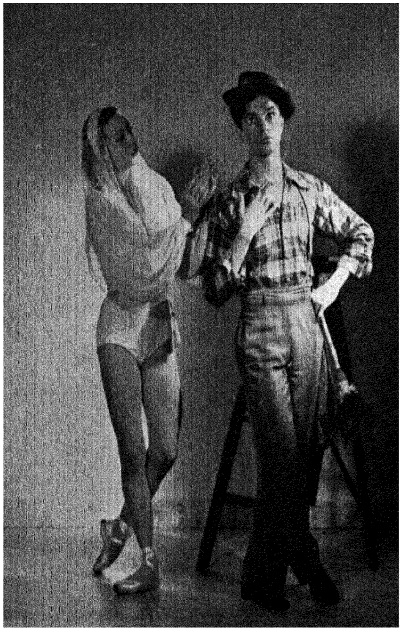
JEROME ROBBINS and NORA KAYE in *Facsimile,* Ballet Theatre, 1946. Photo: George Karger-Pix

JEROME ROBBINS and NORA KAYE in *Facsimile,* Ballet Theatre, 1946. Photo. Walter E Owen

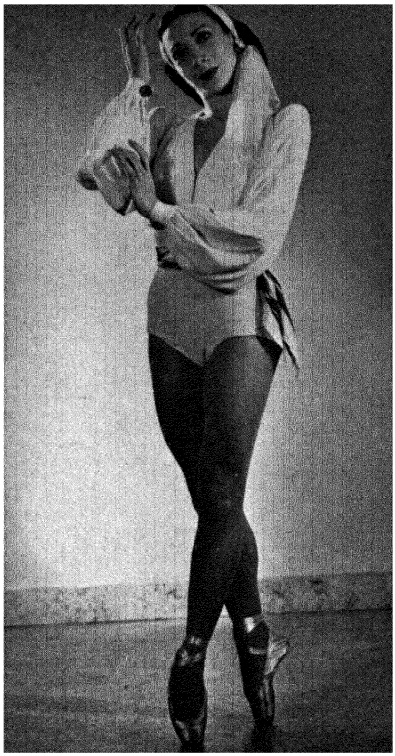




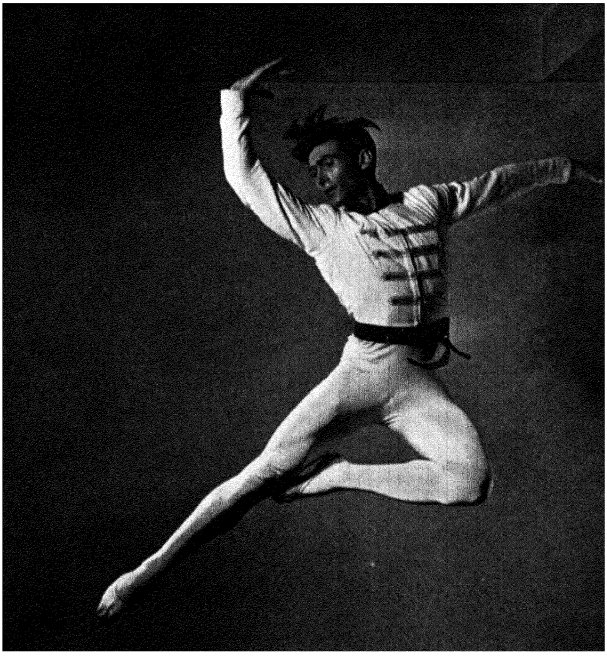
Group from *On Stage!*, Ballet Theatre, 1945 Photo Larry Colwell



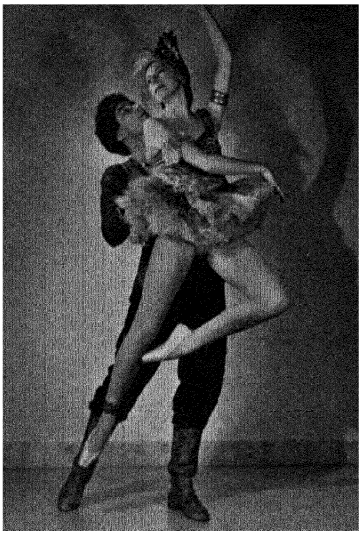
Nora Kaye and Michael Kidd in *On Stage!*, Ballet Theatre, 1945. Photo Alfredo Valente



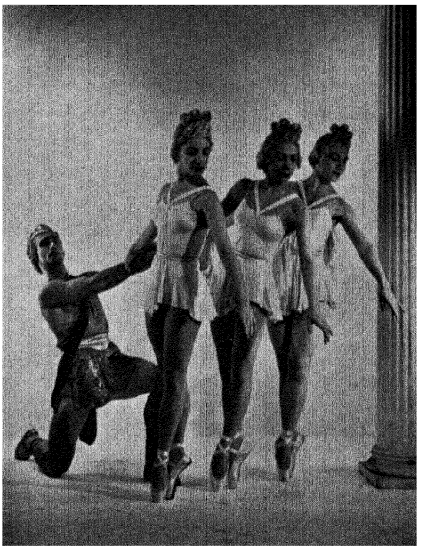
NORA KAYE in *On Stage!*, Ballet Theatre, 1945. Photo: Alfredo Valente



IGOR YOUSK
Alfredo Valer



ANTON DOLIN and ALICIA MARKOVA in *Firebird*, Ballet Theatre, 1945. Photo. Alfredo Valente

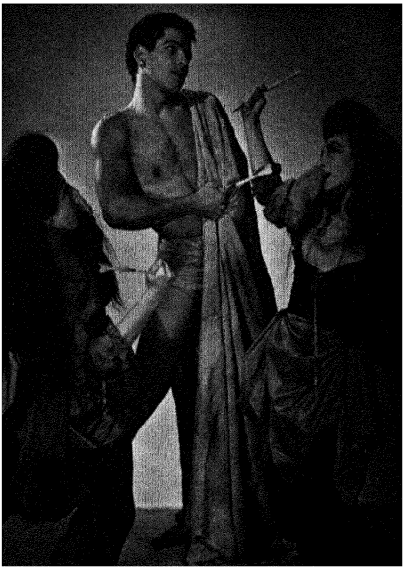


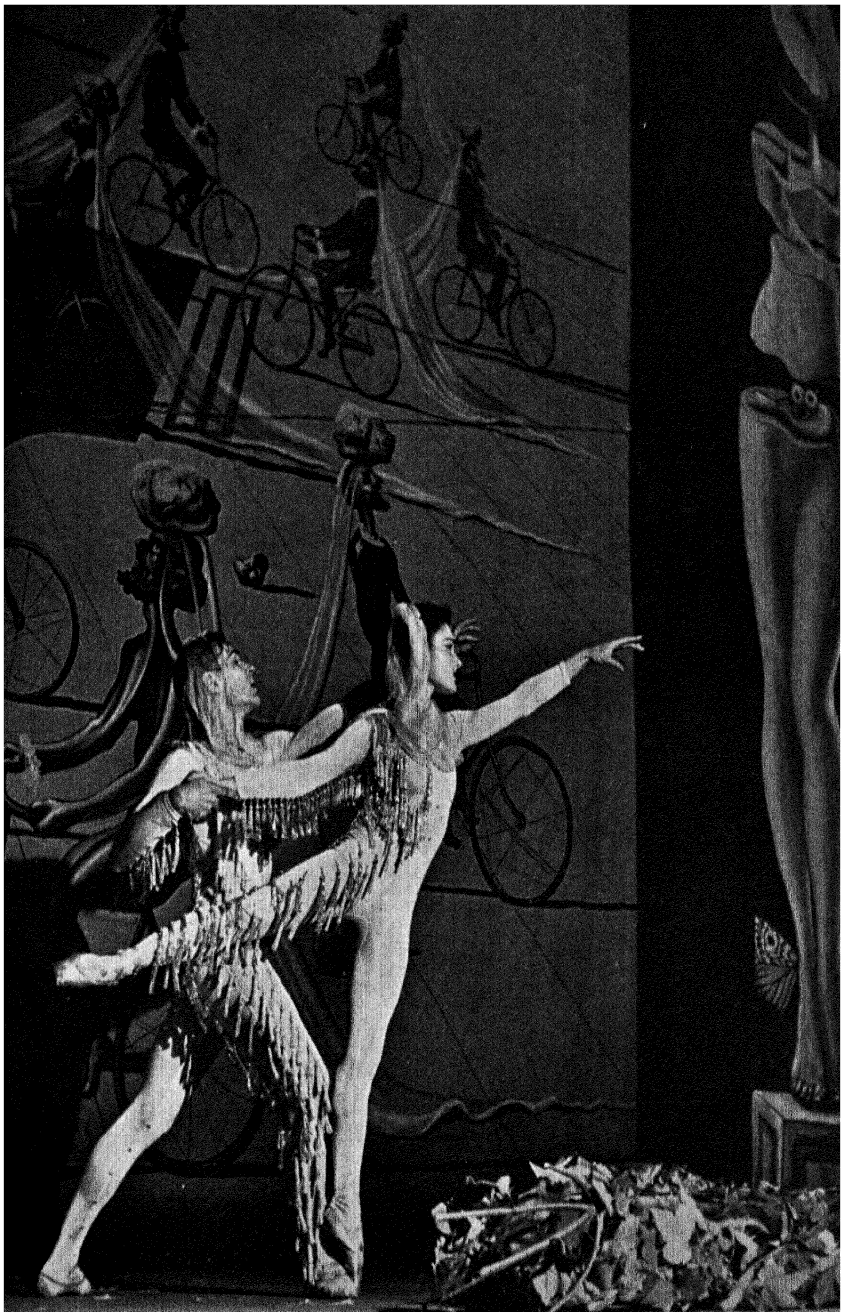
Group from *Apollo*, Ballet Theatre, 1943 Photo Dwight Godwin

Group from *Sebastian*, Ballet International, 1944. Photo: Alfredo Valente



ALICIA ALONSO and IGOR YOUSKEVITCH in *Giselle*, Ballet Theatre, 1946. Photo· Dwight Godwin

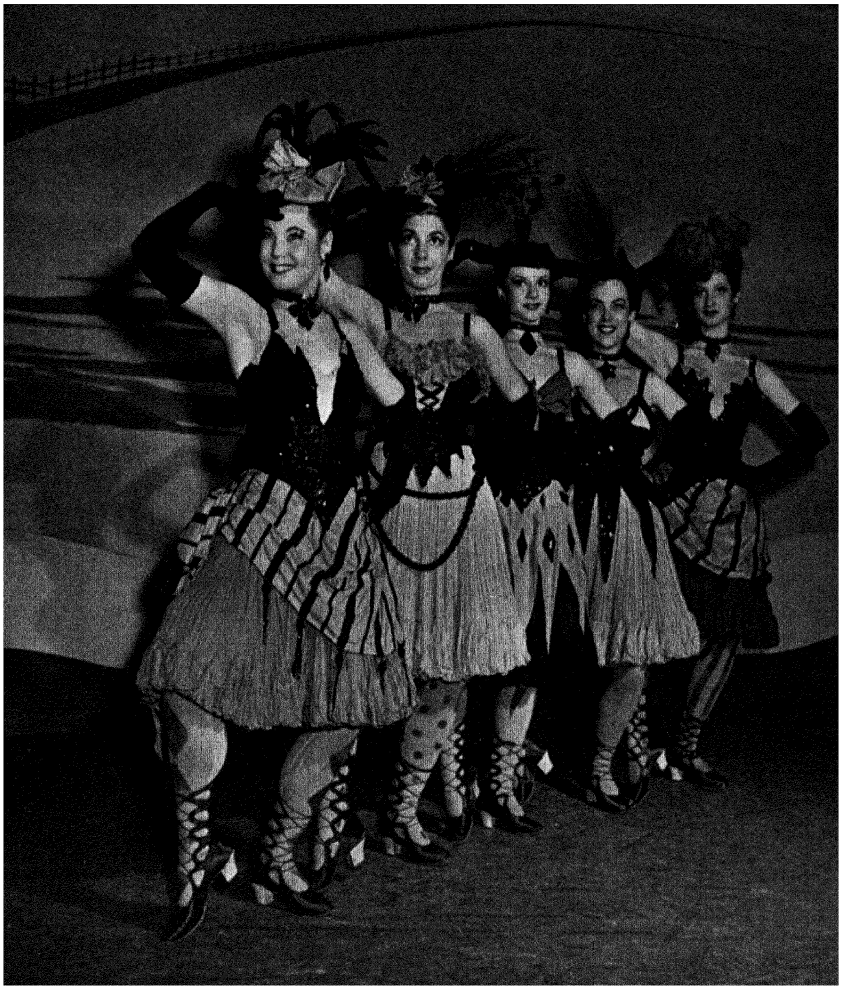




ANDRÉ EGLEVSKY and MARIE-JEANNE in *Sentimental Colloquy*, Ballet International, 1944. Photo: Halsman

KATHERINE SERGAVA in *Oklahoma!*, Theatre Guild Production, 1943.
Photo: Eileen Darby, Graphic House





Picture Postcard Girls in *Oklahoma!*, Theatre Guild Production, 1943.
Photo: Eileen Darby, Graphic House



Bambi Linn in *Oklahoma!*, Theatre Guild Production, 1943. Photo: Eileen Darby, Graphic House

Group from Ballet in *Oklahoma!*, Theatre Guild Production, 1943. Photo: Vandamm Studio



behavior and to clarify their function within the drama. In *Pillar of Fire* the Friend and the Young Man (significantly anonymous) are far more abstract than the nameless Elder and Younger Sister, and none of them is given as full and explicit a definition as Hagar. Thus *Pillar of Fire* is unmistakably the drama of Hagar. In varying the characterization by degrees of definition Tudor sets a natural scale of psychological or emotional interest which coincides accurately with the dramatic or visual accents.

As against the stream-of-consciousness method which presents psychological processes as an intricate pattern of interwoven associations, Tudor uses compellingly the artist's prerogative of selecting essentials to illuminate the human uniqueness of each character so that it becomes unforgettable. This reflection recalls Paul Valéry's words, in his fine essay on *Degas, Dance, Drawing,* that nothing is "more admirable than the transition from the arbitrary to the necessary which is the artist's sovereign act." In Tudor's work the necessity is psychologically determined. To the modern mind psychological inevitability seems far more forceful and acceptable than an equally inexorable, but unfathomable, fatality. Tudor's work reveals the close connection with psychoanalytical thought, particularly in the tendency to establish compulsive relationships between motivation and execution. His work may thus be called a reasoned justification of the visual reality as image and symbol of inner compulsion. This seems a natural attitude in a period which so deliberately stresses the importance of the subconscious in art expression.

When Tudor introduced these subjects, without precedent and example, in the ballet, he was faced with the difficult task of creating a new expressive idiom consistent, nevertheless, with the essentials of the traditional technique. The modern dance, since Duncan's pioneer attempts, had independently evolved an elaborate system of meaningful movement particularly conceived and suited to the visual presentation of psychological themes. Dancers had been trained specifically in this system, which implies the absolute negation of the classical ballet; and far away from the ballet theatre an audience had been educated to understand and appreciate this new dance form.

But the ballet had nothing similar or equivalent to offer; at best it could supply a shallow pantomime tradition as the closest approximation to Tudor's artistic requirements. Neither performers, nor

spectators, brought up in the spirit and the grand manner of the *danse d'école,* had been exposed before to an experience of psychological significance. As it turned out, when Tudor created his ballets the audience was ready for them; if aesthetic response may be taken as an indication of aesthetic need, the acceptance of Tudor's increasingly difficult creations reflected a definite demand for more complex and profound artistic statements than the ballet had offered hitherto. However, this is not to be taken as the symptom of an exclusive trend. Although Jerome Robbins experimented at one time in the same direction with the ballet *Facsimile,* there is no reason to anticipate henceforth a universal preference for themes dealing with tortured and frustrated characters. In fact, there is no evidence of any such development on a wide front; rather would it seem that the more vigorous talent in contemporary ballet is in search of emotional balance and optimistic belief. It is both characteristic and reassuring, for instance, that the keen-witted sophistication of Agnes de Mille, Jerome Robbins and Michael Kidd is tempered by human warmth and an entirely affirmative sense of humor. Tudor himself produced the good-humored persiflage of *Gala Performance,* and several cruel episodes in *Undertow* are surprisingly illuminated and alleviated by a compassionate humor. This is, perhaps, less conclusive than the observation that, while the choreographer closed *Dim Lustre* with the cynical acceptance of defeat and ended *Jardin aux Lilas* with the admission of despondent resignation, the close of *Pillar of Fire* beautifully resolves the essential conflict. In the last analysis no ballet before or after *Pillar of Fire* has presented such a monumental statement of optimism.

This optimism, however, is intellectually cold and detached, exposing an attitude of reason, rather than of intuition; hence it is all the more convincing. It is an unromantic, strictly logical optimism which suggests a connection with the trenchant and implacably rational discipline of a Gide or a Proust. While unfolding the drama, Tudor dominates the tempests of passion so deliberately released, leaving nothing to the hazards of emotion, either in concept or in realization. *Jardin aux Lilas* and *Pillar of Fire* have the same basic pattern of cause and consequence. The outcomes are predetermined by the characters involved; their motives leave no possible alternative of action. The clarity of plan and intention thus revealed conveys to these ballet dramas a quality of definiteness and precision not

ordinarily associated with psychological complexities. For all their novelty and daring Tudor's ballets cannot be called experimental in the sense of being tentative or accidental. They are fully matured, completely finished products.

The story of *Pillar of Fire* vaguely recalls the poetic theme which inspired Arnold Schönberg's *Verklärte Nacht* and which in turn, may have inspired Tudor's work. This noble score is subjective to the point of obscurity. At any rate, its lyricism is dark and heavy and at a hearing it would hardly suggest dance movement, let alone ballet steps of the strict regime. But Tudor's is a lyricism which never forgets its cerebral obligations; his intuition is tempered by knowledge; his passion is moderated by discipline. There are, in short, congenially related qualities in both the composer's and the choreographer's creativeness which account for Tudor's choice. In his choreographic composition Schönberg's music becomes dance, not so much because it supplies him with danceable material, as because it supplies a lyrical pattern for a rational system of motion and expression. This may help to elucidate John Martin's observation that Tudor "feels under no compulsion to follow the phrasing, to observe the accents, to duplicate the melodic line of the composer; with a basic awareness of all these he proceeds to build his own movement in counterpoint, sometimes widely at variance with them in outward detail, but never in violation of their individual integrity. The effect he achieves in this way is one of astonishing freedom and command." Indeed his choreographic treatment of music, as essential matter, is as unique in the field of ballet as is Martha Graham's in the domain of modern dance. Jo Mielziner's *fin de siècle* costumes and settings for *Pillar of Fire* are admirable because they are at the same time unobtrusive and precise, imaginative and functional.

Undertow (Book: Antony Tudor, after a suggestion by John van Druten. Music: William Schuman. Settings and Costumes: Raymond Breinin) is a disturbing and disconcerting work. Following, as it does, so consummate an accomplishment as *Pillar of Fire,* it is odd that it fails to convince. Although *Undertow* is the logical continuation of the preceding work, it seems as if *Pillar of Fire* had yielded virtually everything that the psychological genre had to offer Tudor in the way of theatrical potentialities. In fact and implication the Transgressor's drama of guilt and atonement in *Undertow* is more

violent and shocking, but somehow far less moving and compelling than Hagar's drama of guilt and transfiguration. The reasons for this ultimate failure in a creation of such imposing stature are manifold and not easy to analyze. First of all, the directness and lucidity which distinguished Tudor's previous work are here frequently blunted and obscured by allusions and implications of uncertain significance. Thus the mythological, part-Greek, part-Latin designations of the cast of characters suggest more complex meanings than transpire from the simple and specific functions the characters assume in the actual ballet. It is irritating, because not sufficiently justified, that a young bridal couple who leap happily across the stage are pretentiously named Hymen and Hera. One never quite overcomes the uneasy feeling that one is missing a crucial point or important clue, as in fact one may be.

Although *Undertow* manifests all the characteristics of spectacular theatre, it is essentially a spiritual drama, rather than a visual one; its imagery and symbolism are substantially derived from literary concepts. Regarded as a literary work *Undertow,* except for the ending, is an admirably concise and consistent case history of a psychopathic character. But as a purely visual spectacle, which it is by definition, it is uneven and deficient, lacking in structural unity and organic continuity. The same episodic treatment that was successfully employed in *Dim Lustre* and *Jardin aux Lilas* here tends to create confusion. There are many poignantly dramatic scenes, like the swift and vicious rape of Ate or the breathtaking crescendo leading to the climax of Medusa's violent death. Other scenes, like the grotesque song of the Bacchantes or Polyhymnia's rather lame appearance, are less fortunately integrated, less persuasively motivated. As individual pieces of choreographic composition they are often brilliantly invented; however, their relationship to the main action is not always clearly established, so that the drama as a whole never fully achieves the sustained emotional suspense and trenchant precision of *Pillar of Fire.*

With more accuracy than taste, *Undertow* was originally advertised as a "psychological murder story." This trading on low sensationalism rendered a doubtful service indeed to a work of such manifest artistic seriousness and integrity. One cannot but regret the need for affirming that the solid success of this ballet is not at all due to

the morbid appeal of vice, violence and murder, but largely to the mature and discriminating attitude of the American audience. Indeed, it is Tudor's lasting merit that he put his faith and his fate in an untried audience which had barely assimilated the classical ballet and swore by standards of beauty and perfection which he seemingly defied or violated at every step. Without fear or doubt or compromise he kept increasing his demands on the public until it was prepared to accept the Transgressor's agonizing drama with respect and understanding. This sensible and sensitive response is immensely gratifying, for Tudor's excursion into the "psychological slums," as John Martin aptly said, is a remorseless test.

The Ballet Theatre program notes say that "*Undertow* unfolds like the confession of a neurotic to a psychiatrist. Its tortured hero, frustrated in his infantile love for his mother, writhes eerily through the ballet, doomed to hate the women who most attract him." Doubtless this synopsis is intended to convey desirable information, while actually and unintentionally it succeeds merely in suggesting an unpleasant and unpromising theatrical experience. Any display of human suffering is sure to provoke an immediate, facile response from the top layer of our feelings. A sentimental film, for instance, rarely fails to arouse tearful sympathy, even against our better taste and judgment. The human drama without the redeeming quality of greatness, in the stature of the characters involved or in the nature of its essential conflicts or in the concept and consequence of the presentation, makes good news copy, not a work of art. Dostoievsky's *Crime and Punishment,* reduced to the bare skeleton of facts, appears merely as a shocking case of premeditated murder. What elevates both crimes, Raskolnikov's and the Transgressor's, above the commonplace misery of clinical record and courtroom report is the revelation of aesthetic and emotional potentialities inherent, but not apparent, in the subject matter. It takes the inspiration of a truly creative artist to convince us of the uniqueness and nobility of his hero's suffering in order to incite profound, empathic compassion.

The Transgressor is not Oedipus, although the analogy is almost forced upon our consciousness. For all the fierce passion displayed in the action of *Undertow,* Tudor once again presents his case with a dispassionate, almost scientific detachment. The Transgressor's story constitutes a regular psychoanalytical biography, starting with the

birth of the patient, then demonstrating the initial traumatic shock which causes the Oedipus complex from which he suffers, and eventually arriving at a somewhat irresolute conclusion which turns unexpectedly symbolical. This protracted and diffuse ending is puzzling. The courageous and provocative treatment of the first two parts of the ballet arouses unusual expectations which remain unfulfilled. After the strangulation scene, which is skilfully prepared and which has all the gripping power and fatal inevitability of great drama, there is a break in the consistency of the artistic treatment. This, in turn, causes a marked break in pace and tension and leads to a feeling of emptiness and disappointment.

In the end, one awakens to the realization that the hero has not become quite as real as the secondary characters which surround him, that he has moved outside the dramatic universe set for him, and that he has vanished from the scene, literally and figuratively, without leaving a noticeable void. This indicates that the elusive deficiency of the work is not of a purely aesthetic order, but is also, if not only, due to a lack of definition in the basic conception. It appears, particularly in the epilogue, that the Transgressor represents a perfectly credible, theoretical concept of a neurotic character, but fails to assume life and volume. In a beautifully stylized performance he renders a stirring demonstration of human behavior under abnormal emotional stress. But this emphatic exhibitionism exposes, the surer for being so explicit, the elusiveness of the Transgressor as a dramatic character. The precision which marked his birth and the decisive stations of his painful progress through life is later invalidated by the vagueness of his end. This is nearly fatal because *Undertow* is so definitely conceived as the Transgressor's drama; he is not only the center, but the very *raison d'être* of the work.

The plot of *Undertow* is established on rational premises and with clarity of purpose. The mother's critical rejection of the son is shown in a scene of beautiful simplicity and the growth of the protagonist's neurosis (to use the appropriate term) could be described as consecutive phases of a psychoanalysis in reverse. But it is this very feature of plain realism which constantly endangers the integrity of style and ultimately the perfection of the whole work. This becomes quite noticeable each time the treatment departs from the straight line of rational demonstration and deviates into a symbolism of an in-

finitely more general validity than the hero's particular, rather private, case seems entitled to claim. The result is an unbalanced mixture of symbolic and descriptive, or of lyrical and pantomimic elements—hence the want of stylistic coherence. Considered in individual moments the pictorial and plastic qualities of the work appear at times in realizations of intense and striking beauty. Visually the Transgressor imposes his presence forcefully enough; which is just as it should be in an optical spectacle. However, he dominates the stage by virtue of the prominent, physical position assigned him in the choreography, not on the strength of an immanent authority. As the drama advances, comprising an ever-increasing number of incidental characters, the driving force seems to give out under the additional strain and pretty nearly fails altogether after the frenzied acceleration in the murder scene. There is less and less movement and in the epilogue it slows down almost to a standstill. The ballet ceases to be dance. It ends as a *tableau vivant*. This picture impression is further stressed by the static character of Breinin's décor, which may well correspond to the choreographer's concept, but which does not participate actively or dynamically in the movement pattern of the ballet. There is no justification for the arbitrary repetition on the backdrop of the painter's familiar motive of flying horses, impressive though they may be, unless they be regarded as a rather literary and unnecessary illustration of the Transgressor's Fury-haunted imagination. William Schuman's score is on a high level of competence, again in the prevailing spirit of obviously descriptive, rather than implicitly suggestive, accompaniment, but there are occasional discrepancies between the loud drama of the music and the silent torture of the suffering hero.

Gala Performance (Book: Antony Tudor. Music: Serge Prokofieff, orchestrated by Paul Baron. Settings and Costumes: Nicolas de Molas) is the lively picture of a gala performance at the "Theatre Royal," featuring the first joint appearance of three famous ballerinas, a Russian, an Italian and a French one. The first part of the ballet shows the gloomy backstage milieu shortly before the curtain rises; the second part presents the actual gala performance in the full glamour of stage lighting and décor. As performed today, after countless repetitions, recastings and extensive touring, this work is hardly more than a very ingenious burlesque, a "company romp," to quote Ann Barzel. Originally the ballet doubtless held the substance of a

genuine and rather terrifying satire on human behavior at large. The competitive situation implies a deadly viciousness and the completely submissive position of the male dancers throughout the performance is not only funny; it also suggests a sharp and significant commentary. The extreme care and thoroughness with which Tudor designed the character of each one of the protagonists makes it likely, if not certain, that he intended more than just plain amusement. However, the hidden virulence and the accumulated, hateful jealousies never fully materialize in the savage reality of genuine human passions, because the ballerinas remain detached, two-dimensional symbols. They are the most horribly authentic abstractions of ballerinas, highly polished instruments of perfection without soul and magic, and it is a relief that Tudor makes us laugh.

While the introductory scene begins with broad humor and good fun, it also prepares for the ruthless cruelty of the impending contest. In fact, it is in this unobtrusive backstage pantomime that the dramatic tension originates which carries the ballet triumphantly through the difficult paces of an extended and intricate display of ballet technique, the finesse of which is inevitably lost to all but professionals and connoisseurs. It is probably for this reason that the executants feel tempted at times to exaggerate beyond the subtle limitations of satiric characterization and occasionally fall into a vaudeville parody which cheapens the effect. Actually the choreographer has left no room for improvisations of any kind. Tudor's meaning here, as always, is precise, definite and thought out to the last detail. Therefore the dancers are safest and at their best in this delicate ballet if they rely completely on the choreographic and pantomimic directions he has devised for them. The artistic perfection of *Gala Performance* depends entirely on the perfection of its balletic style, because its brittle characters are not conceived in terms of finely differentiated human qualities. Called La Reine de la Danse (from Moscow), La Déesse de la Dance (from Milan) and La Fille de Terpsichore (from Paris), the three ballerinas represent categorical concepts of three national characters, three national styles and three particular types of the ballerina. Each one, then, is a composite character, not entitled to the spontaneous expression of individual, human traits. The same applies to the two pathetic Cavaliers and the *fin de siècle,* coyly indifferent *corps de ballet.*

The choice of the Prokofieff score, too, seems indicative of Tudor's essentially serious intentions; it removes the musical interpretation of the theme from the shallowness of the obvious and lifts it to the higher level of the deliberate. The décors by de Molas are no more than adequate. His costumes, however, are among the most imaginative, subtle and charming creations in this usually unforgivably dull department.

Romeo and Juliet (Book: Antony Tudor, after Shakespeare. Music: Frederick Delius. Settings and Costumes: Eugene Berman) is a magnificent spectacle and probably the most lavish and exquisite theatre piece on the contemporary ballet stage. That is its main merit and no mean one. Although the practice seems to be lost and forgotten, it is a legitimate and traditional function of the theatre to create images of grandeur with all the technical equipment of the theatrical apparatus and with all the magic means of scenic illusion. Today, whatever inadequate efforts are made to revive the theatrical spectacle in the grand style are usually attempted in the movies.

In arranging this delicate subject for the ballet stage, Tudor may have tried "the unnecessary and the impossible," as one English critic observed. At the very least the choreographer must have realized that it was a daring undertaking to recreate in new terms a work of art that has assumed, in our cultural heritage, certain definite and immutable qualities. It would be interesting to compare Tudor's ballet with Robert Helpmann's one-act *Hamlet;* for the problem of adaptation is essentially the same. Both choreographers chose to work against heavy odds in selecting plays which are so familiar and almost sacrosanct. Yet we have every reason to be grateful to Tudor for the attempt, for he succeeded in creating a beautiful work, though not a great ballet. Contrary to reasonable expectation he was more successful in translating poetic language into expressive movement than in remolding the narrative. In his treatment of the story its lyricism is more powerful than the drama and some of the duo scenes between Romeo and Juliet have the quality of timeless perfection.

In its general dramatic concept Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* is broadly designed in the black and white of elemental passions, stressing the sharp contrast between hatred and love. Tudor's version is more uniformly shaded, rendered in the delicate half-tones and nuances of subdued passions. This ingenious change of emphasis

conveys to Tudor's balletic adjustment its particular quality and charm. Although the choreographer respects the essential integrity of the original drama, he has neither attempted a literal illustration nor tried to simulate a literary drama in mute language. He remains strictly within the formal category of his medium though ranging widely from expressive dance movement to distinct pantomime. If he is not entirely successful, the reason is not to be found in any intrinsic weakness in the choreographic treatment, but in the irrepressible life of Shakespeare's word as it rings in our memory. Comparisons between the spoken and the silent version are unavoidable and detrimental to the latter. Aside from these reservations, Tudor's arrangement is a dramaturgic masterpiece. He has skillfully condensed the story to a minimum, while preserving the feeling of epic breadth and endless time. Not one scene is overcrowded with characters or events; not one moment is nervously rushed by pressing action. The narrative develops slowly and proceeds at a beautifully sustained pace. The dramatic continuity is so surely maintained throughout that one is hardly aware of changes and abbreviations and never misses anything that may seem essential.

The Elizabethan fullness of the drama, however, is definitely lost and its richness is diluted. After the spell of the performance is broken there remains but little recollection of the deadly fights and lively actions which have been happening on the stage, and in retrospect the overwhelming scenic splendor seems oddly empty and artificial. Only the intimate scenes between the lovers remain as so many exquisite miniatures. The innocent sophistication of those two noble children, the intense tenderness of feeling, the infinite tact in the erotic contacts, the dreamlike trance of love, create an unforgettable climate of genuine poetry. At the very end the pointless cruelty of the twin deaths is resolved in images of delicate sweetness without the slightest trace of sentimentality. In those rare moments the absence of speech becomes irrelevant and the drama is whole and complete.

The whole production is a well-balanced, unified work of art, a modern version of the theatrical synthesis of poetry, music, painting and plastic expression in which the artists of the Renaissance excelled. This scenic solution was not the original intention; for at first the painter Salvador Dali had been commissioned to design a

décor which was eventually abandoned. Those designs, now in the collection of the Marquis de Cuevas, suggest fascinating possibilities toward an exploration of the subject in symbolic images of the paranoid subconscious, much in the way the artist interpreted Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*. Eugene Berman approached the problem more realistically, in full and conscious possession of a valid tradition. There is an essential and congenial relation between Berman and the theatrical technicians and magicians of the High Renaissance and Baroque. But the spectacle in the grand style, such as the Courts and the Churches lavished on their audiences in the past, demands a more active participation of the public than our modern society affords. The festive spirit of the extraordinary, the unique, the magnificent vanished with the evolution of theatrical mass production. Only the opera and the ballet have preserved a semblance of past glory. In this slightly paled spirit Eugene Berman revived the picture of a highly civilized Renaissance, where life moves with acomplished grace and death occurs in stately pomp. It is all very wonderful in its formal refinement and flawless taste. But it is too finished, too genuine for the good of the theatre; it eliminates, rather than stimulates, the imagination. One finishes by admiring Berman and forgetting the ballet.

In these descriptions of Tudor's ballets one essential factor has been omitted: the dancer. Ordinarily a choreographic character can be analyzed adequately in the impersonal terms of style criteria. There are only a few instances where the personalities of the dancers are inseparably connected with a specific stage character. Such was the case in the romantic era when Marie Taglioni was the one and only Sylphide, Carlotta Grisi the one and only Giselle and the four-star ballerinas of the period were united in the historical *Pas de Quatre*. Other examples of legendary accomplishment may be found in every period, but they merely indicate that, as a matter of course, outstanding artists are naturally best remembered in the parts to which they owe their fame. In Tudor's ballets the place of the dancer is fundamentally different. Here the individual becomes identified with a specific part not because of a stellar position or some hazard of casting, but on the strength of an essential and unique function in the total work. Strictly speaking, the dancer is irreplaceable in the organic whole of the composition, in the same

final sense as Nijinsky's Faun or Til Eulenspiegel cannot be duplicated by any dancer, regardless of his stature.

A character like Giselle, however familiar it may be to every balletophile, contains merely amorphous poetic and dramatic potentialities which may be defined in as many valid interpretations as there are dancers to present it. But the character of Hagar in *Pillar of Fire* is unique because it has been realized through the emotional medium of the one rare artist who proved to be capable of the total identification which Tudor demands in every single instance. Nora Kaye becomes Hagar not because she is a dramatic dancer without peer or a woman of keen intelligence; there is a more profoundly human qualification than talent, technique and brains, that is genuineness of emotion. It is Tudor's extraordinary gift to convey *psychological authenticity* to every character he creates, whether it be psychotic like the Transgressor, poetic like Juliet or satiric like the Russian ballerina. Tudor's means are his secret and it is doubtful if even his close collaborators ever become conscious of the mysterious method he employs to stimulate their latent capacities to heights of unsuspected accomplishment. It is entirely due to Tudor's flair that he entrusted Alicia Markova with the unfamiliar pantomime assignment of Juliet, thus presenting her with an opportunity to create one of her most moving characterizations. It was daring, but highly successful, to cast two classical ballerinas, Alicia Alonso and Nana Gollner, in such violently dramatic parts as Ate and Medusa in *Undertow*. And Hugh Laing's superb pantomimic dancing has given distinction to every Tudor ballet. Indeed, it seems as if every dancer in any one of Tudor's work were the representative *par excellence* of a given part.

Antony Tudor's influence on the ballet in America can be precisely estimated. With half a dozen of his ballets continually in the repertory, he has imposed his artistic personality, established a fine prestige and secured a solid success. Yet what exactly are the scope, the character and the significance of his contributions? In many obvious ways he was favored by chance and circumstances. His arrival in this country coincided with a surging tide of balletic enthusiasm. The large resources of unused talent, the growing mass of new balletophiles and the founding of a second, large-sized company had created an urgent need for an augmented repertory. Thus

Tudor's creative productivity was first of all a practical asset, a rescue, as it were, from an artistic emergency. But every creative individual is as much a product of given factors and conditions, as he is their initiator and master. In other words, Tudor's choreographic work at the same time stimulated and satisfied the demand for ballets of a new character and in the intervening years they have become a familiar and integral part of the modern repertory. However, it is too early to predict how profoundly and permanently they have affected the heterogeneous and unpredictable ballet audience. *Scheherazade* and *Aurora's Wedding* may yet outlive *Jardin aux Lilas* and *Pillar of Fire.*

These reflections are not at all prompted by pessimistic anticipations. In examining the repertory, in exploring the needs and interests of the public, we are not only dealing with the controlled conditions of artistic policy and box office. The factors which account for the success of a ballet—the perennial popularity of *Scheherazade* for example—are as complex and often as obscure as those which determine the fate of a bestseller or the forming of a legend. But no valid creative achievement is ever totally lost, even though it may in time disappear from the realm of public consciousness.

Tudor's ballets have appeared on the ballet stage too frequently and for too many years for their success to be attributed to their novelty. His subjects and treatment are as familiar by now as those of *Swan Lake* and *Les Sylphides* and now hold a position of esteem which is founded on more profound and lasting qualities than either sentiment or fashion. Transcending any debatable or time-conditioned singularities of his works, Tudor has established a unique performing style. That is his great contribution to the ballet. It is not this writer's task to analyze it in technical terms, and in any case the essential evidence would not be contained in the traditional ballet vocabulary. Tudor's style, even when it adheres closely to the *danse d'école,* is based on the performing individual; it is the *dancer's personality made manifest.* For the first time in ballet history the dancer is called upon to interpret a character as a means toward the creative realization of his own self. It took the genius of Nijinsky to make the exception. It took the genius of Tudor to make the rule.

This is an act of emancipation as momentous and significant as

Fokine's reforms some forty years ago. Fokine decreed, as one of the essential rules, that dancing and mimetic gesture serve as an expression of the dramatic action. Tudor goes one decisive step further in that he examines the very nature of this expression and demands that it be psychologically motivated. Just as the other great choreographer searched archives and records for ethnological and historical information, so Tudor intuitively probes the sources of human emotions for symptoms and symbols of compulsive behavior. He presents only surface evidence of his psychological findings and statements, though with the merciless detachment and accuracy of a scientific report. Between the realism of *Scheherazade* and the "magic realism" of *Pillar of Fire* occurred the whole evolution of this century's aesthetic concepts.

XI

The Ballet Theatre II

JEROME ROBBINS AND MICHAEL KIDD

The progress of the Ballet Theatre was never steady and regular and it would be useless to render a season-by-season account of its erratic course. Comparatively speaking, however, Tudor was a stable force in maintaining the artistic integrity of the Ballet Theatre and whatever coherence and personality it succeeded in preserving must be credited largely to him. It is either a strange irony or a revealing fact that the fate of the representative American company should depend to such an extent on an Englishman whose creative work has a markedly cosmopolitan character.

The quality, then, which conveys to the Ballet Theatre its unmistakably American flavor is subtle and elusive, a spiritual climate rather than a tangible landmark, a human element rather than an objective style criterion. The process of assimilation from Russian to American has been amazingly fast, too fast, in fact, to be fully reflected yet in the current repertory. It is anybody's guess what direction the American ballet will take from here. The abundance of dancers and the scarcity of choreographers have created a temporary crisis of artistic insecurity; neither the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo nor the Ballet Theatre is in a position to take the leadership and to serve as an absolute standard.

Only ten years ago Lincoln Kirstein tried to formulate the essentials of an American style; in *Blast at Ballet* he said, "American style springs or should spring from our own training and environment, which was not in an Imperial School or a Parisian imitation of it. Ours is a style bred also from basket-ball courts, track and swimming meets and junior proms. Our style springs from the personal atmosphere of recognizable American types. . . ."

This statement is still applicable and, in the light of our present knowledge, assumes particular significance. As we know now it was not to be Kirstein or any other single individual who would furnish the conclusive evidence for the soundness of his reasoning and for the essential justification of his belief in a native ballet. The natural maturing process of the American dance potential was too slow for his impatient temperament. When his ideas finally materialized on a large scale his own company had already gone out of existence and he himself had abandoned the very reforms which he had advocated in his writings and realized in the Ballet Caravan. But in the intervening years almost all his early artistic associates had gradually moved into the front line of progress. Today, in Edwin Denby's words, "choreographers, dancers and dance public have established a new kind of ballet in this country which is inherently American and internationally valid."

Two essential tendencies in the formative process of the American ballet may be suggested as likely to determine its future course. One trend is the affirmation of a *new classicism* as manifested in the work of George Balanchine and his disciples. The other, as exemplified by Tudor, points in the direction of the *dramatic narrative;* as it is used by Agnes de Mille and Jerome Robbins, there is a trend toward amplifying the expressive means by including other theatrical media—speech, song, music and pantomime—and integrating them with the dance proper.

Denby observes that "Ballet Theatre crystallized its version of our style with *Pillar of Fire* and the Monte Carlo with *Danses Concertantes.*" It is noteworthy that this eminent critic considers these two ballets, choreographed respectively by an Englishman and a Russian, as crystallizations of *our* style and inherently *American.* The assumption is clearly that there is a common essence in works of substantially divergent character and that precisely is the quality of style. Sup-

ported by the authority of Denby's contention, we may attempt a more explicit definition. In point of time the new style made its appearance on the ballet stage with the first generation of native, American-trained artists who had thoroughly absorbed the alien vocabulary of the *danse d'école*. But, as John Martin once remarked, the Americans are anti-classic; they destroy or attempt to destroy the classic form. If one stresses the concept of form, one may even go further and venture to say that the Americans, in every creative endeavor, tend to defy the imposition of formal discipline. It is highly significant that Lincoln Kirstein maintains, in *Blast at Ballet:* "A salient feature of American style is the presence or at least the appearance of the presence of spontaneous improvisation. When a Russian accomplishes a difficult classic variation with his own suave mastery of technique, one assumes he has done it hundreds of times before. When an American dances well one almost feels he is making it up as he goes along. Vaudeville training capitalized on this feature and made it one of the most attractive in the American theatrical idiom."

There exists a vital American stage tradition outside the ballet theatre, antedating by many generations the systematic training of our dancers in the classical ballet. The most powerful incentive in their immediate search for an adapted, or, better still, an indigenous, dance expression was the sheer inward need for self-realization, which is essentially a creative impulse. And there were innumerable young people to whom the brilliant, extrovert elegance of the Russian ballet appealed more than the complex introspection of a Martha Graham. Our dancers learned fast and well. But no sooner had their magnificent physical potential been shaped into the precision instrument of the traditional technique than it threatened to escape the guiding hand of the masters. The discovery of their own creative capacities incited any number of talented but inexperienced ballet dancers and choreographers to assert their individuality and independence.

There followed a transitional period of competition between the solidly established, foreign-style repertory and the tentative American one in which, of course, the older was superior in scope, prestige and glamour. It would be too facile, however, to interpret the unequal rivalry solely as an antagonism between conservative and progressive

tendencies, no matter how tempting such a theory may be. For the range of subject interest in the home-grown repertory was rather obstinately limited to indigenous source material of an obvious nature. And although this was new and exciting in content and imagery, it tended to be retrospective, rather than progressive in spirit. One of our early dance pioneers, Ted Shawn, stated more than twenty years ago that "we are full to abundance with undeveloped ideas and themes." But in proudly taking the inventory of this thematic material our ballet creators were often carried away by their enthusiasm and they were inclined to confuse grass-root genuineness with artistic validity. They produced many fine works, rich in core and substance but vague in form and undeveloped in expression. Remembering the number of the earlier ballets with authentic American subject matter in Page's, Christensen's, Littlefield's and Kirstein's companies and some of Massine's excursions into the same field, we begin to appreciate that our ballet has only recently outgrown the self-conscious, deliberate phase of literal Americana. The only surviving works of this period are Ruth Page's *Frankie and Johnny* and Eugene Loring's *Billy the Kid.*

All this brings us to the realization that whatever we may call American style is far more inclusive than the range and variety of American subject matter. In fact, the theme proper is irrelevant, or at least secondary; its spirit and its treatment are the decisive factors. For style develops with the emergence of a new spirit and with the appearance of a new form. Style is the visual symbol of a mode of thought, rather than of standards of conduct. The style of a ballet, therefore, may coincide with the subject matter, but it is not identical with it. Massine's *Saratoga* is a case in point. In spite of its local theme and color, it merely offered clichés of Americanisms in continental style. On the other hand Agnes de Mille's *Tally-Ho,* set in a Louis XVI garden, is every bit as American as her *Rodeo,* Jerome Robbins's plotless *Interplay* is even more "inherently American" than his slangy *Fancy Free,* and *Danses Concertantes,* created collectively by a Russian-born composer, choreographer, designer and leading ballerina, could never have materialized in a similar fashion outside the United States.

Edwin Denby writes: "Till the contrast of foreign ensembles gives us a sharper view of our style, we sense its nature best in the clean-

ness of our young ballerinas—Alonso, Boris, Hightower, Kaye, Moylan, Tallchief, to list them alphabetically—but it shows too in thirty or forty soloists." It is not aristocratic in the Imperial tradition, but it is well mannered ("civilized," as Denby says) and full of native dignity; it is not sophisticated in the Diaghilev-Kochno-Cocteau sense, but it is full of sharp comment, observation and intelligence; it is not detached and deliberate in the continental manner, but full of uninhibited rhythm and infectious joy; it is not meticulously accurate in the traditional virtuoso fashion, but it is full of bodily self-confidence and youthful stamina. And there is this other quality which Walt Whitman detects in the American common people: "their manly tenderness and native elegance of soul." Our ballet style, while preserving and respecting the basic discipline, is beginning to assume the tone of our time, the character of our place and the features of our people.

For the American ballet artists, the problem of style is surely not a matter of serious and deliberate preoccupation. Candidly unconcerned with aesthetic issues and definitive formulations, they have simply taken advantage of a new expressive medium and made it their own; it is no wonder that our style appears somewhat casual and tentative. But the American arts generally have not nearly reached the point of consolidation or stabilization. They are still in a phase of exploration, still moved by an impatient pioneer urge for speed, progress and change. This realistic and affirmative attitude is definitely in our style; it makes it clean, fast and powerful. In every way our style is a reflection of our immediate present as it is manifested in the lives and experiences of the people and in their social behavior and physical bearing.

Jerome Robbins's *Fancy Free*, produced by the Ballet Theatre in 1944, is the first substantial ballet entirely created in the contemporary American idiom, a striking and beautifully convincing example of genuine American style. Robbins's artistic statements are spontaneous, eloquent, frank and informal. His work, already considerable, is neither pretentious nor aggressive and if it does not exactly engage mature thought on matters of consequence, neither does the classical repertory. Like all of Robbins's creations, *Fancy Free* is eminently theatrical and surely in that respect it lives within the oldest and

most venerable traditions. Robbins's intuitive understanding of the theatre is quite remarkable. His contact with the audience is as sure and immediate as if he were a seasoned trouper, and he communicates with the spectators as freely and naturally as with a circle of friends. Lincoln Kirstein's observation that our actors and dancers "wish to establish a direct connection, approaching personal intimacy or its theatrical equivalent with their audience," seems especially fitting. "The Russians keep their audience at arm's length. We almost invite ours to dance with us. Anyone of us would like to know Fred Astaire, since we have known other nice, clever, happy but unassuming boys like him." Kirstein could have used the very same words to describe the effect of Robbins's choreography and dancing.

Jerome Robbins is unmistakably American, born, raised, schooled and trained here, the hero of one of those wonderful success stories which nourish the hopes and aspirations of every struggling youngster in the theatre world. From anonymity to stardom, his life story fits the pattern in which they all fervently believe. He confirms and symbolizes the reality beyond their dreams of glory. He is just one of them, Jerry, at once typical and exceptional. He was the boy next door, the classmate in school, the pal in the dance class, the neighbor in the chorus line, and his ascent to fame was unconsciously driven by the cumulative energies of American boys and girls. This participation, this feeling of identification extends to the characters which populate his ballets; they are real people, intimately familiar and full of autobiographical reminiscences.

Jerome Robbins was born in New York in 1918. He refused to enter upon a business career and joined instead the Gluck Sandor-Felicia Sorel "Dance Center" in 1937. His training was thorough and diversified. He studied ballet with Caton, Daganova, Hitchins, Loring, Nemtchinova, Platoff; Modern at the New Dance League, Spanish with Veloz, Oriental with Nimura and Interpretative with Bentley and Sonya Robbins. For some years he danced in various Broadway shows, but "he couldn't get out of that second chorus line," as he stated in a recent interview. In 1940 he joined the newly formed Ballet Theatre and appeared in practically every ballet on its repertory, sometimes only in the *corps de ballet,* but also in an imposing number of solo parts. In 1944 he leapt into fame with *Fancy Free,* which he expanded in the same year into the Broadway musical

On the Town. For Billy Rose's "Concert Varieties" he choreographed *Interplay* (1945) later included in the Ballet Theatre repertory, also in 1945 he choreographed the musical *Billion Dollar Baby.* The ballet *Facsimile* followed in 1946. For the Original Ballet Russe he created a *Pas de Trois* (1947), later taken over by the Markova-Dolin company, and for a special performance the ballet suite *Summer Day* (1947), now performed by the Ballet Theatre. With the musicals *High Button Shoes* (1947) and *Look, Ma, I'm Dancing* (1948) he became one of the most prominent choreographers on Broadway.

Taken as evidence of an uninterrupted sequence of happy stations toward success, this account is certainly remarkable, although not exceptional. There is nothing particularly personal or American about his accomplishments, in fact, nothing at all that might not just as well apply to the early, prodigious feats of the younger generation of Russian choreographers in Central Europe, Leonide Massine, George Balanchine and Serge Lifar. (Massine, incidentally, composed a sailor ballet, *Les Matelots,* in 1925.) On this side of the Atlantic, Agnes de Mille's fast rise to prominence and stature shows many similarities with Robbins's professional career. Actually, de Mille's *Rodeo* antedates *Fancy Free* by two years, and at that time everyday American themes were already known and accepted on the ballet stage. All these parallels and precedents seem to place Jerome Robbins within the framework of established tradition and, in spite of all the blasting impetus and newness of his work, he is not a determined fighter or a purposeful revolutionary. The apparent casualness with which he presents his subjects and his characters suggests tentative improvisation, rather than methodical deliberation. Indeed the uniqueness of his creative contribution is hard to define because of the very absence of spectacular or radical features.

The predominant quality of Robbins's personality and work is native simplicity, that rare and wonderful simplicity which many artists strive a lifetime to achieve as the supreme test of maturity. In essence it implies a moral attitude, in effect it becomes an artistic principle. For this the fragile, little piece, *Summer Day,* furnishes a perfect illustration. This volatile *pas de deux,* set to Prokofieff's piano suite *Music for Children,* is extremely modest in content and execution: two children playfully amusing themselves with a parody on various ballet traditions and mannerisms. In Tudor's hands a similar

subject turned into the large-scale comedy-drama of *Gala Performance* which employs several soloists, a whole *corps de ballet* and a full load of explosive potentialities of human emotions. In *Summer Day,* Robbins works with a minimum of means, within the narrowest possible scope of theatrical effects. The simplicity of invention and interpretation is manifest. Everything that occurs seems to be improvised, inspired by the alternating moods and imaginations of two children, playing with unconscious grace. They are actually and unmistakably accomplished artists, although they seem to be unaware of their aptitude. Like other, more ambitious, creations of the choreographer, this miniature ballet shows that characteristic mixture of utmost discipline and complete relaxation, one giving the assurance of professional competence, the other conveying the delightful sensation of effortless enjoyment. There is an old saying in the theatre that the most convincing improvisations are those which have been carefully prepared and rehearsed.

It is significant that Robbins is an excellent and versatile dancer. The ease and naturalness of his performance, the complete technical assurance of his execution, the essential musicality of his interpretation, all these qualities which distinguish his dancing are reflected in his choreography. Robbins's characters too dance, not because he devises meaningful or beautiful steps for them, but because they are so conceived that they cannot do otherwise, because there is a physical and emotional exuberance in them which, of necessity, becomes dance, as with children and primitives. Thus he preserves the nature of spontaneousness and immediacy, even in the most intricate and exacting choreography. Actually, of course, his ballets are almost as hard to execute as Balanchine's complex devices or Tudor's intense projections or any proverbially difficult part in the classic repertory.

Robbins's choreography has an intimately personal character; it develops and moves along like a spirited conversation between the performers, informally inviting and including the audience behind the footlights. Thus *Summer Day* is a lovely, light conversation piece, with occasional glimpses of malice and sharp comment, but generally pleasant, friendly and ephemeral. *Fancy Free* is colloquial, noisy, swaggering, sometimes tender and self-conscious, like the rough and straightforward language of plain people. *Interplay* is a more ordered conversation, halfway between studio party and jam session, informal,

yet well mannered; it is a conversational interplay delivered for its own sake, for the sole pleasure of clever articulation and witty repartee, not seriously concerned with matters of consequence or substantial results. *Facsimile* indulges in aimless and futile talk, using a painfully twisted, artificial language, decorated with irrelevancies and inconsequential innuendos.

It seems quite natural that Robbins has considered including actual speech in the ballet. In an unproduced scenario, *Bye Bye Jackie,* written in 1944, he states in an introductory paragraph:

> *Bye Bye Jackie* is a new form toward fusing the potentialities of ballet and theatre. It employs three mediums of expression: dance, music and voice. . . . *Bye Bye Jackie* cannot be done as a ballet alone, nor as a play alone, nor as just expressive music. The form should emerge as a real braiding of these three mediums, all completely stemming from the emotional line of the characters and situation. There is no talk for talk's sake, dance for dance's sake, or music because it is nice music. Dialogue, choreography, score, should perform strict functional purposes, whether jointly or separately. This would have to be worked out very carefully between the composer and the choreographer so that a true weaving and honest justification for any moment is arrived at. They should also agree on what means is being used when, to tell the story. . . . When actual work is started, however, the composer and choreographer should not be limited or coerced by the scenario or dialogue, but rather use the structural patterns, cutting and expanding as they feel necessary.

This note was not meant for publication, and it is printed here with the express intention of preserving a fresh, first-hand statement of importance. In all fairness it must be appreciated that Robbins has not attempted to formulate a theory for general discussion; the thought probably never entered his mind. He is neither concerned here with aesthetic or dogmatic concepts of the dance, nor with the valuation or revaluation of ballet as an art form. In giving practical working instructions for the production, he simply states ideas of his own for purposes of his own. But in doing so he unconsciously provokes and challenges the defenders of the traditional classic ballet. The subject cannot be dismissed without some cursory comment because the controversy is in a very active phase. Robbins, of course, does not stand alone. The tendency to use more inclusive theatrical resources than

the ballet of the strict regime affords is no longer a matter of experiment or argument. Agnes de Mille and Antony Tudor have gone unconventional ways and conclusively proved the artistic validity of their work. The antagonism between the two major tendencies, the classical and the dramatic, is artificial and unnecessary. As long as *Scheherazade* is not only suffered, but requested by the audience, there is no earthly justification to question the balletic legitimacy of, for instance, *Fancy Free*. And the fact is possibly that the argument *pro et contra* is not so much rational as purely emotional, with Fokine serving as the star witness for the conservative group. One may well suspect, however, that the creator of *Les Sylphides*, were he still alive, would be the first spectator to applaud the creator of *Fancy Free*. It is fortunate that, owing to the kindness of its author, the libretto for *Fancy Free* can be reproduced here in full.

Fancy Free (Book: Jerome Robbins. Music: Leonard Bernstein. Setting: Oliver Smith. Costumes: Kermit Love.) The original title page reads as follows:

FANCY FREE

A one-act ballet based on an incident concerning three sailors on a shore leave

Characters:

Three Sailors .....Jerome Robbins, Harold Lang, John Kriza
The Brunette .....Muriel Bentley
The Red-Head .....Janet Reed
The Blonde .....Shirley Eckl
(Bartender .....Rex Cooper)

Time: The present; a hot summer night.

Place: New York.

This is the story of three sailors who are out on the town on a Shore Leave. It is a jazz ballet, light in mood, running about 15 minutes. The costumes for the sailors should be the regular dark sailors' uniforms. The girls should wear actual street dresses which permit free movement. The bartender should wear the usual white apron-jacket combination. The set, imaginatively designed, should represent a city street, a bar at center stage so that its interior is visible, and a lamppost stage left. The action takes place at night.

(Perhaps a subway entrance stage right—No.)

Music and Mood	*Action*
	Three sailors explode onto the stage. They are out on shore leave, looking for excitement, women, drink, any kind of fun they can stir up. Right now they are fresh, full of animal exuberance and boisterous spirits, searching for something to do, something to happen. Meanwhile they dance down the street with typical sailor movements—the brassy walk, the inoffensive vulgarity, the quality of being all steamed up and ready to go. They boldly strut, swagger and kid each other along. This section should serve as an introductory dance as well; bright, fast, gay, happy. One should feel immediately that the three are good friends, used to bumming around together, used to each other's guff . . . that they are in the habit of spending their time as a trio, and that, under all their rough and tumble exterior, there is a real affection for each other, a kind of "my buddy" feeling.
Fast, explosive, jolly, rollicking. A bang-away start.	
	They finally arrive at the lamppost around which they gradually settle as the first impetus and excitement of being on shore dies down. One, with his arm crooked around the pole, swings slowly back and forth; another rocks on his heels; the third leans: and the more seriously they become involved with what to do next, the quieter they become. Finally they decide that a drink is what they need. They saunter toward the bar, enter, and each approaches the bar and places his foot on the rail. They order up three beers which the bartender serves. They pick up their glasses and clink them together in a mutual toast. Simultaneously they lift, drain, and plunk their glasses back on the bar. A moment of satisfaction; a pause of relaxation. They turn front and, as part of their habits, choose to see who pays. Two of them secretly agree on the same amount of fingers, and consequently the odd man pays. He shakes his head (as if this happens all the time, which it does),
Transition period to slower mood.	
Slow, relaxed . . . music should have literal meanings as far as specific action is concerned.	

Dreamy . . .
waiting . . .

Sudden, loud, change of tempo and mood. Hot boogie-woogie influence, which quiets down to being insistent with sudden hot loud licks.

and pays. The three hitch their pants and move to the door, where they stand looking out at the night and street. One yawns, another stretches, and the third produces a slice of gum, breaks it in three parts and hands a piece to each. Each unwraps it, rolls up the paper, puts the gum in his mouth, and then with a neat kick, deftly flips the wrapper away. They stand in the doorway chewing. A pause of satisfaction, a sigh of "Now what should we do?".

The tempo changes and the Brunette enters from the left. (She's a nice girl who doesn't mind the horseplay about to happen. In fact, she knows it's coming the minute she sees them and anticipates the fun of it.) Her quality and movements should be in the style of the music. There should be an influence of the Negro fluidity and suppleness, the under-excitement and sexuality in her walk and dancing. She has to cross the stage in front of the sailors. They are motionless except for their heads which follow her closely, their eyes sizing her up, their mouths still chewing. As she passes them, all three impudently tip their hats. She goes on smiling but ignoring them. Then they really get into action, an "Aha, a female—here we go" routine. They spruce themselves up. They pick up her walk and rhythms and try to insinuate themselves with her. They tease and heckle her, trying to get her to break down. They attempt various approaches and techniques, the "Hi, sister", etc. They snatch her bag and toss it from one to the other. She pretends to be angry with them, and annoyed, but both she and they know she isn't. She actually enjoys the attention very much, and with subtlety leads them a merry chase. Of course, three sailors are too many for one girl and the competition seems too much for one of them: he tires of the horseplay and shuffling; his enthusiasm ebbs; and he allows the other two to go off trailing her. As they go off, the sailors are

Transition of music and mood to next quality. As they leave, slowly, music dies and alters.

still persistent, and she still has her reserve about her, but it looks as if it's breaking down.

The remaining sailor watches after them a while. At the same time the Redhead enters from the opposite side. He turns to go back into the bar and they come face to face, almost bumping. He gives her the once-over quickly, and then excuses himself for bumping into her as a means of introducing himself and picking her up. She realizes it but likes it and him. He looks back to be sure the others have gone off, then turns and suggests a drink—to which she agrees, and they enter the bar. They order up a drink, finally leading into a dance. This *pas de deux* should be different in timbre than the preceding section. The dance has more depth to it. There is more open attraction between them, there being only the two of them. There are moments of casualness mixed with sudden moments of heat and intensity. On the surface, their flirtation is carried on in nice terms, but there is a sure feeling of lust underneath. The boy is very happy to have a girl all to himself—a piece of good luck—and the girl is quite content with him. He makes no rude or vulgar movements, and she is drawn to him. They make a good-looking pair. Finally he pays for her drink, and, arm in arm, they start out the door.

Slow . . . torchy, somewhat low-down, but pleasant. Not sentimental or romantic at all. Blues. . . .

At this very moment, the Brunette and the two sailors reappear. Evidently she has broken down before their charm and persistence, and the three are returning for a drink together, in a happy joking mood. They spy the one sailor who is trying to make his escape with the girl "all his own." They nab him in time, whereupon he returns and introduces his girl to his two friends. They are very happy to have another girl to share among them. The two girls know each other and go down stage for a huddle full of giggles and mischievousness. They realize

Sudden break in mood at reentrance of three figures . . . same in music . . . transition to theme of completion, and constant rise in music as each incident provokes further antagonism between the three sailors until it breaks off at the three variations.

that they have the advantage because there are only two of them to three men . . . that if they play their cards right they can rule the evening. Meanwhile the three men are standing apart, kind of sizing each other up again, inwardly preparing for the competition there will be for the girls. This competition underplays the whole of this next climaxing section, building constantly to a higher note each moment. The men from here on seize every opportunity to show off, not only for the girls but for their buddies as well. The girls encourage this rivalry by playing one against the other and by playing with all three.

Starts here . . . grows . . . grows . . . higher . . . breaks off.

The five reenter the bar. There is a scuffle to determine who is to escort which girl, a scramble for seats, and a conflict over who is to sit next to whom. There is a frantic effort on the part of each to pay for the girls' drinks. There is a mad scramble to light their cigarettes. When they dance, there is continual cutting in, and reshuffling of partners. Finally, each sailor alone tries to show off how well he can dance. Each wants the attention; they vie for the center of the floor. The action grows more and more rough until it reaches a point at which they are on the verge of fighting. The girls intercede, and, after a moment's consideration, back two of them off the floor to allow the remaining one to show his stuff first. He gives the other two a look of triumph: they return sneers and smirks (this occurs between and after each solo dance). He starts his dance.

These three solo dances form the highlight of the ballet. Each sailor is given a chance to dance for the girls. Each dance is brilliant, flashy, and technical enough to be showy, imaginative enough to project three distinct personalities. Each should be different musically and in quality. None of them is long, but each is full enough to be a complete variation in itself, practically a *tour-de-force* dance. They cannot be described; they must be danced. Each sailor, however, has his own personal style and type of movement, which can be presented. The first is the most bawdy, rowdy, boisterous of the three. He exploits the extrovert vul-

garity of sailors, the impudence, the loudness, the get-me-how-good-I-am. When he finishes, instead of the other two fighting to go next, each wants the other to go first. Finally, the second yields and dances. His dance is very different in quality . . . the music is lighter, gayer, more happy-go-lucky, come-what-may. His movements are more naive, lovable; there is more warmth, humor, and almost wistfulness about him. At last, the third dances. His keynote is his intensity. There is a feeling of the Spanish or Latin about him. There are swift, sudden movements, a strong passion and violence, an attractive flashiness and smoldering quality.

When they are finished, there is a moment's pause. The girls really get to work on them. Now comes a fast kind of finale-coda dance. It picks up from where the excitement broke off, and before the three dances. The vitality and concentration of the excitement grows. The dance becomes hotter, almost a furious lindy hop. The girls are whirled from one man to the next, are snatched from one to the other. The boys become more violent in their contact with one another; they push, and shove and nudge until finally it happens—one shoves another too hard and a fight breaks out. Before the girls can stop it, it is a real knock-down, rough-and-tumble, bang-away fight. They jump at each other, they swing and duck, they dive and tackle and heave and throw each other. The two girls stand near-by, frightened (the situation has gone further than they intended). The boys are in a heap on the floor, arms, legs, heads, bodies entangled and weaving; grunts, groans, heaves and swings, kicks and jerks—they struggle and pant and pull and push. Suddenly one gets flung off the pile, and he rolls fast across the floor, hitting the two girls in the shins and knocking them flat. Ignoring them completely, he dives back into the mêlée. The girls help each other to their feet, shocked and furious. They rub their sore spots and stamp their feet for attention, to no avail: the men are too busy fighting. They both

resumption of competitive theme on higher scale . . .

building . . .

building to this climax where it breaks, wild and loose and whooping.

bang . . . crash, etc.

spy one free head, and together, they smack it with their bags. Then they turn and exit, walking haughtily, angrily down the street. The smacked head turns in time to see them exit. After many futile attempts, he finally gets the others to stop struggling. They look around. No girls. They slowly disentangle themselves and get to their feet. They walk to the door and look off one way. No one in sight. The other way. Nothing. Then they look at each other, take in their messed clothes, cock-eyed hats, dirty and bruised faces, hurt disappointed expressions. Then they smile, increasingly as they realize the humor, ridiculousness, and irony of the whole situation . . . their knocking themselves out so hard that the girls escape them. They laugh and smack each other on the back.

quickly slowing up . . .

slow . . .

empty . . .
after-the-storm feeling.

Recovery, and.
.
.
.

They pull themselves together and decide that what they need is a drink. They go back into the bar and order up three beers. They pick up their glasses and clink them in a mutual toast. They lift, drain, and plunk them back on the bar simultaneously. A moment of relaxation . . . a pause of tired satisfaction. . . . They choose to see who will pay, with the same intrigue and the same results. The "sucker" shakes his head but pays. The other two shake hands on swindling him again. Then the three saunter to the door to stand looking out at the night and the empty streets. One yawns, another stretches, and the third produces a stick of gum which he tears in three pieces, giving a part to each. Same routine of unwrapping and flipping the paper away, etc. Then they stand there, waiting, relaxed, chewing.

Return to same theme as in opening . . .
slow . . .
relaxed . . .

tired . . .

dreamy . . .

The Blonde enters from the left. She is very much like the Brunette in movement and shrewdness. The sailors stand motionless, their heads following her, their eyes sizing her up. She crosses the stage and just as she gets past

Same break as in entrance of first girl . . . perhaps a little more nasty.

It dies away . . .	them there is a general sudden movement of
quiets down . . .	"Let's get into action", swiftly cut and held by
	a movement of "Hey, wait a minute—remember
slower . . .	what just happened." They look at each other
	and relax. They watch her go off stage. Then,
	for each other's benefit, they shrug kind of
	bored, and start off in the direction opposite
	to that the girl took. There is a strong tendency
	to lag, and many looks off toward the girl. They
slower . . . suspended	get slower and slower, until finally they stop
. . .	completely, watching each other, waiting for the
Crash . . .	first to make a move—one does, and bang—they
loud . . .	are off down the street after the girl, boisterous,
finis.	excited, swaggering, loud, and happy.

It is most unusual for a choreographer to be so articulate in literary language. That, in itself, is not necessarily a merit, for the story is meant ultimately to be watched on the stage, not to be read. But we may draw some relevant inferences from our acquaintance with the original script, provided we bear in mind that the actual performance is the artist's final statement. The question is always intriguing, and frequently asked: why a work of art materializes just as it does, when it assumes its final form; how much, to put it more specifically, is set and planned beforehand in a primary concept and how much of it is invented, altered, added and discarded during the process of realization? The scenario of *Fancy Free* describes action and factual circumstances; it is straight narrative in visual terms, without personal comment. Robbins says, for instance, "They dance down the street with typical sailor movements." The picture is complete, because it is so familiar. Emotional states such as: "she is drawn to him," are intimated with beautiful simplicity. Those modest words do not indicate at all a want of imagination or sensitivity, but they do express a candid confidence in the universal intelligibility, the essential likeness of emotional language, be it spoken or mimed or danced. There is a great deal of warmth and affection which is never demonstrated. For all the devil-may-care attitude in *Fancy Free* there is not a trace of cynicism anywhere. But Robbins's fear of sentimentality and grandiloquence is greater even than the need for emotional articulation. Edwin Denby also reminds us that "George Balanchine has

mentioned a kind of angelic unconcern toward emotion as being perhaps a special charm of American dancers," and, one may add, of American choreographers as well.

In the effort to be emotionally and artistically honest in telling the story of three plain sailors on shore leave, the choreographer was compelled to abandon the standard vocabulary of the ballet. He did so with the perfect ease and confidence of one who does not doubt that he is right. And he was proved to be right. It is remarkable indeed that Robbins was capable, inexperienced though he was, of visualizing the whole ballet with such accuracy and explicitness before it went into production. For actually he was a mere beginner, and the authority and self-assurance with which he speaks in this first large-scale tryout are still amazing after several years of continual success.

Essentially *Fancy Free,* like almost all young artists' first creative work, is a self-portrait—not literally and specifically of the choreographer as an individual, but more of his participation in a collective image, a group picture as it were, of typical young Americans. This voluntary identification with a yet untried, barely articulate, still somewhat adolescent generation of American boys and girls is like a statement of faith and a commitment to loyalty. Despite its deliberate casualness and laconic comedy treatment, the ballet reveals an affirmative and dependable moral attitude, again confirmed in Robbins's newer choreographic creations. It becomes obvious why *Fancy Free* offers more than a witty stage version of bar manners and sailor slang and random flirtations, why it is more than a feat of extraordinary choreographic skill. The true significance of this work is the revelation of democratic human relationships. The six fancy-free young people in this balletic microcosm are united by a similarity of spirit and feeling and "under all their rough and tumble exterior, there is a real affection for each other," as Robbins remarks himself. There are moments of exquisite tenderness and instants of a moving, candid belief in the fundamental goodness of all people.

Fancy Free was prepared and executed in an exemplary spirit of collaboration among friends who were all about the same age. They were fully successful, for the ballet conveys the impression of being all of a piece and of one mind, tightly coherent and perfectly integrated, from the opening sounds of a melancholy voice to the last wild chase into the wings. Choreography, music, décor and dancing

fulfill to the letter Robbins's demand for the "honest justification for any moment" of action and for the observance of "strict functional purpose." The score, by the brilliant young conductor and composer, Leonard Bernstein, follows the explicit directions of the libretto phase by phase, all the while preserving a captivating quality of fluent improvisation. The setting, by the young designer and co-director of the Ballet Theatre, Oliver Smith, is built with a deliberate simplicity entirely conceived for and adapted to functional use in the choreography. The choreography is full of fast action and broad theatre, alternating lyrical passages and humorous nonchalance, but it is always and essentially dancing, derived from the traditional training and subjected to formal discipline. And since it is eminently danceable material, the miniature drama involving the ballet's six young characters is presented throughout in easily intelligible terms of movement. Between the individuals of this small performing ensemble exists a rapport of affectionate, mutual responsibility which creates an atmosphere of complete security, transcending the factual relationships of the action proper. This becomes even more obvious in the ballet *Interplay* which has no story to determine specific social or emotional contacts. The original cast of *Fancy Free* fitted to perfection since the ballet was virtually made to their measure. The three sailors, Robbins, Lang and Kriza, reveal their individuality, under the uniformity of sailor suit and manners, in the three solos which were admirably invented, beautifully designed and splendidly performed. Janet Reed's delicate, warm personality, Muriel Bentley's sharp-witted self-assurance, and Shirley Eckl's nonchalant coquetry represented an amusing trio of average American girl types entirely within the human and emotional range of the three boys.

Interplay (Music: Morton Gould. Setting: Oliver Smith. Costumes: Irene Sharaff) is a swift and pleasant dance suite of irresistible charm. To quote Edwin Denby: "It is juvenile in atmosphere, expert in construction, sharp in rhythm." The little piece is abstract in design and the specific characteristics which emerged in *Fancy Free* are brought into sharper focus. There is no indication of locale or period and no ornament in choreographic or scenic design to distract from the cleanness and precision of balletic workmanship. The ballet is as straightforward and transparent in structure and spirit as the musical score upon which it is built. Certainly, it is slight in substance and

devoid of emotional tensions and undercurrents. In his generally affirmative review of the ballet Edwin Denby comments that "its weakness as expression is in the superficial nature of the relationships between the dancers." This is undoubtedly true in the sense that there is no serious justification for the kaleidoscopic interplay of ephemeral attractions between the dancers. They are moved by a choreographic plan, rather than on the strength of individual characterization, and their mutual contacts are as casual as they are emotionally irrelevant. One may agree with Mr. Denby in regretting that this lovely composition is limited to a purely formal statement of little expressive power. But the little ballet is a theatrically effective, choreographically inventive and highly entertaining combination of sport, party game, jam session, physical exuberance and artistic discipline. It provides the same exhilarating and electrifying spectacle as an athletic championship, the same satisfaction as the display of physical prowess and superlative technical mastery, and particularly the same moment of suspense that stems from friendly competition.

The great merit of *Interplay* is in the proof it gives that the *contemporary American style is not determined by the nature of the subject, but by the character of the execution.* It is significant that if John Martin remarks that the eight dancers in the ensemble perform in "an idiom and a style that have meaning for them." In evaluating their performance the competitive element should not be underestimated. D. W. Brogan, in his interesting study on the American character, stresses the American's "common passion for competitive achievement." Applied to the ballet performers it helps explain their ambition for top accomplishment, accompanied by an almost intuitive understanding of the need for teamwork. Applied to the ballet audience it explains the candid pride and genuine affection with which they participate in the performance. *Interplay* reflects the indubitable analogy (and not only in the physical nature of the profession) between the American athlete and the American ballet dancer. And if the relationships between the members of the ensemble are superficial, they are nevertheless morally valid, that is, reliable, honest and sincere. These qualities are obvious in the whole dance pattern, and more acutely in the dancing itself, and most strikingly in the personality of the dancers. And although there are some outstanding per-

formances in solos and rather tricky *pas de deux,* the ensemble remains a democratic, homogeneous, perfectly blended whole.

Facsimile (Book: Jerome Robbins. Music: Leonard Bernstein. Setting: Oliver Smith. Costumes: Irene Sharaff) is Jerome Robbins's first and only excursion into the realm of psychology. It is a brief and futile episode, emotionally involving "three insecure people" in a triangular adventure without avail and purpose. Its three protagonists, The Woman, The Man and Another Man, are characters without core or substance, defined by the choreographer with the following motto from Ramon y Cajal: "Small inward treasure does he possess who, to feel alive, needs every hour the tumult of the street, the emotion of the theatre, and the small talk of society." On this theme Robbins composes a number of variations which paraphrase emotional impotence, morbid frustration, neurotic exhibitionism and empty social sophistication. He proceeds with an uncompromising directness which is at once shocking and admirable. His merciless "choreographic observation," as he call it himself, makes it obvious that he neither loves nor pities the repugnant characters of his own creation. This radical rejection leaves us somewhat at a loss as to the author's essential thesis and thereby weakens the impact of his cutting and sardonic comment. He offers no moral focal point, no positive statement, no normal standard to establish the position and clarify the significance of the ballet's unfortunate characters. The motivation for their behavior is, in brief, that they are neurotics, insecure and irresponsible. As a reflection on our time it is thin and as a psychological subject it is rather superficial. But in spite of these critical reservations, *Facsimile* is a tight and thoroughly absorbing drama.

This is due to a frankly theatrical treatment which derives an astonishing fullness of dramatic life from an essentially barren and static plot. The interest and originality of the ballet reside less in the intricacies of the choreography than in a fascinating "gesture-dialogue," to borrow John Martin's excellent term, which reveals a startling analogy to the spoken word, while never becoming literally descriptive or imitative. Thus the little drama resembles a terribly tense, though hopelessly inconclusive colloquy, carried on between three loquacious, smoothly articulate people, endlessly explaining themselves with a horrible, exhibitionistic self-preoccupation. As

characters they never achieve volume and identity. They are facsimiles, abstracted and synthetic, rather than human. They arouse cerebral curiosity, instead of spontaneous compassion, and they fail to reach tragic stature, even in the key moments of anguish and despair. But they move nevertheless through an incredibly wide range of emotions, mainly on the strength of nervous drive and high-strung intensity. The very futility of the erotic interplay between the three ineffectual young people produces constantly oscillating tensions which are never fully resolved and keep the action in a kind of breathless suspense. There is only one moment of release, of real pathos even, when the woman reaches a climax of unbearable strain and breaks down in sobs. All this makes a highly unorthodox ballet which displeases the conservative balletophiles, and a singularly captivating drama which delights the lovers of good theatre.

The work does not fit into any category. Instead of striving for a steadily sustained dance continuity, the author follows the twisted threads of the emotional drama, weaving a choreographic pattern of intricate design. The structural basis of the *danse d'école* is clearly visible, not only in specific steps and movements and lifts, but also in the consistent observance of formal design. The characterization, however, is achieved by a theatricalization of everyday language. Its peculiar style stems from a devastating accuracy of observation and a pitiless sense of humor, exposing the characters with the neatness and distortions of caricatures. There are indeed instances of exaggeration which are so involved as to threaten the balance and to distract from the essential meaning. But on the whole the intention is admirably clear and honest. Since its première the work has matured considerably. It is now delivered with greater ease and better humor, without losing its original impact. Just how much the work owes to the excellence of its performance is hard to decide; they seem inseparable. It was always superbly danced and played and its cast has grown into the dramatic characters to the degree of perfection. The teamwork of the trio, consisting of Nora Kaye, Hugh Laing and John Kriza, is flawless, conveying complete artistic justification to every move and gesture. Leonard Bernstein's superficial and effective score excellently serves its purpose, although it does not add anything new in style or invention to the composer's former offerings. Oliver Smith, again the third collaborator, designed a fine décor, with a wonderful sense

of space and atmosphere and a subtle, cold sophistication eminently fitting the subject.

Facsimile is as typical and valid a product of our time as *Fancy Free,* since both ballets are dealing with familiar representatives of the choreographer's own generation. But for all its dramatic potentialities, *Facsimile* is less eloquent than *Fancy Free* because it has less to convey in vital substance and moral conviction. Although the subject of *Facsimile* seems to suggest a profounder meaning, it is actually an artificial and superficial work, playing with emotional stock situations and using a psychological standard vocabulary. However, even in the very weakness of the ballet, Robbins demonstrates his extraordinary theatrical talent, his capacity to create and sustain a climate of tension and to hold performers and audience in its spell. *Facsimile* is the most recent of Robbins's major works, the most recent to be conceived as an individual work of art. His other choreographic activities fall into the category of "show business"; they reveal nothing that was not known about the choreographer before, nor do they indicate the future direction of his creative endeavor. The expectations, however, are high; for, as Edwin Denby states unequivocally, "Of Robbins's choreographic genius, after his new *Facsimile* there can be no doubt."

Jerome Robbins's ballets, though quite original, were not at all without indicative precedents. With the works of Loring, de Mille and Tudor, ballet had gradually developed into a comprehensive theatrical medium, and the clan of the conservative balletophiles had expanded into a vast modern theatre audience. While the classical repertory remained the supreme test of balletic standards, modern ballets in a contemporary idiom were no longer revolutionary or even risky. As long as the production was theatrically sound and effective, a response was assured. But Robbins had been an untried newcomer from the ranks of the dancers. As a soloist he had proved the measure of his capacities; as a choreographer he constituted a considerable risk for the company. For no ballet organization can afford to disregard the relationship between offering and box office. On the outcome of Robbins's efforts depended to a large extent the future chances of similar ventures to be entrusted to equally unknown, and possibly equally talented, ballet creators. The great surprise about

Robbins's success was not alone the revelation of an unusual talent, but also his sure command of the dance medium and his thoroughly professional grasp of the theatrical métier. Here was conclusive evidence that the young generation had matured in spirit and experience; the ballet directors were convinced that it was safe artistic policy to trust young choreographers with the creation of a modern repertory, and within a short span of years other promising new names appeared on the roster of the leading companies. John Taras, Todd Bolender, Antonia Cobos, Ruthanna Boris and Michael Kidd established themselves as artists of unquestionable proficiency.

Michael Kidd was born in New York City in 1918. He studied ballet with Vilzak-Schollar and Muriel Stuart, danced with the Metropolitan Opera Ballet and the Ballet Caravan and was assistant director and soloist with Eugene Loring's Dance Players. He joined the Ballet Theatre in 1942, revived *Billy the Kid,* in which he danced the title role and left the company when the conspicuous success of his choreographic début called the attention of Broadway to this new talent. In background, endeavor and achievement Michael Kidd is as consummately American as Jerome Robbins. He has the same directness and sincerity, the same natural and relaxed sense of humor, the same keen intelligence and gift of observation, the same friendly and affectionate trade with his fellows. Like Robbins, he is an accomplished dancer, though perhaps with a sharper edge and more comment in his characterizations. He is sensitive without being sentimental and sophisticated without becoming artificial, as he demonstrated in creating for himself the part of the Handyman in *On Stage!*

On Stage! (Music: Norman Dello Joio. Setting: Oliver Smith. Costumes: Alvin Colt) is a slight and touching fantasy about a ballet rehearsal and an audition, a handyman and a timid little dancer, and its great merit is that, for all its pink sweetness, it never loses its bite and humor. The scene is set on the bare stage of a theatre before, during and after the rehearsal of a ballet called *The Captive Princess and Her Hero.* The stage-frightened little girl in Pink fails miserably in her audition for the ballet master; meanwhile the grand ballet gets under way, brilliantly and magnificently. The handyman and the little dancer daydream themselves into the leading parts in the amusing and heartwarming key scene of the ballet. Encouraged by the handyman, the little girl overcomes her fear and nervousness,

and while she is dancing with the lightness and ease of a dream, the handyman calls the ballet master and the company to watch her fine performance. Everything ends well for her, and the handyman remains on the stage in Chaplinesque loneliness. This rather conventional synopsis does not at all convey the qualities of charm and warmth, of good humor and fluid imagination which distinguish this piece. The plot is developed with a fairy-tale simplicity; its originality is in the telling of the story, not in its subject.

Structurally the work consists of two separate parts which are but loosely connected, one choreographed as a classical ballet displaying impersonal glamour and technical brilliance, the other directed as a dramatic pantomime stressing the human and personal character of the protagonists. Both actions are skillfully held together in the framework of a very realistically staged rehearsal with people who smoke and talk and play the piano. The choreography of the central ballet about the Captive Princess and Her Hero is interesting and imaginative, spiced with a trace of vulgarity and good, sound showmanship. In general style it is a parody on ballet manners and mannerisms with little comment and much wit, performed with considerable gusto, speed and athletic vigor. Its formal line is consistent, if not subtle, gaining in clarity as the ballet progresses from burlesque to more abstract choreographic design. The parts of the Princess and the Hero, danced by Nora Kaye and John Kriza from the première to this day, have been superbly done, with secret amusement and keen intelligence, which convey a peculiar flavor of sophistication to their parody.

The story of the little girl and the handyman is obviously meant to be the main action of the piece, although this appears in its emotional scope, rather than in its physical range. Its two lovable protagonists are of the same human mettle, genuine, unassuming and quite real. Although they seem especially invented for Janet Reed and Michael Kidd, subsequent changes in casting have proved that both parts are solid in substance and firm in structure. Their ephemeral relationship is handled with infinite tact and delicacy, at once casual and sincere, playful and affectionate. The girl's drama is touching and plausible, with enough poignant heartbreak to give emotional interest to a conventional happy ending. The part benefited in the original casting by Janet Reed's radiant personality, her intimate

charm and her exquisite performance. The handyman is an engaging and versatile character, part clown, part *deus ex machina,* part carefree boy, part ageless wisdom. It is a character of perennial theatrical validity, created with an intuitive assurance and an unfailing sense of timing quite remarkable in so inexperienced an artist.

Norman Dello Joio composed a fine score which corresponds to an amazing degree to the particular moods and varied actions of the ballet, without becoming artificial or contrived. It is fresh and thoroughly enjoyable music with moments of frank persiflage and moments of pensive lyricism. Oliver Smith designed a setting whose theatrical perfection is its modesty and inconspicuousness, serving and clarifying the ballet's development in space.

This ballet is Michael Kidd's only contribution to the repertory today. But his first activity on Broadway must be mentioned here because his choreography and ensemble direction in *Finian's Rainbow* (1947) give evidence of serious progress and a resourceful talent. Unlike most other ballet choreographers who treat Broadway assignments as a major source of income and a minor form of art, Kidd did not strive for a sure-fire formula of success. *On Stage!* had reached the limits of what could be achieved on the ballet stage without destroying the medium or repudiating its essential foundation. The crucial point is not the transformation, or even the distortion, of the strict classical regime into a different form of dance, but the departure from the dance altogether. *Finian's Rainbow* shows almost a reversal of the customary pattern. Into *On Stage!* Michael Kidd introduced a considerable amount of unballetic material, of straight acting and incidental speech. In the musical play he used dancing extensively, and he even supplied a mute girl—superbly performed by the young Anita Alvarez—with a leading part entirely and delightfully conceived in pure dance terms. *Finian's Rainbow* is not only the maturer work, but in absolute terms of value a theatre piece of responsibility, integrity and impeccable style.

Jerome Robbins and Michael Kidd were not the only choreographic beginners to be given their first chance with Ballet Theatre. While still a dancer with the company, the young John Taras staged the ballet *Graziana,* in 1945, thus making a highly promising début. John Taras was born in New York City, in 1918, studied ballet with

Michel Fokine and Mme Anderson-Ivantzova and at the School of American Ballet and trained as an actor with the Washington Square Players of New York. He danced in the Fokine Ballet, the American Ballet Caravan, Catherine Littlefield's Philadelphia Ballet Company, the American Ballet and joined Ballet Theatre as soloist in 1942. His dancing has native elegance and style, ease and authority, but also a tendency to appear detached, rather than inspired.

Graziana (Music: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Concerto for Violin and Orchestra in G Major. Costumes: Alvin Colt) is in the abstract classical idiom, divided into three movements: Allegro, Adagio and Rondo, using four soloists and a small *corps de ballet.* In its frank affirmation of strict classicism and in certain effective details of invention, the work suggests Balanchine as master and model. But it is not derivative, strained or pretentious, it has a happy quality of youth and its transparent spatial geometry is easy to follow and pleasant to behold. Its musical quality, however, is derived from the more obvious suggestions of the score, rather than from its essential Mozartian spirit, and there is a lack of penetration which deprives the work of sustained expressive power. Nevertheless, it is a composition of decided merit and a worthy addition to the classical repertory of the Ballet Theatre.

The young choreographer was less fortunate with the choreography for *Camille* (1946), which he did for the Original Ballet Russe, and *The Minotaur* (1947), which he staged for the Ballet Society. In both works his style remained somewhat self-consciously within the limitations of formal patterns and failed to achieve truly dramatic expression. His sensitivity to lyrical qualities, as in *Camille,* and his interest in abstract organization, as in *The Minotaur,* seem to indicate the direction of his artistic development.

XII

The Ballet Theatre III

THE ACHIEVEMENT

The Ballet Theatre, as envisioned by Richard Pleasant, was to include the best of the classical repertory as well as new works. At the start they were especially fortunate in obtaining Michel Fokine to work with the company on revivals of *Les Sylphides* (1940), *Carnaval* (1940), *Spectre de la Rose* (1941) and *Petrouchka* (1942); he created, before his death in 1942, *Russian Soldier* and *Bluebeard.* Anton Dolin restaged *Swan Lake* (1940) and *Giselle* (1940) and George Balanchine contributed *Waltz Academy* (1944) and more recently *Theme and Variations.* This listing looks more impressive than it really is. *Carnaval* and *Spectre* have not been performed in years, nor have they been missed much. *Russian Soldier,* a grim dramatic narrative about the dreams of a Russian soldier dying on the battlefield, set to Prokofieff's symphonic suite, *Lieutenant Kije,* with particularly fine settings and costumes by Mstislav Dobujinsky, did not survive long. *Bluebeard,* with Jacques Offenbach's charming score, and elegantly perfumed settings and sophisticated costumes by Marcel Vertès, is still in the repertory. The ballet is an enormous production, in two preludes, four acts and three interludes. It has a very long, very complicated, very silly *opera-buffa* story, involving a great number of characters

who engage but mild interest. The touch of the master is unmistakable: there is an abundance of invention and wonderful detail, there are many hilarious comedy episodes and there is much delightful dancing. There is also the impression that the substance for a perfect little farce has been blown up considerably beyond its inherent capacity.

Petrouchka was an unforgettable dance drama of extraordinary theatrical power, which has all the qualities that would seem to make it one of the great classics of the modern ballet: an exceptional book, Strawinsky's distinguished score, Fokine's masterly choreography and Benois's fine scenic investiture. But without Fokine's inspiration the work has strangely lost its life and sparkle, like its puppets without the Charlatan's magic. It is, by now, merely the shadow of its former glory, dull, artificial, stuffed with sawdust, and out of respect for Fokine it should not be performed in its present state of disintegration. That leaves *Les Sylphides* as Fokine's lasting legacy to Ballet Theatre, and a generous one it is. There is no need to analyze once again a creation which has become the sublime symbol of the ballet and which remains indeed the great choreographer's imperishable artistic manifesto. *Les Sylphides,* and to a certain degree *Swan Lake* as well, has become the absolute test of excellence in the classical medium. (What we call classical ballet today is actually the contemporary interpretation of romanticism, formulated in terms of the strict academic disciplines.) For the present generation *Les Sylphides* has established a referable standard, at once the summation, for our time, of balletic tradition and the abstraction, presumably for all time, of its essential spirit.

By the time Ballet Theatre had completed its first season, it had established itself as a vital and vigorous American company. A year later, on its first transcontinental tour, 1941-1942, the company had become a Hurok Attraction, frankly advertised as "the greatest in Russian Ballet." Richard Pleasant, unwilling to compromise on essential issues, resigned and shortly after joined the armed forces. Eugene Loring, the most forceful American in the ensemble, left the company, and with him *The Great American Goof* disappeared from the repertory and, soon after, *Billy the Kid. Obeah* was dropped when the Negro unit was disbanded. On the other hand, the Russian com-

panies supplied several new dancers, upsetting the precarious balance of nationalities to the advantage of the Russian contingent. Two great "Russian" ballerinas, Irina Baronova and Alicia Markova, joined the company and were unmistakably advertised as stars. The result of these changes was not a deterioration in quality, but decidedly a change in character. Ballet Theatre had become the "Ballet Russe d'Amérique," as Margaret Lloyd said. Thus was created the confusing situation from which the ballet in this country is still suffering. It would be difficult to argue with Mr. Hurok when he explains in his memoirs, *Impresario,* that the American public was conditioned to Russian Ballet. Indeed, he himself had devoted years of consistent promotion to achieve this very result and he could hardly be blamed for wanting to reap the benefit of his endeavors. But it must not be forgotten that Richard Pleasant, too, had proved his point, and entirely without the benefit of Mr. Hurok's superior managerial experience and organization. Indeed the foundation then laid was so sound and solid that the Ballet Theatre, despite frequent changes in directorship, management and artists, maintained the high standards originally set in theory and practice, and finally reemerged as the representative American company.

For a time after the United States entered the war in December of that year, there was little interest in ballet. Many male dancers were drafted, which caused serious casting problems. Ballet Theatre, after a short stay in Mexico, returned to New York for another season in the fall of 1942. In the spring and fall seasons of 1942, S. Hurok, who had not yet relinquished the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, presented two companies successively and excessively at the Metropolitan Opera House. Commenting on this situation in his memoirs, Mr. Hurok voiced doubts as to whether the audience was sufficiently discriminating to notice the difference between the two companies, or if it cared at all which company it was offered. No matter whether this was true or false no odder statement could be made. Assuming that his contention was right, it proved simply that the ballet public "bought repertory" regardless and that there was no real need or demand for two coexistent companies. Still assuming the accuracy of his premise, the next logical step would seem to have been a merger of the major companies, exactly as Mr. Hurok himself later suggested. But it is fortunate that such a fusion,

although easily conceivable at that time, was not even attempted. The independent development of the two companies preserved and stressed their essential qualities, artistic integrity and identity. For some years Ballet Theatre and the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo have each followed their independent course and policy. Both companies fill a vital function in the American ballet.

If it is self-evident that a ballet company is as good as the total of its component members, it is equally incontestable that it is never any better than the cumulative quality of its repertory. The company and the repertory are functionally interdependent and should be conceived and treated as a whole and indivisible entity. The building of a repertory is as demanding and responsible a task as the making of a performing unit. Both require time, vision and singleness of purpose. A collection of impressive ballet titles does not constitute a repertory, and the physical assemblage of a group of dancers, however talented and competent, is not an integrated ensemble.

By the end of the 1947 season the repertory of the Ballet Theatre, although somewhat depleted and lacking in both classic and modern novelties, nevertheless had character, distinction and variety. It may be summed up as follows: Michel Fokine restaged his earlier masterpieces *Les Sylphides, Carnaval, Petrouchka* and *Spectre de la Rose* and two original ballets, *Bluebeard* and *Russian Soldier* (not in the present repertory). Bronislava Nijinska revived *La Fille Mal Gardée* (not in the present repertory), Anton Dolin revived *Swan Lake, Princess Aurora, Giselle* and created *Pas de Quatre* (now performed in Keith Lester's version). George Balanchine produced *Apollo, Waltz Academy* (not in the present repertory) and *Theme and Variations,* and Agnes de Mille, *Obeah (Black Ritual)* (not in the present repertory), *Three Virgins and a Devil* and *Tally-Ho.* Leonide Massine revived *Cappricio Espagnol, Boutique Fantasque* and *Three-Cornered Hat,* and produced three new ballets, *Aleko, Don Domingo* and *Mlle Angot,* of which only *Aleko* remained. David Lichine created *Helen of Troy* and *Fair at Sorochinsk* (not in the present repertory) and revived *Graduation Ball.* Antony Tudor offered *Dark Elegies, Jardin aux Lilas, Judgment of Paris, Gala Performance, Pillar of Fire, Romeo and Juliet, Dim Lustre* and *Undertow.* Adolph Bolm contributed an ill-fated version of *Firebird* (not in the present repertory) and *Peter and the Wolf.* Jerome Robbins produced *Fancy*

, *Interplay* and *Facsimile,* Michael Kidd *On Stage!,* John Taras
ziana and Simon Semenoff *Gift of the Magi* (neither of the last
is in present repertory).

A brief appraisal of the repertory may be useful. The classical
rtment is strong, although limited in scope. New ballets in the
ical idiom are badly needed, not only to balance the repertory,
also to maintain the fine discipline and pure academic style
loists and *corps de ballet.* It is regrettable that Balanchine's *Waltz*
demy disappeared, but his *Apollo* has been revived and *Theme*
Variations is a masterpiece. John Taras's *Graziana,* though pleas-
enough, offered an inadequate substitute for Balanchine's master-
naturity in similar treatments. Dolin's *Pas de Quatre* was a little
erpiece, infinitely superior to Lester's version which is used at
ent. No Massine ballet of consequence is left; *Don Domingo*
Mlle Angot deserve oblivion. Fokine's *Bluebeard* and Lichine's
en of Troy are legitimate balletic entertainment, but hardly more.
Mille's *Three Virgins* and *Tally-Ho* nicely balance an evening's
e serious fare, but neither does full justice to her superior choreo-
hic talents. Michael Kidd's *On Stage!* is a pleasant new addition,
Semenoff's *Gift of the Magi* may best be forgotten. By far the
t substantial modern contributions to the present repertory have
1 ballets of Jerome Robbins and Antony Tudor.

The Ballet Theatre had two exceptional chances to build up an
tanding classical repertory. It began, as we know, with an ambi-
s but sound program, which included *Les Sylphides, Swan Lake*
Giselle; the other traditional ballets disappeared as they were
ted. In 1941, after the Latin American tour of the American
et, Lincoln Kirstein, as Director General and George Balanchine,
he capacity of Director of Choreography, had intended to take
ballets composed for this tour all over North America. The war
le this impossible. The repertory of the American Ballet at this
e included *Concerto Barocco, Ballet Imperial, Jeu de Cartes,*
er de la Fée, Errante, Serenade and all the ballets Balanchine had
ted in the previous seven years. In order to preserve this unique
k, according to Lincoln Kirstein, it was offered to Lucia Chase
the Ballet Theatre. At that time, in 1943, J. Alden Talbot was
1aging director of the company and it was decided that none of
e works was suitable for inclusion in the Ballet Theatre reper-

tory. By a strange coincidence this refusal virtually saved the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo which needed new works, and it also affected Ballet Theatre which was in a similar, if less desperate, situation. The new ballets which Leonide Massine and David Lichine contributed were traditional only in the technical sense, but they had no classical feeling or intent and they did not enrich the repertory in any way. The only new, strictly classical composition of style, wit and distinction was Anton Dolin's charming *Pas de Quatre* which, after the choreographer had left the company, was unfortunately replaced by Keith Lester's rather trivial version of the subject. Dolin's presence as dancer, choreographer and personality helped immensely in maintaining Ballet Theatre's classical prestige, and his revivals of *Swan Lake* and *Giselle* have dignity, nobility and impeccable style. Later Ballet Theatre called upon George Balanchine's services. In 1944 he created *Waltz Academy,* a lively, highly entertaining ballet, displaying a veritable fireworks of technical invention and skill, and in 1947 he composed *Theme and Variations.*

Theme and Variations (Music: Peter I. Tchaikowsky's Suite No. 3 for Orchestra. Setting and Costumes: Woodman Thompson) is an eminently theatrical work; it has suspense, drama, speed and imagination. It is an abstract composition and there is no factual content or literal meaning of any kind. There is, however, an alternation of action and reaction, derived from movement tensions, which makes the visual drama more exciting than any story. In form and structure the ballet is of a compelling, almost mathematically exact logic. The profusion of intricate and startling detail is subordinated to a master plan, gradually revealed as one dynamic phrase infallibly follows another to the rousing terminating climax. Yet there is nothing artificial or forced in the dance invention. In fact, the dance impetus is as spontaneous and strong in the minor detail as in the developed choreographic line. It looks as if it were composed and executed without strain or effort, brilliantly improvised on the spectacular score. Soloists and *corps de ballet* attack the exorbitantly exacting task with spirit and conviction and perform magnificently; the main soloists, Alicia Alonso and Igor Youskevitch, appear matchless in the grand manner. The only disturbing element is Woodman Thompson's busy and pretentious décor which tends to confuse the ballet's transparent pattern.

This extraordinary ballet has a double significance. It is a crowning masterpiece of Balanchine's strict, abstract classicism as first manifested in *Serenade* (1934), clearly reaffirmed in *Concerto Barocco* (1941) and eventually crystallized in the flawless beauty of *Danses Concertantes* (1944). By the same token it is a triumph for the American dancers in the mastery of the classical medium. It is hard to decide who is more to be admired in this fine cooperation, the choreographer who so surely and intimately enters into the native genius of the dancers, or the dancers who so perfectly respond to his creative inspiration. There is, throughout, an awareness of mutual obligation and a reason for mutual respect and gratitude. Undoubtedly Balanchine is "more than anyone else the founder of the American classical style," as Edwin Denby says. One may supplement Denby's statement with the observation that the American dancers are definitely liberated from the last literal remnants of alien tradition. They have found their own legitimate equivalent in style.

In the first place, the several *corps de ballet* of Ballet Theatre deserve high praise, particularly for their work in abstract ballets like *Les Sylphides* and *Theme and Variations,* in which they support and justify the ballerina's performance, yet also assume a function with meaning and identity in the total pattern of the composition. American dancers are splendid material for group choreography because of their intuitive understanding of collective discipline and their amazing facility for adjustment to the general tenor of the ensemble in which they participate. This may be suggested as a plausible explanation for the fact that the continually recast ensembles succeeded, by and large, in preserving a distinctive character of uniformity over the years. In fact, nine years have passed since Michel Fokine rehearsed and staged *Les Sylphides* with the original Ballet Theatre ensemble and the work has not only maintained its period integrity, its clean choreographic pattern, its subtle quality of feeling and movement, but it seems to have matured from within, as it were, to even fuller meaning and greater poetic power.

The *corps de ballet* is a complex and very delicate organism, and it should not be confused with, for example, an opera chorus with which it shares only the anonymity. In the pre-Diaghilev ballets the *corps de ballet* was conventionally used as a mobile background or a sort of living décor to enhance and glorify the dancing of the prin-

cipals. The dancers in the group totally surrendered their individual identity; they needed neither personality nor talent, and required a minimum of technical equipment. However, in the modern ballet the ensemble assumes a greater choreographic importance. In many newer works there exists an active, functional relationship between group and soloists that demands an equal measure of expressive projection from both and consequently a responsible participation of the individual member. Perfect coordination of the ensemble movement, the fundamental principle of all group choreography, is based more on human intelligence than on mechanical drill. Lincoln Kirstein appropriately speaks of the "democratization" of the modern *corps de ballet*. In our days the talented dancer stands a fair chance of surviving as an individual the inevitable pressure of the mass and of rising from the ranks into prominence. Ballet Theatre's Alicia Alonso is an illustrious example.

But, although several of the leading dancers in the Ballet Theatre company have similarly risen from the ranks, it is still an unusual accomplishment for a classic ballerina. Tradition has it that great ballerinas are foreordained, born to their destiny and raised to fulfill it. Many, indeed, were famous ballerinas before they were fully grown women, let alone fully matured artists. The general apprenticeship and stage experience afforded in a *corps de ballet* is not equivalent to the intense, specialized training devoted to the task of transforming a child prodigy into a true ballerina. It is infinitely harder to break through the established routine in a large ballet company by a slow, step-by-step fulfillment of a still unconfirmed vocation. Talent, patient determination and hard work may eventually attract attention and reward. But the ballerina quality is not a matter of exceptionally good dancing; it is an absolute quality which miraculously reveals itself even before it is perfected in performance. Although ballet history preserves and celebrates the memory of many outstanding soloists, our concept of the ballerina dates from the romantic period and is preserved in the aristocratic tradition of the classical ballet. Until this day these traditional roles are considered the supreme challenge and test for the dancer who aspires to the ballerina position. And as long as there is a classical repertory the ballerina will reign supreme. It is perfectly understandable that audience interest is focused on her as the center and symbol of the classical ballet, if not of the ballet

par excellence. That is no justification, however, for the often disgraceful exploitation of the artist's name and fame for commercial purposes.

The Ballet Theatre, like any company with an ambitious classical repertory, needed outstanding soloists, and it was under the pressure of this necessity that it compromised on its first principles and permitted the star and guest system. The damage of this practice works in two ways. It is demoralizing for the company and ruinous for the star; it is degrading for the ensemble and the supporting soloists, and it leads the ballerina to star mannerisms. The artistic reputation of a company is based on the record of its collective achievements over the years, not on the passing feats of a few distinguished individuals. A listing of the great dancers who have temporarily performed in Ballet Theatre would constitute a distressing document, and an endless one as well. And it is particularly depressing to see what has happened to those ballerinas who have not been steadily connected with the company and have lost touch with the vital substance of a young ensemble in the process of growth and development.

Ballet Theatre has concluded a highly creditable eighth season, and its standards of excellence are still unmatched. Unfortunately this good record is spoiled by serious apprehensions. Unless successful remedies are initiated, there is no assurance of the company's permanent survival; for the fundamental evil, insecurity, continually endangers its very existence. Prompted by this alarming situation, an organization called Ballet Theatre Foundation was formed, its purpose being "to dignify the permanence of ballet in America; and to lend its support to Ballet Theatre, America's leading and most distinguished ballet organization." The Foundation plans "to ensure nationwide interest and financial support of the Foundation"; it proposes to organize local groups in a Ballet Theatre Guild, "to support and subsidize the company in the same manner as operas, symphony orchestras and museums." The prospectus abounds in superlatives, indicative of the enthusiasm of its founders and sponsors, but it fails to clarify the terms of the agreement between the company and the sponsoring organization; in particular it does not specifically guarantee Ballet Theatre exclusive authority in matters of artistic policy. If it be clearly understood that it is the Foundation's sole aim to promote

and maintain good ballet and to secure funds for this purpose on a large scale and on a permanent basis, it deserves every possible support. This, incidentally, is not the first attempt to offer private subsidy to Ballet Theatre. An older organization of a similar character, called Ballet Associates in America, commissioned and financed four outstanding ballets for Ballet Theatre in the past few years, *Pillar of Fire, Tally-Ho, Romeo and Juliet* and *On Stage!* thereby showing generosity combined with responsibility and progressive spirit.

Experience has proved time and again that the ballet requires substantial subsidies. By and large its fortunes depend on the same fortuitous circumstances which make the American theatre such a hazardous enterprise. But, while the theatre producer has at least a chance to make profits on his heavy investments, a ballet company of any size is sure to work at a deficit. That, in itself, is no reason for despair. Most cultural institutions in America, including the representative opera company, many of the foremost symphony orchestras, and the leading museums, universities and research institutes, are endowed and sponsored by private capital. The country's enormous wealth permits sustained generosity on a fabulous scale, although the size and the objective of the contributions to cultural and educational pursuits are as unpredictable as the taste and interest of the individual or the sponsoring organization. Casualties are unavoidable. The Ballet International lasted as long as its sponsor, the Marquis de Cuevas, was willing to lose money on it, and Ballet Society and Ballet Theatre are in a similarly precarious position, depending as they do on Lincoln Kirstein and Lucia Chase, respectively. All that can be said about the financial security of the leading companies, with the possible exception of the Monte Carlo, is that their future is quite uncertain.

It is characteristic that security should be identified with assured sponsorship rather than with the sustained interest of the ballet public. During the war years the demand for civilized entertainment and aesthetic escape, as well as the abundance of ready money, created an unprecedented ballet boom. A new public which had never heard of the ballet before and which no previous promotion had been able to reach, bought tickets literally by the millions. What efforts were made to preserve a reasonable percentage of this immense potential? The unique chance was not too wisely used. With the return to more

normal conditions, the leading companies again started to pursue their competitive warfare, with overlapping repertories, parallel bookings, badly spaced performing schedules and fights for the few suitable theatres. There was too much ballet at a time and too much of an inferior quality.

Ballet Theatre had its undeniable share of responsibility. The creation of a reliable and appreciative ballet audience is a long-range educational project. Mr. Hurok, the ballet impresario "who brought America to the ballet," as he reminds us, did a useful job by creating a demand for a new commodity and by organizing its distribution and its sales. Unappealing though the idea may be, his contention that a manager "makes" an audience is probably true; in the case of the "Russian" ballet he has positively proved it. But in making an audience he necessarily exerted a decisive influence on its taste, the more so since he avoided comparative or competitive performances. Whether as a matter of conviction or of commerce or a combination of both, Mr. Hurok did the ballet a disservice by his insistence on promoting and imposing an obsolete "Russian" repertory. While the companies were assured of a docile, if not selective and discriminating, public, they were also faced with irreconcilable conflicts of direction, management, and program if they happened to disagree with Mr. Hurok. Ballet Theatre by its own definition of character naturally suffered more from the compromise than did the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Therefore, nothing could be more understandable than the desire of Ballet Theatre's administrative directors, Lucia Chase and Oliver Smith, to regain their independence.

It was in 1946 that Ballet Theatre and S. Hurok terminated their agreement. However, the immediate consequences for the company were not altogether fortunate. Mr. Hurok's prestige and experience, and the asset of his booking and touring organization, were not easily replaced, particularly since, even without a company, he still held exclusive rights for most of the valuable dates and theatres. Thus Ballet Theatre found itself without a theatre in the fall season of 1946 and was forced to perform in an entirely inadequate Broadway house and later to share the City Center with the Monte Carlo. Moreover, Mr. Hurok had hastily contracted a ready-made "Russian" company, Colonel W. de Basil's Original Ballet Russe, which he presented at the Metropolitan and on tour, also during the 1946-1947

season. Despite an imposing array of outstanding stars, this venture failed miserably, deservedly and instantaneously. The threat of a third major resident company is over; and, with a minimum of good will and cooperative planning, two companies can easily exist side by side. Also, with the departure of the Original Ballet Russe, the Metropolitan Opera House again became available.

It is impossible to estimate precisely the seriousness of the original conflicts between Mr. Hurok and the directors of Ballet Theatre. Some conjecture may be permitted because the problems involved are of general consequence. One thing is sure, the responsibility for the nefarious guest-star system is to be blamed solely on the impresario's avowed belief in the attraction of big names. This system cannot be defended on the ground that the star may be good or even unique, unless the star performance is justified by artistic needs and is properly integrated in the unified creative endeavor which is the ballet. The promoter invests heavily in building up star reputation and he counts on returns over a prolonged period of time. As a consequence he has every interest in keeping his stars in a prominent position, and he is strongly opposed to their possible absorption into the ensemble. Mr. Hurok defends his practice with the argument of successful precedent, saying in substance that audiences are "nurtured on big names." That is as true as it is regrettable. If certain dancers are as persistently and shamelessly advertised as tooth paste, the public will eventually be hypnotized into demanding them. But it may well be suggested that ballet audiences have more intelligence than Mr. Hurok gives them credit for, as proved, for example, by the recent failure of the de Basil company.

The strange thing is that, up to a certain point, the interests of the impresario and of the company directors coincide, and what is wrong is not so much the principle as the practice. For the ballet company itself bends every effort to develop promising dancers into ballerinas and soloists according to their capacities, and it keeps a staff of highly qualified experts for this very purpose. As the younger artists grow into leading roles, gaining stature and authority, they naturally assume increasingly prominent positions and the public begins to appreciate them for their individual talents. Once they are well-known favorites they may be called stars. But in a responsible company they are not imposed upon the ensemble; even as stars they

remain members of a coherent group, unified in spirit, style and discipline. A ballet company is no better than the aggregate talent of all its members, that is, no better than its highest average. Hence, a steady, consistent effort to lift the average is more important than the ambition to produce champions. Ballet Theatre may boast an exceptional record in both departments, in spite of continual losses, often affecting vital substance. Actually of all the dancers who were with the company from the beginning, only eight are left today. They are Alicia Alonso, Muriel Bentley, Lucia Chase and Nora Kaye, Fernando Alonso, John Kriza, Hugh Laing and Antony Tudor. It seems nothing less than a miracle that any kind of an artistic program could have been preserved under such adverse conditions.

How was this miracle achieved? If any one person is to be thanked for it, it should be the original director, Richard Pleasant, who conceived and formulated the basic principles for the young enterprise so soundly and completely that they turned out to be indestructible. The first rushing impetus of creative enthusiasm gathered around this man had such impact that it was never quite forgotten. But the responsibility and the realistic task of carrying the company through several serious crises have rested mainly with Antony Tudor and Lucia Chase. While it is comparatively easy to estimate Tudor's merit and influence, it is very difficult to do full justice to Miss Chase. Materially the Ballet Theatre has existed largely because of her support. With lavish generosity Miss Chase has employed her personal wealth to cover the organization's enormous deficits. If the actual figures involved, no matter how considerable, are not the outsider's concern, the sponsor's admirable moral attitude deserves to be a matter of public record. Her directorial decisions regarding artistic policy, quality and integrity have never been dictated by economic considerations and never by any abuse of power. She has not considered or directed the company as her personal property, but as a cultural mission to which she has dedicated herself with purpose and devotion. As a soloist with Ballet Theatre since its foundation and as one of its co-directors since 1945, she is closely identified with the fate of this company, with its mistakes and its failings as well as with its proud achievements and successes.

Her connection with the ballet is of old standing. Lucia Chase showed an early interest in the theatre. She studied dramatics at the

Theatre Guild under Rouben Mamoulian, received a thorough ballet training from Mikhail Mordkin and joined the newly organized Mordkin Ballet, in 1937, as *prima ballerina.* She made her professional début in the first American performance of *The Sleeping Beauty* in her home town of Waterbury, Connecticut, and acquired a wide classic repertory, including the roles of *Giselle,* the Fisherman's Wife in Tcherepnine's *The Goldfish* and Lizette in *La Fille Mal Gardée.* These long years of work and performance, exclusively in the strict classical regime, formed her taste and account for her ill-advised insistence on appearing in such works as *Les Syphides, Pas de Quatre* and *Petrouchka.* Miss Chase has not the radiant personality, the magic and the style of the great classical ballerina, although she herself seems to be unaware of these limitations. It is regrettable that so genuine and fine an artist should deliberately provoke the same criticism all the time, since she is excellent in parts suited to her personality. She is a comedienne *(Tally-Ho, Judgment of Paris)* and her stark character portrait of the older sister in *Pillar of Fire* is a distinguished performance. The tact, the modesty and the utterly feminine bearing of this New England lady make it hard to visualize her as the responsible administrator of so large and complex an artistic organization as Ballet Theatre. Yet, if she is not a person with the aristocratic intolerance of a Diaghilev, with the powerful energies of a Colonel de Basil, with the elegant nostalgic grandeur of the Marquis de Cuevas, with the solid business acumen of Sergei Denham, with the vision and the drive of Lincoln Kirstein, she is a person of determination who has proved beyond any possible doubt that she has not bought, but honestly earned, the privilege of her key position in the ballet world. Perhaps her modesty, though laudable, is not altogether a virtue in view of her directorial function. Her strength expresses persistence rather than initiative, faith rather than passion, continuation rather than innovation.

There is, no doubt, a lack of color, personality and authority in the conduct of the company's program which has become more noticeable over the years. This is not manifest in the single performance but in the cumulative effect of the season-to-season effort. One is never quite sure what to expect next and where the company is headed. If there is a progressive trend, its direction is haphazard and unpredictable. If there is a tendency toward consolidation and stabili-

zation, its character needs to be clarified. On the whole, the Ballet Theatre has shown a greater capacity to assimilate heterogeneous elements and to reconcile divergent styles than any other ballet company. But it has left a wider margin of tolerance than is compatible with a consistent artistic policy. Its stated principle of catholicity sounds good enough in theory because it may be taken as a promise and a challenge and an assertion of good will toward all those who contribute creatively to the ballet of our time. In practice, however, an excess of idealism and tolerance leads to a laxity of standards and a loss of critical authority. In periods of uncertainty, transition and revaluation, like the present, the threat of cultural anarchy is very real and must be met with resolute aesthetic leadership. A cultural institution—and that is what every ballet company should be proud to be—assumes aesthetic responsibilities commensurate with its influence. Any ballet presented, and the way it is presented, amounts to a commitment for the future. It may not be the intention of Ballet Theatre to set up its policy and practice in categorical statements. Nevertheless, the public is entitled to expect its directors to present an unequivocal artistic program, according to the best of their collective ability.

The distinctive character of any ballet organization is determined, for better or for worse, by the personality of its director. For fear of being dominated by one individual, the Ballet Theatre went too far in the opposite direction. Its composite character is a summation of Miss Chase and her many collaborators—an administrative co-director, the stage designer and producer, Oliver Smith; an artistic administrator, Antony Tudor; an artistic committee of seven; and a board of eight directors. That is a pretty unwieldy governing staff. It is never quite clear who makes the policy of Ballet Theatre and who controls it. The advantages of broad artistic collaboration are obvious, but so are its shortcomings. These, however, are minor reservations compared to Ballet Theatre's extraordinary record of achievements. In John Martin's summary: "There is no denying that it is a superb company, with great distinction of style, backed by substantial technical skill, personal pulchritude, an awareness of the theatre and a sense of artistic responsibility." Let there be no doubt: Ballet Theatre is America's finest company. But let there be no illusion either: we have no assurance that it will last.

XIII

The Dance Players

THE BALLET INTERNATIONAL

The Dance Players and the Ballet International were two of the many ballet companies which were unable to compete with the large commercial companies and survived only a short time. Dance Players was essentially a continuation of Kirstein's Ballet Caravan with its interest in Americana; Ballet International was more cosmopolitan and more ambitious.

The Dance Players, "an all-American company offering dance plays on American themes," appeared in the spring season of 1942. Through the initiative of Mrs. Winthrop B. Palmer, who also sponsored the company, it had been organized in 1941 under the direction of Eugene Loring, with a group of fifteen dancers, including Lew Christensen, Michael Kidd, Joan McCracken and Janet Reed. This ensemble looked promising, including, as it did, several fine untried artists and three excellent experienced ones. Eugene Loring, of course, had demonstrated extraordinary talents as a dancer and choreographer, particularly as the creator and protagonist of the famous *Billy the Kid.* Other Loring ballets from the original Caravan repertory, *Harlequin for President* and *City Portrait,* the latter substantially revised, were taken over by the Dance Players.

From Kirstein's beginnings to Loring's conclusions was a con-

sistent evolution. The American Ballet, with George Balanchine as main choreographer, has preserved the elegant style and aristocratic spirit of the classical theatrical dance, stressing the lyrical element rather than the dramatic one. The Ballet Caravan, inspired by Lincoln Kirstein, introduced the collaboration of predominantly American artists who set out to adapt the traditional technique to contemporary subjects and functions. The Dance Players went one step further by calling their ballets "dance plays" and presenting them frankly as danced and mimed drama. Although the physical and structural basis of their technique was the *danse d'école,* they also made free use of the modern expressional idiom. It was neither "modern" dance, nor pantomime, but essentially ballet as a lyrical drama.

Loring's enthusiasm for the expression of America in the dance is genuine; it is the spirit which animated his portrayals in *Billy the Kid* and *The Great American Goof* and which stimulated his imagination for *Prairie* and *City Portrait.* He was, to quote John Martin, "the first really original artist to arise in the field of the American ballet." The originality of his "American" style is not merely the result of keen observation and the capacity to portray characteristic traits. He solved admirably the delicate problem of transforming obviously authentic and documentary data into genuine dance expression. This applies to both his interpretations and his choreography. His creative imagination endows all his work with the quality of an immediate human experience. In producing *Billy the Kid,* the model of the American genre, he kept the genuine flavor without falling into the clichés of movie Westerns. He had enough professional discipline to avoid empty acrobatics and stunts; he had enough sense of humor to avoid sentimentality and, above all, he had enough feeling for the theatre to avoid the danger of literary story-telling. This fine artistic equipment enabled him to create the first native ballet of any scope, thereby setting a precedent whose effects can still be noted in the most recent productions. Loring's early training was as an actor and his choreographic style is derived from theatrical sources, but he uses both characters and situations, not only for theatrical effect, but as elements in a dance composition.

When Loring organized the Dance Players he already had had considerable practice and a respected position. But it is one thing to

qualify as a fine performer and choreographer within an organization and quite another to take over the responsibilities for an organization. Loring found himself the head of a small team which was admirable in spirit and intention but lacking in ensemble training, stage experience and maturity. These young people needed education as much as inspiration, competence as much as enthusiasm, time for professional seasoning as much as for rehearsing. One season was too short to supply the necessary experience and too long for a sustained and conclusive success. Before it disbanded the company presented some fine new ballets which justify serious regret that it did not survive. The repertory comprised seven ballets.

Prairie (Book: after Carl Sandburg's poem. Music: Norman Dello Joio. Choreography: Eugene Loring. Setting: James Morcom. Costumes: Felipe Fiocca) is an American epic simply told in four movements.

First Movement—The Homesteaders: In our pioneer days large groups, moved by adventure, economic dream or hereditary restlessness, came to the prairie lands of the great Middle West. Many moved on, but a few remained to become the fathers, mothers and daughters of the new country. *Second Movement—The Second Generation:* The adventure of homesteading is over and the labor of husbandry remains. The descendants of the settlers seek more excitement than can be found on the land, and the daughter, now prodigal, stirs up the young people to turn towards the towns and cities. The movement away from the prairie grows and even the prodigal daughter becomes terrified. *Third Movement—Another Beginning:* Cut off from the strength of the prairie, the daughter finds no meaning in existence and is unable to survive. Man, however, comes to her aid and teaches her to walk again, and they go off in search of the pioneering father and mother. *Fourth Movement—New Cities and New People:* They return to the land, not as homesteaders but as enlightened people who have learned the source of their strength and the cradle of their wisdom.

The content, the tenor and the moral of this synopsis are equally revealing. Clearly there was a deep need for such unequivocal and affirmative statement of belief in "the source of our strength." Quite different from the dramatic, essentially realistic narrative of *Billy the Kid,* this work was wider in emotional scope and more profound

in significance. The program lists the Land, the Father, the Mother, the Daughter and Man. The protagonists, then, are symbols, indicating characteristic stations in the process of American self-realization. This fine composition was carried by genuine poetic feeling throughout, admirably sustained in the choreographic style; the academic technique conveyed to the dancing an effect of heightened importance and formal abstraction. Norman Dello Joio supplied an admirable score, inventive, colorful and highly danceable.

City Portrait (Book: Lincoln Kirstein. Music: Henry Brant. Settings and Costumes: Reginald Marsh) was originally produced in 1939 for the Ballet Caravan and substantially revised by the choreographer. The story is depressingly realistic.

Scene 1. The Street: The young daughter, having no space at home, spends her time in the unfriendly city street, where feebleness, sordidness and failure are ever before her. *Scene 2. The Family in their Tenement Home:* Confined in too small quarters, the various members of the family annoy and irritate each other. One by one they rush out to the city street to escape beyond the reach of their mother's complaining tongue. *Scene 3. Corner Appointment:* The older daughter, having no privacy at home, meets her boy friend at the street corner. The unhappiness of her home life affects her disposition, and the young man, bored with her family preoccupation, leaves her for a more congenial companion. *Scene 4. Men at Work:* The father and the older daughter's boy friend are at work at the sewer. The sauciness of the young daughter irritates the father and he becomes quarrelsome. He and the boy friend come to blows and the young man is knocked into the sewer. *Scene 5. Waiting Line:* The son of the family, never having learned patience at home, resents waiting in line and belittles his more cooperative fellowmen. *Scene 6. An Office:* The office routine demands serenity for efficiency. The older daughter, having lost her young man, cannot adjust herself to the office tempo. *Scene 7. Drug Store Cowboys:* At the corner, drugstore cowboys ogle the girls who pass by. The younger daughter enters but is protected by one of the hangers-on who is anxious to guard her from everyone but himself. The older sister passes by and we see that she has patterned her gait after the style of the streetwalkers. *Scene 8. The Crowd:* The younger daughter attempts to keep the family together, but she is too late. The city has destroyed the cohesive qualities that keep a family together.

In spirit this work is complementary to *Prairie,* another statement Loring felt compelled to make, although the explicit documentary character of the story naturally limits its symbolic validity. The eloquent episodes were told in direct terms of significant or illustrative movements without comment or implications. To quote John Martin, "*City Portrait* says familiar things with imagination and dramatic effect. Here Loring's ability to create evocative movement is at its height and some of the best scenes he has yet devised are to be found in this bedraggled, rainy, underprivileged community he has pictured." Henry Brant furnished an excellent musical accompaniment which was suggestive and fitting without being literal and descriptive.

Jinx (Book: Lew Christensen. Music: Benjamin Britten, arranged by Colin McPhee. Setting and Costumes: George Bockman) was the only ballet Lew Christensen contributed to the repertory. It is, in John Martin's words, "an unusual and fine little piece of grim fantasy."

The Jinx, because he interrupts the romance between the Boy and the Girl, becomes the object of suspicion and distrust. The performers, with the exception of the Bearded Lady, believe him to be an evil influence in the circus. An accident to the girl is attributed to the evil-working Jinx. The Equestrian is angered and, determined to subdue fear and superstition, borrows the Ringmaster's whip and beats Jinx to death. The end of Jinx banishes superstitious fear and the performers are happy again. In sympathy for the Bearded Lady who has lost her only romantic interest, they give Jinx a funeral. But Jinx returns to life and now the performers, more fearful than ever, surrender completely to the spell his presence creates.

The theme is original, strong and eminently theatrical. Christensen created a strange, disturbing atmosphere of secret tensions and obscure threats haunting a group of familiar and colorful circus characters. The close-knit drama developed with a feeling of fatal inevitability and the pathetic resignation to an inescapable, irrational power of evil was a wonderful and gripping climax. It was this curious and unique story, rather than choreographic invention, which conveyed distinction to the work. The scenery was particularly striking and Britten's score had the same tense and haunting quality as the visual drama.

After the Dance Players was disbanded, Eugene Loring was engaged as a choreographer in Hollywood and he has since done the dances for several films, but due to the artistic situation of the film capital and the mechanics of film producing he has not yet had an opportunity to reveal the full measure of his creative potentialities.

The Ballet International was planned as a much larger venture than the Dance Players and when it was first announced in 1944 the reaction in professional circles was one of doubt and misgiving. There were already two full-sized companies in New York—the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo and the Ballet Theatre—and several smaller organizations. Between them the two large companies had pretty much absorbed the best dancers and fairly well balanced their respective competitive positions. It was feared that a third large company would either be reduced to presenting second-rate performers or that the thin top layer of outstanding dancers and choreographers would be spread even thinner. The two major companies had contracted for the only adequate theatres in New York; the new company would find itself without a suitable house. The older companies had established their own touring circuits throughout the country; the new one would have to fit an additional repertory into the already crowded season schedules. The ballet audience was limited and it was possible that there was a saturation point.

The Ballet International was to be a part of a comprehensive project, the Ballet Institute, conceived, sponsored and artistically directed by the Marquis George de Cuevas and founded as an educational non-profit organization in November 1943. The Ballet Institute was "created for the advancement of the art of the ballet and its allied arts; for the education and instruction of students in these arts and for the furtherance of public appreciation of ballet."

Its announcement was suggestive and so general as to permit every possible speculation. Too many ballet organizations had been founded and failed before, despite the idealism of their founders and the fabulous sums invested in production. Time and again it was proved that the success of a ballet company depends on, first, an unequivocal and consistent artistic policy, second, competent artists to carry it out, third, adequate technical facilities to present it, fourth, expert

management to promote it and, finally, absolute centralization of command to coordinate it. Any weak link in this chain of efficiency is fatal. Even assuming that the Ballet International could meet these requirements, there still remained such unpredictable conditions as timing and public response.

As a first step toward the realization of his plans the Marquis bought a handsome theatre, the International, intended as a permanent home for both a school and the company. The combination of an academy and a living and working center under the same roof and the generous attitude of the Marquis seemed to promise what had been most lacking: the assurance of permanence. Actually the academy was the well-established Vilzak-Schollar School of the Ballet which functioned undisturbed before, during and after the Ballet International. Anatole Vilzak was ballet master of the company and his presence assured a high standard of technique and accuracy. The house, however, was too small to accommodate classrooms, living quarters and rehearsal space; the seating capacity was too limited to cover expenses and the stage was entirely inadequate for ballet performance. Hence Ballet International's own house, instead of being a secure base, turned out to be a heavy liability, both financially and technically.

The performing company had been assembled and had been rehearsing intensively for about half a year. Eleven ballets were eventually prepared by ten different choreographers: Edward Caton, Antonia Cobos, William Dollar, André Eglevsky, Vera Fokina, Leonide Massine, Bronislava Nijinska, Boris Romanoff, Simon Semenoff and Anatole Vilzak. Only three of these ballets were revivals from the traditional repertory; the others were novelties and several were daringly experimental.

But most of the ballets, although competently staged and well danced, were undistinguished. The ensemble never quite became a cohesive organism. Its weakness showed in its classical repertory; its *Sylphides,* for example, could not compare with the performances in the other local companies. Outstanding among the soloists were William Dollar, André Eglevsky and Francisco Moncion, Viola Essen, who has since deserted the stage for the film, and Marie-Jeanne, whose fine capacities are not fully used at present in the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo. Bronislava Nijinska demonstrated her choreographic

authority in the masterly treatment of ensemble and groups in *Pictures at an Exhibition,* with its theatrically effective décor by Boris Aronson. *Sebastian* was exciting theatre, with a strikingly dramatic score by Gian-Carlo Menotti and memorable dancing by Viola Essen and Francisco Moncion. *Mute Wife* was an inconsequential, witty bit of charming comedy, choreographed and precisely danced by Antonia Cobos. All three pieces are now in the repertory of de Basil's Original Ballet Russe. Hardly a ballet at all, *Sentimental Colloquy,* with a fine musical score by Paul Bowles and negligible choreography by André Eglevsky, achieved its greatest effort through the unexpected display of a giant painting by Salvador Dali. This décor—countless weird cyclists painted in an endless perspective—had a strangely musical quality but it was too overwhelming to permit much dancing in front of it.

The real artistic event of the season was the presentation of a highly controversial work: *Mad Tristan,* conceived and designed by Salvador Dali to Richard Wagner's music for *Tristan and Isolde,* admirably staged, in spite of almost unsurmountable difficulties, by Leonide Massine. This "paranoiac" interpretation of the Tristan and Isolde legend was a surrealist masterpiece. It was a thoroughly serious and valid piece of operatic visualization which proceeded with the haunting and compelling consistency of a dream. As a ballet it was disastrous, and it must have been the despair of choreographer and dancers. But it was frank and legitimate theatre and, incidentally, the first notable attempt in many seasons at an imaginative use of the stage illusion as a creative medium. The Marquis de Cuevas proved his vision and foresight in supporting this gigantic experiment and in assuming responsibility for its presentation. *Mad Tristan* has probably not furthered the cause of ballet, but it has revived faith in "theatrical" theatre. Eventually the ballet may benefit.

In the brief history of the Ballet International the Marquis de Cuevas himself is the most interesting figure. A man of profound culture and exquisite taste, of great modesty and personal charm, he represents to perfection the prototype of the accomplished amateur and patron of the arts. Naturally, the cosmopolitan and inclusive artistic character of ballet offers particular aesthetic satisfaction to a man of his background and range of artistic interests. By virtue of his social and family connections, by choice as well as inclination,

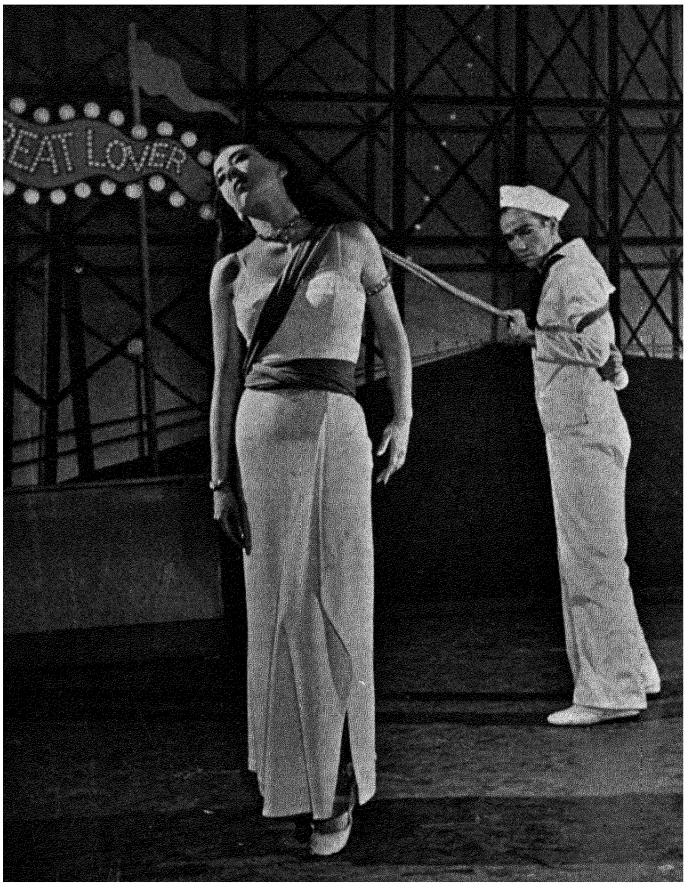


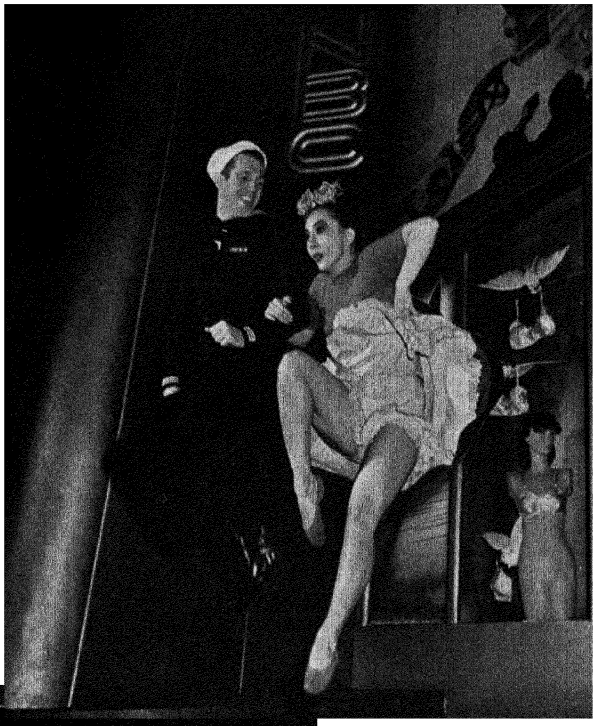
BAMBI LINN and ROBERT PAGENT in *Carousel*, Theatre Guild Production, 1945. Photo: Eileen Darby, Graphic House

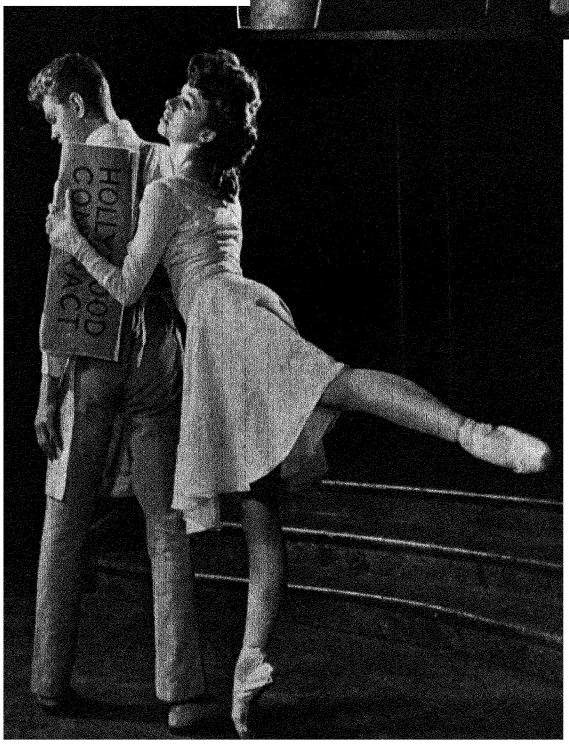
Sono Osato and Robert Pagent in *One Touch of Venus*, 1944. Eileen Darby, Graphic House

Viola Essen and Robert Chetwood in *Hollywood Pinafore*, 1945. Photo: Eileen Darby, Graphic House

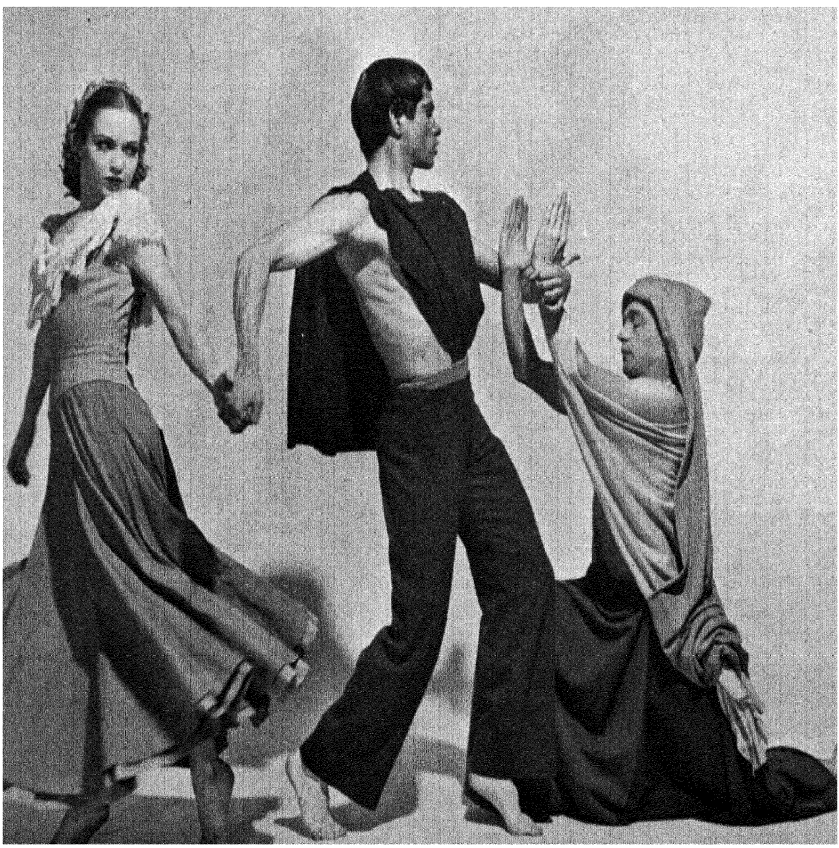
no Osato and Ray Harrison in *On the Town*, 1944.
oto: Eileen Darby, Graphic House

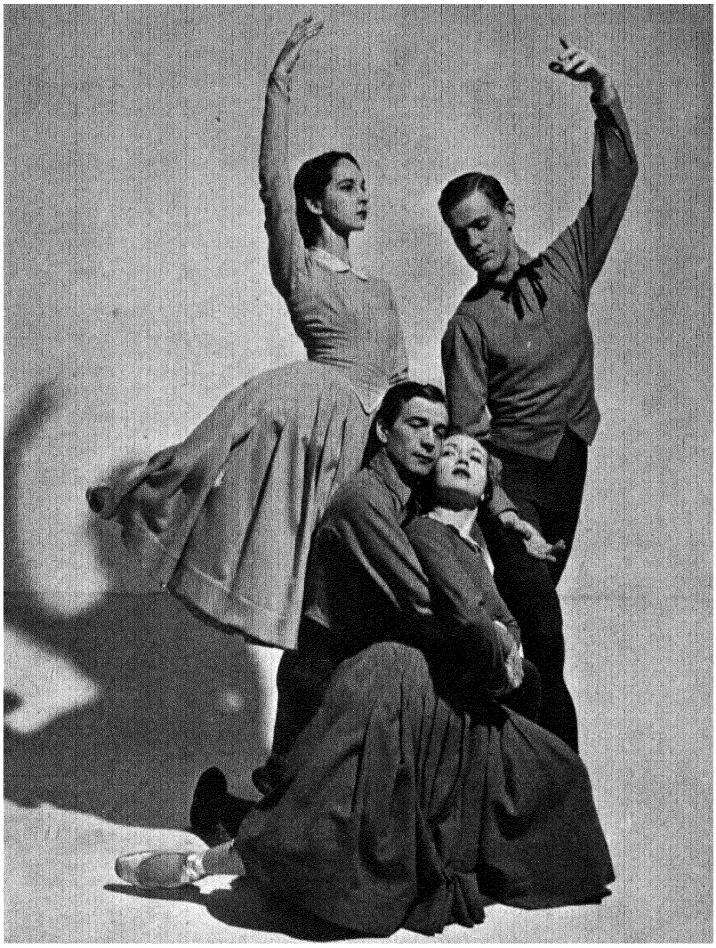





HOLD
COLD
YACT

JANET REED, MICHAEL KIDD, EUGENE LORING in *Man from Midian*, Dance Players, 1942. Photo. Fritz Henle





Group from *Prairie,* Dance Players, 1942. Photo. Fritz Henle



EUGENE LORING and group in *Billy the Kid*, Dance Players, 1942. Photo. Fritz Henle

the Marquis is equally attached to the Old and the New World. He conceived of the Ballet International as his personal gift to America. It was to be an example and an inspiration to encourage native creativeness. Thus he came, though for different reasons, to the same conclusions as Lincoln Kirstein. Both believe in the classical ballet as a synthesis of traditional and progressive spirit. Both believe explicitly in the American genius. Both failed for similar reasons. This failure, however, does not at all disprove the fundamental validity of their argument. When Hurok presented Colonel de Basil's dilapidated Original Ballet Russe, with more hope and publicity than was justified, the Marquis de Cuevas acted as Artistic Director for the season 1946-1947, which permitted him to save at least a part of his former repertory from total oblivion by contributing several ballets to the newly formed company—among them, *Constantia, Mute Wife, Pictures at an Exhibition* and *Sebastian.* This was the Marquis' last active contribution to the American ballet. Recently he has accepted the invitation of the *Société des Bains de Mer* to organize the Grand Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, under the patronage of the Prince of Monaco, and he has invited choreographers and dancers of the former Ballet International to join the company.

It is necessary to realize that the failure of the Ballet International was caused essentially by an accumulation of unfortunate circumstances beyond the control of any individual. In point of plain fact, the Ballet International turned out to be a refined amateur competitor in a highly professional market. No amount of generous and meritorious intentions could compensate for lack of experience, time and preparation. In spite of all the fine individual contributions of director, choreographers, dancers, musicians and designers, the Ballet International had actually less to offer than the seasoned companies. The Marquis de Cuevas has probably paid the highest price that has yet been paid for a lesson in ballet-making in this country.

XIV

The Musical Comedy

In the comparatively short period between the sensational success of the original *Black Crook* and its revival in 1929, the musical comedy had become a well-established form of popular entertainment. It had a safe and tried tradition of its own—slight fare on a lavish scale. Dancing was a popular feature in every musical from the days of the extravaganzas, and the success of such revues as the *Ziegfeld Follies,* John Murray Anderson's *Greenwich Village Follies,* J. K. Shubert's *Passing Show,* George White's *Scandals* and Earl Carroll's *Vanities* depended to a large extent on visual splendor and the appeal of well-built, well-trained dancing girls. Whatever plot the average musical had was only a pretext for a lavish stage show and a full quota of dance numbers.

These dance numbers were simply another kind of lavishness. Their function was to provide an attractive living décor, effectively arranged in intricate ornaments and decorative patterns. In terms of production technique, dancers were mechanical instruments; their qualification was a brief training which assured the selection of the fit and, beyond that, a certain degree of bodily control and group discipline. The immensely popular precision work of the Tiller Girls, who were imported wholesale from England in the early twenties,

was the paradigm of this impersonal accuracy and mechanization as are the Rockettes at the Radio City Music Hall today. When Albertina Rasch presented a traditional ballet for the first time in *Rio Rita* (1927), it was appreciated as another kind of formal discipline, not as an expansion of the range of dance expression. Ballet technique was a welcome change from high-kicking, acrobatics and tap routines. There was a good market for ballet, since it was serviceable, reliable material and it was furnished producers in ready-made teams. During many years Albertina Rasch and her "theatrical enterprises" offered "units of from six to twenty-four Rasch Girls . . . appearing in vaudeville feature acts, in Broadway revues, on the screen and in motion-picture prologues," as the advertisements stated. Like the dancers themselves, the dance directors were usually highly skilled specialists with little creative ambition. They worked conscientiously as commercial artists, mostly concerned with the physical timing, placing and coordinating of the dance movements. If their routine arrangements had no truly choreographic significance, there was no qualified audience to object. And even when so important a figure as Fokine worked in the musical comedy, as he did during the twenties for Gertrude Hoffman, Gilda Gray and Ziegfeld, neither he nor the producers considered this work of any great artistic significance.

The change came slowly and not exclusively from the ballet field. Modern concert dancers like Charles Weidman, José Limon and Sara Mildred Strauss, for instance, made the difficult transition from the intimate recital stage to revue choreography with a fine flair for the medium and with a sure grasp of its broader effects. But the signal departure in a new direction occurred only in 1936, when George Balanchine, then director and choreographer of the American Ballet at the Metropolitan Opera, accepted an assignment to stage the dances for the musical revue *On Your Toes*. The prestige of Balanchine's name could not fail to reach and impress a very wide public. There were skeptics in both camps, among the show-business experts and the ballet traditionalists. The success of this venture was a gratifying symptom of intelligent audience response. The extraordinary "production number," *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue,* demonstrated strikingly that the ballet was not the supposed museum of past glory and elusive memories, but could be as lively and vital a medium as swing and hot jazz. Few people realized at the time that the

difference between the customary conventional dance arrangement and Balanchine's choreography was not a matter of method but a matter of concept. Balanchine himself would have been the last person to attach particular importance to some pleasant work in a light vein which for him, too, was primarily commercial entertainment. When Edith J. R. Isaacs remarked in *Theatre Arts* that "with *On Your Toes* we may have come unknowingly upon a successor to the old musical," her wishful thinking anticipated the actual events by several years.

Today the dance situation in 1936—the year in which Balanchine created both *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue* and Gluck's *Orpheus*—seems historically remote. The dated voluptuousness of *Scheherazade* would have been a daring novelty on Broadway, and the satirical commentary of Nijinska's then twelve-year-old *Train Bleu* and *Les Biches* would have been topical just about that time. Ballet was an esoteric art for which the audience was narrowly limited both on and off Broadway and commercially it was a losing proposition. While the first American ballet groups were struggling for consolidation and recognition, the musicals flourished easily on their ancient formula, using indiscriminately whatever dance specialties were available on soft soles, high heels or blocked shoes. In any case, while competent dancers were plentiful, good choreographers were scarce. Balanchine was unique, "the first choreographer of Broadway," as John Martin called him in a thoroughly affirmative review of *I Married an Angel* (1938). Balanchine, fortunately, choreographed several musicals—*Babes in Arms* (1937), *Boys from Syracuse* (1938), as well as the ones mentioned above—before he went on to further success in United Artists' *Goldwyn Follies* (1938). Although Balanchine reserved his more serious ambitions for the legitimate ballet, the elegance of his style always conveyed distinction to even the most trivial Broadway productions. It is probable, however, that the general audience does not respond quite as readily to his cosmopolitan sophistication as to the American idiom of Agnes de Mille whose *Oklahoma!* revolutionized the conventional musical comedy genre.

The production of *Oklahoma!* was clearly not conceived in a spirit of rebellion or intended as an experiment. It was a careful and competent adaptation of Lynn Riggs's *Green Grow the Lilacs,* done with more charm and less pretentiousness than the average musical. Agnes

de Mille was commissioned to stage the dances because her ballet *Rodeo* happened to be suitably American in content or flavor, not because she had spent fifteen years' hard work at becoming an exceptional choreographer. Her title to broad recognition was indeed much older than her sudden fame on Broadway. In her first recital in 1928 she had presented "a lusty and touching number called '49 which was in a sense the root of all the more elaborate Western things that have developed since." As far back as 1938 she had presented in England a program of "miniature ballets." There was a first *American Suite,* consisting of *The Harvesting, Mountain White, Dust, Strip-Tease* and *Rodeo* and a second one, which she presented in this country, too, including *The Harvesting, Blues, Forty-Niner* and *Rodeo,* set to music by Gershwin, Vaughn Williams and arrangements of cowboy songs. In essential grasp and comprehension, the *American Suites* are the actual beginning of those full-blooded, genuine, virile and tender, irreverent and human, warm and witty Western genre pieces with which the choreographer's name is associated. Here, it seems, originated those wonderful horsemen on imaginary mounts akin to those in *Billy the Kid* which later reappear in de Mille's full-sized version of *Rodeo* and again in *Oklahoma!*

The mature and authoritative dance compositions for *Oklahoma!* were unquestionably the work of an accomplished artist who intelligently availed herself of the chance to use her experience in a new medium and to realize her creative visions in a larger measure. For Broadway and the general public her talent and proficiency were a surprising revelation. But for those who had followed her career with a fair appreciation of the dance, it was apparent that the *Oklahoma!* ballets were not merely the result of a few weeks of intensive rehearsing but the consummation of long years of hard work. The success in both range and depth of influence transcended by far the immediate satisfaction of a well-merited personal triumph. Through Miss de Mille the ballet, or more generally, the dance as a legitimate art form, had finally reached and conquered Broadway. In proper historical perspective this achievement will probably assume even greater significance as the vital forces of the dance exert an increasingly powerful influence on the lyric theatre and the musical comedy.

Miss de Mille's work in the musical field was without precedent,

though certainly not without following. While she shares with several others the merit of having created outstanding show choreography, she may claim the exclusive credit for the discovery of a new theatrical function of the ballet. It was not an accidental find by any means. All her work is clearly of the theatre in the precise sense that the dramatic expression above all determines characterization, composition, choreography and movement pattern. Nothing could illustrate better her realistic approach to show choreography than her readiness to sacrifice valid and valuable work for the sake of theatrical function. For instance, after the first performance of *Carousel* she found the main ballet too long "to interest an audience that was beginning to show signs of fag (10:50 P.M.)." She "threw away exactly half the ballet. . . . Everything lyric and choreographic was discarded in favor of what was dramatic."

Miss de Mille's notes for the production of *Carousel* furnish more evidence to the same effect: "The chief difficulty in composing dances for musical shows is the transition from style to style, realistic acting into singing into dancing into realism again with a heightening of belief and no awareness of the change of medium. The work of the choreographer is like that of a surgeon grafting alien members together so that muscles can flex and life blood flow through the foreign section without loss of function. . . . The choreographer for shows serves a form that is not organic to the ballet but to the larger pattern. The ballet sometimes becomes a mere truncated remnant in order to serve this purpose best. This is not always satisfactory as choreography. It is, however, good show business." These are sacrilegious words to the balletophile, even considering that such statements are usually more radical than actual practice. Properly interpreted, however, they indicate Miss de Mille's respect for her task. Long before she started to work for Broadway shows she had frequently abandoned the formal discipline of the traditional ballet, whence she came, for sharper characterization, toward which she tended. She compromises on the dance for the sake of legitimate theatrical effect, provided it does not affect or destroy the integrity of the composition. She states: "In many respects composing for the theatre imposes a more exacting discipline than composing for ballet where nothing but the internal needs of the work must be considered. And the choreographer has *carte blanche* as to time, space, music, mood and

style." Her compositions are certainly a long way from the aetherial *ballet blanc,* yet they never deny their essentially kinesthetic origin. Even in so unorthodox a ballet as *Rodeo* she stayed within the dance medium proper, although not within the academic tradition.

Oklahoma! was a new and exciting challenge because it pointed in the specific direction of both her interest and her talent. For this musical she created a long ballet, *Laurie Makes Up Her Mind,* which was to become famous. As the scenario reveals, the emotional drama is entirely conceived in visual images and the psychological situation is transformed in tangible action. Despite the literary form in which it is here presented, it could never be mistaken for a literary drama and despite its tense emotional conflicts, its essential realism distinguishes it from the expressional dance drama. There cannot be any question that this composition occupies a very importance place in the history of the American ballet.

Laurie Makes Up Her Mind (Ballet from *Oklahoma!* Book and Lyrics: Oscar Hammerstein II. Music: Richard Rodgers. Direction: Rouben Mamoulian. Settings: Lemuel Ayres. Costumes: Miles White). This scenario was written before rehearsal so that Richard Rodgers could compose the music for the ballet sequence.

Original Scenario by Agnes de Mille

Scene: Hilltop—in the sun

Laurie sits under a tree musing. She is worried. "If I married Curley . . ." she says several times.

Downstage left she appears to herself, dressed in her own dress, but with a wreath on her head. The music changes to "Beautiful Morning"—very lyric in the best Shubertian style. The dream Laurie advances and stands in the center of the stage, radiantly happy, aware of all the beauty around her. Betrothed. While she is moving about in her morning, taking possession of her world—the real Laurie sitting on the revolving stage is turned slowly out of sight—or as an alternate, she moves downstage, stands for a second by her dream projection—and then moves softly out.

(I prefer this method of accomplishing the transition, but for purposes of production the other may have more element of spectacle.)

Two of Laurie's young friends enter—very young friends, about fourteen. They have a bouquet of field flowers for her. They are shy. She has become strange to them because she is betrothed and special. One of them bursts into tears with nerves.

(The dancing throughout is lyric, non-realistic and highly stylized, but salted with detailed action that is colloquial, human, recognizable. If by any happy chance the dancers are used as minor characters in the other scenes their main characteristics must be maintained in the ballet.)

Another young girl runs in, waves her sunbonnet and calls to the people who are following . . . to a very gay triumphal tune. Perhaps a full development of the Morning Song.

Aunt Ella and the young woman enter—they are carrying the wedding clothes and the gifts. Laurie is stripped to her shift—and then dressed in great starched petticoats, corset, camisole, something blue, something old—all the little ceremonies are observed. The women who are not actually dressing her keep up a lace-like pattern rushing around, talking, busy (strict choreographic form) while the skirts are shaken out, tossed up and rushed to the bride. The actual dressers are intent, busy and efficient in the gentle ceremony.

Laurie is dressed in her new starched dress. The veil is borne in—Suddenly (*a capella*) the men are heard offstage as they come up the hill—

The bride stands waiting in her group of women. No one moves.

The bridegroom and his men enter. They take off their hats—and move into formal positions across the front of the stage—backs to audience—the bride stands center down-stage waiting—the women form an alley to the back of the stage. Laurie appears on Aunt Ella's arm—then advances alone between the women. The groom steps forward and lifts the veil—he kisses her—she stands transfixed—the whole scene freezes with horror—Suddenly she doubles up and tries to run. It is not Curley but Judd whom she has married—No one moves—She runs between them in nightmare terror. Judd does not move either. He waits for her to realize that the unavoidable has happened—She faces him panting—the women sneak away and abandon her—she throws herself for help into the men's arms—they have no faces—they start to leave—

He has her by the wrist in the middle of the stage. She is dropping with dread. He takes out his postcards—(The postcards enter. . . . They are the real thing . . . right off the *Police Gazette*).

They proceed to dance around the stage in a kind of Whores' Parade—This dance will involve all the best Music Hall steps—it will be dirty, lusty, dreary and funny—They dance with the cowboys who go through the proceedings in a kind of somnambulistic state and still faceless—The leading girl of the troupe pulls Laurie to her and pushes her around in the parade, ripping her dress off her shoulders in a business-like way. When the girls have had enough they depart like a company of glutted spiders, turning before they go over the crest of the hill for a last appalling

salute to their partners. The men stand huddled together somewhat dazed —they leave—not altogether triumphantly.

Laurie kneels on the stage, dress torn, exposed, ashamed, exhausted. The sky darkens as with thunderstorm. A woman with skirts and sunbonnet blowing runs terrified across the background as though to escape a tornado. Judd rushes on Laurie—swings her over his head and runs.

(If it is possible to suggest a rape accomplished in midair in the heart of a hurricane, I want that here.)

The action is brutal, violent, melodramatic and reminiscent of all the old woodcuts of the villain doing the heroine in, including the drag across the ground by the hair of her head. That the movement will be also beautiful is my chief concern.

In the moment of extremis, Laurie throws back her hands and finds Curley standing beside her. She is not alone. He is with her as she needs him.

He pulls out his gun and shoots Judd. Judd is not killed. Curley shoots again and again. Judd continues to advance. They struggle and Judd strangles Curley to death.

Laurie crouches by Curley. Judd comes toward her—The stage is dark with a yellow thunder light—Judd comes on. She cringes by the body of her lover, trying to seek protection from his dead useless hands—Judd is still moving—

Quick dimout

The real Laurie is discovered not feeling her freshest.

The reception of the *Oklahoma!* ballets was enthusiastic. The public response, in terms of applause and box office, broke every record. While the producers realized immediately that the ballet was a fine, popular attraction, they totally missed the artistic significance of an admirable accomplishment. For Broadway it was mainly a new success formula. Quite accidentally Miss de Mille had launched a fashion, and thereafter every self-respecting musical producer made it a point of honor and of business to include ballet choreography of some sort in each show. Many, in fact the majority, of these so-called ballets were so inept as to make one regret the old times of neat and precise routines and straightforward, accurate production numbers. But on the whole the ballet boom on Broadway proved a sound and solid and constructive trend as evidenced in *Finian's Rainbow* (dances by Michael Kidd) and *On the Town* and *High-Button Shoes* (dances by Jerome Robbins).

At first glance it seems strange that such profound and far-reaching changes should have been accomplished with so comparatively simple and unassuming a dance work as *Laurie Makes Up Her Mind.* But the whole production of *Oklahoma!* was uniformly distinguished by the absence of star performers and showy features. It relied, instead, on human interest. And Miss de Mille's choreographic direction amounted to a restatement in contemporary terms of the forgotten belief in an organic concept of the theatre.

In the record of contemporary theatrical dancing the ballet *Laurie Makes Up Her Mind* is the first fully successful realization of a ballet as an integral part and element of the play action. A composition like Balanchine's *Slaughter on Tenth Avenue* was an outstanding dance composition in its own right, but it was only loosely connected with the tenuous story. Miss de Mille's dramatic ballet "is so integrated with the production as a whole that it actually carries forward the plot," observes John Martin; and Rosamond Gilder wrote in *Theatre Arts:* "Miss de Mille's dances do not interrupt the action with an arbitrary restatement of a lyric theme in terms of movement, but on the contrary they move the plot forward, enlarging its scope, enriching it with their own special contribution." However, *Oklahoma!* remains unique. No other musical show since has reached such a perfect balance of all the contributing elements and none has achieved such flawless homogeneity. It should be understood that this valuation is relative; by severely discriminating theatrical standards *Oklahoma!* is no more and does not pretend to be more than a handsome and pleasant work as musicals go. Less spectacular than *Oklahoma!* in its immediate consequences, but more important in its implication was Miss de Mille's assignment to stage the whole production of *Allegro.* Unfortunately this work, which promised to be an exciting, progressive venture, turned out to be a rather thin and artificially contrived sequence of conventional episodes, none of them with enough human or dramatic substance to hold serious interest.

Aside from any aesthetic consideration, the gain for the ballet in its conquest of Broadway is very real. Artistically it expands immensely the range of creative possibilities for imaginative choreographers and talented dancers. Economically it affords jobs, working conditions and salaries such as young ballet artists had never dared to hope for. And if the standards of taste leave much to be desired,

the standards of dancing as such are remarkably high. The lament of the balletophiles is entirely unjustified. The legitimate ballet has nothing to fear and much to learn from Broadway. It is true that the ballet companies have occasionally lost some of their brighter stars and many of their less-known starlets to the musical stage. But the sweeping statement that these excursions from the loftier fields into the more popular ones have corrupted their taste and impaired their style and technique is not true. As long as our few organized ballet companies are unable to offer their choreographers and dancers security and fair salaries they have no right to complain of ingratitude or competition; rather they should appreciate that Broadway supports and preserves actual or potential talent which would otherwise be lost. Nothing is more demoralizing than no work at all.

The long-range effects of the popularization of the ballet on public taste and on theatrical dance itself are impossible to predict. So far, very little harm has been done and, if the precedent of fusion of theatrical elements begun in *Oklahoma!* is carried on, much good may be accomplished, both in the commercial theatre and the legitimate ballet.

Chronology

1767 Dec. 7: Opening of the John Street Theatre, New York.

Dec. 14: *Harlequin's Vagaries,* New York, "By command of His Excellency, the Governor, for the entertainment of Ten Indian Warriors that arrived here last Friday from South Carolina."

1781 Theatrical companies forming—drama, pantomime, opera, ballet. Seasons sometimes lasted five or six performances.

1782 M. Roussel's dancing academy in Baltimore opened: "Attendance to assiduity may be relied upon and the greatest regard will be paid to decorum." Roussel danced in the Dennis Ryan Company which listed a *corps de ballet.*

1785 John Durang's début in Philadelphia, Old South Street Theatre, in a *Peasant Dance.* Due to public and government opposition to theatricals, program billed as "lectures." Durang was the first American-born dancer to receive national recognition. He had continual success, since he was a native in a period when hostility to English artists was still much in evidence.

1786 Sept. 25: Anti-theatre law passed in Philadelphia.

1787 Newspaper dispatch complains of "swarms of dancing masters" among other "undesirables" coming from Europe.

1789 March 2: Anti-theatre law repealed in Philadelphia.

1792 Jan. 25: Arrival of M. and Mme Placide in "Dancing Ballot" [sic] *The Bird Catcher.* John Durang was in the ensemble. Troupe arrived Feb. 2, performed next night in Charleston in "feats of activity," tight-rope, tumbling and "A Dancing Ballet, called *The Two Philosophers: or the Merry Girl.* In which Madame Placide will dance a Hornpipe." Company was soon a box-office attraction and invited to Hallam's Playhouse in New York. Presented pantomimes, spectacles, and ballets "in the French taste," besides "feats of activity."

1794 *Tammany: or the Indian Chief,* a patriotic spectacle, with scenery by Charles Ciceri and John Durang in an *Indian Dance.* One of the earliest operas written in America on an American theme. Controversial politically, it favored the Republicans and aroused the Federalists against it. Its run of four performances then a record.

Dec. 29: *La Forêt Noire,* first "serious" ballet in America.

Dec. 29: Début of Mme Gardie in *Sophia of Brabant.* Later joined by John Durang.

1796 Feb. 10: Début of M. Francisquy, John Street Theatre, New York (Mmes Gardie and Val).

1797 Aug. 23: Mr. and Mrs. James Byrne, New Theatre (Greenwich Street), New York, in *Dermot and Kathleen,* "a grand pantomimic ballet," by Byrne. These English dancers began to challenge the French monopoly.

1798 Jan. 29: Opening of the New Theatre on Park Row, New York (later the Park Theatre). Sets by Ciceri, with Mr. and Mrs. Hallam, Mr. and Mrs. Hodgkinson.

America and Eleutheria, "finest of patriotic spectacles of the time."

Discovery of lithographic process by Senefelder in Munich which made possible the souvenir lithograph program.

1803 Débuts (except infant roles) of Charles and Ferdinand Durang in "pigmy pantomime" at nine and seven years respectively.

1808 April 1: *Cinderella,* a "ballet spectacle," Park Theatre, New York. Ran thirteen nights. Three Durang children appeared.

1820 Population of New York, 123,706.

1821 Sept. 1: The New (Park) Theatre reopened, "rebuilt and very splendid."

Sept. 24: Ballet after Negro production of *Richard III* with Mr. Hewlett; Miss S. Welsh as Columbine, Mr. Hewlett as Daphnas, at African Grove (Negro Vauxhall).

1822 Jan. 7: Débuts of Charlotte (18) and Julia (16) Durang, Park Theatre, New York.

March 18: *La Belle Péruvienne,* a "grand ballet of action in three acts," produced by Mme Tatin and Labasse, with Misses Charlotte and Julia Durang, at the Park Theatre, New York.

April 1: *The Siege of Tripoli, or Valor Triumphant,* produced by Tatin and Labasse.

1822-23 Yellow-fever epidemic and severe curtailment of theatrical activity.

1825 May 11: Début of Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Conway, Chatham Theatre, New York, in *pas de deux.* Ballet *Myrtil and Myrtilla* later introduced by Mr. Conway.

Sept. 19: *Lady of the Lake* listing "a Scots *Pas de Deux* by Mr. and Mrs. Conway and a Characteristic Dance by the *Corps de Ballet,* under the direction of Mr. Conway." At the Chatham.

1826 Oct. 23: Opening of the New York Theatre Bowery, popularly known as the Bowery Theatre, with a company including Edwin Forrest, Mrs. Duff, Mr. and Mrs. Barrett and Charlotte Durang. The Bowery was destined to pioneer in the introduction of European dancers to this country. There was great rivalry between it and the Park Theatre.

1827 Feb. 7: Charles Gilfert, manager of the Bowery Theatre, brought to America the first of a long series of French dancers. Much excitement and rumor preceded the appearance of Mme Hutin in *La Bergère Coquette,* but her costume was too brief and "every lady in the lower tier of boxes immediately left the house." For following performance Mme Hutin wore Turkish trousers under her ballet dress, but gradually sentiment changed and dancers were permitted to

wear the traditional costumes. From this time on, French dancing was the rage.

March 1: M. and Mme Achille "from the Opera House, Paris" at the Bowery. M. Achille was the best male dancer yet in America and Madame was "second only to Hutin." They alternated with Mme Hutin, and on March 10 performed the same night.

June 27: Début of Mlle Céleste at the Bowery. On June 29 she danced "the grand *pas de deux* from the Ballet of the Pages of the Duke of Vendôme."

July 7: Début of Mlle Héloise in a gavotte from *Armide.*

July 23: *Merchant of Venice* with Edwin Forrest and Mrs. Duff, followed by a *pas de deux* by Céleste and Héloise. Thereafter, M. and Mme Achille, Mlle Céleste, Mme Hutin and Mlle Héloise danced singly and in combination.

Sept. 3: *The Caliph of Bagdad,* produced by Labasse, to selected music of Rossini, with M. and Mme Achille, M. Durang, Céleste, Héloise and Mme Hutin, at the Bowery. Earliest *dated* American ballet print; earliest datable ballet lithograph a few months later.

1828 June 14: Début of Mlle Rosalie at Park Theatre, with Mme Hutin (-Labasse), the Achilles, Céleste, Constance, and M. Barbière.

July 1: Début of Mlle Louise.

Aug. 30: Début of M. Charles and Mme Ronzi Vestris, "from the Theatre San Carlo, Naples, and the Operas, Paris and London," at the Bowery. M. and Mme Vestris were the best yet to be seen in America. Solos and duets without *corps, pas de deux* a sensation.

1829-30 The Park Theatre was the only one open; the Bowery was closed for most of the season, the Lafayette burned, the Chatham was disorganized. Artists went to Philadelphia where there were, at this time, three theatres. Achille and Whale and Mr. Conway set up schools of the dance.

1829 Oct. 3: Farewell performance of M. and Mme Vestris. M. and Mme Achille with Mme Ronzi Vestris in *Annette and Lubin* at Park.

1830 Début of Paul Hazard, teacher of Lee and Maywood and George Washington Smith, at Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia.

1832 Début of Ravel family (ten members) at the Park: rope dancers, acrobats and pantomime ballet.

1834 Nov. 17: Return to America of Céleste, in drama *The French Spy* and a "grand pantomime ballet" from *La Bayadère* at the Bowery.

1835 Jan. 3: *The Wept of Wish-ton-Wish,* pantomime with *pas seul* from *Robert le Diable* by Céleste.

April 15: First American performance of *La Sylphide,* by Céleste.

1836 Master and Miss Wells (Henri and Harriet), dance interludes at the Park as infants.

Sept.: Début of Mlle Augusta, at the Park, *The Naiades.*

Oct. 3: Introduction of *The Maid of Cashmere, ou le Dieu et la Bayadère* by Céleste, at the National Theatre, with Miss Watson, Morley, Mrs. Conduit as Zalma, Plumer as the Unknown, Mlle Arraline, and "M. and Mme Checkeni of the Kings Theatre, London." Played every night successively through Oct. 25. Scenery was by Bengough.

Nov. 30: Mlle Augusta's production of *La Bayadère* at the Park. Dances arranged by Augusta, an operatic ballet spectacle, given many times during season, very popular. Mlle Augusta threatened Céleste's supreme position and rivalry stimulated attendance at both theatres. Critics considered Augusta the better dancer.

First performance of *Masaniello, or the Dumb Girl of Portici,* Philadelphia, Céleste as Fenella.

1837 March 25: New York *Mirror* comments in Augusta's favor on rival *Bayadères* with Céleste and Mlle Augusta simultaneously at National and Park Theatres.

Nov. 23: Début of Mlle Lecomte as Helena in a selection from *Robert le Diable* at the Park. Rivalry with Mlle Augusta (now at National) in *La Bayadère* on Nov. 28.

Dec. 30: *The Maid of Cashmere (Le Dieu et la Bayadère)*

at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. Débuts of Mary Ann Lee (14) as Fatima and Augusta Maywood—*La Petite Augusta*—(13) as Zelica. Lee and Maywood were the first American dancers to achieve national and international fame respectively in the classical ballet.

Mlle Céleste in Philadelphia.

1838 March 17: *La Sylphide,* with Maywood in title role and Lee as Flora, Philadelphia.

April 19: *The Dew Drop, or La Sylphide* with La Petite Augusta (Maywood) in her New York début—a sensation.

Lee with Lecomte in *The Maid of Cashmere,* Philadelphia.

Mlle Augusta in *The Maid of Cashmere,* Philadelphia.

Début of George Washington Smith, Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. Smith danced with almost every ballerina of any importance who came to this country and, in a time of indifference to male dancers, got equal billing on programs and wide acclaim.

Augusta Maywood goes to Europe to Paris Opera, first American to be admitted. Never returned to this country.

1839 Début of M. and Mme Taglioni (brother and sister-in-law to the famous Marie Taglioni of the Paris Opera) in *La Sylphide* at the Park. These were the most finished dancers yet to be seen in America; they found the lack of trained supporting corps a great disadvantage.

June: The Taglionis at Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia.

June 12: Mary Ann Lee's New York début in "a piece from *La Bayadère*" at the Bowery.

June 27: Mary Ann Lee and Julia Turnbull in *The Sisters,* billed at the Bowery with John Gilbert in *Dick Turpin, the Highwayman,* an equestrian drama.

Aug. and Sept.: The Taglionis at the Park, Sept. 12 in *Nathalaie, or la Laitière Suisse* with the opera *Fidelio.* Farewell performance Sept. 24.

Oct. 2: Departure of Taglionis.

Oct. and Nov: Jean and Marius Petipa arrived with Lecomte on her return from Europe. Oct. 29: *La Tarantule;* Nov. 4: *Jocko, the Brazilian Ape* at National. Lost money, went with Lecomte and company to the Bowery Theatre, again met financial failure and returned to France in November.

Nov. 11: Augusta Maywood's début at the Paris Opera.

Master and Miss Wells danced at the New Chatham Theatre, New York.

1839 Dec. 16: Return of Céleste to New York stage. Now considered less of a dancer than an "exceedingly graceful representative of dumb boys and dumb girls in melodrama."

1840 May 14: Début of Fanny Elssler at the Park Theatre in New York in *La Cracovienne* and *La Tarantule.* This was one of the very greatest sensations in the history of the American stage. Elssler's dancing was the rage for two years. Paid $500 a performance, she netted approximately $100,000. James Sylvain, her partner, was not received well and left the country in 1841. Billed for *La Tarantule* were: Lauretta-Elssler; Luigi-Sylvain; Clorinda-Miss Kerr; Mathea-Mme Arraline; Dr. Omeopatha-Mr. Fisher.

May 14: Céleste danced *La Cachucha* at the Chatham the same night as Fanny Elssler's début.

June: Lee danced *La Cachucha* at Vauxhall the same night that Fanny Elssler danced it at the Park.

June 8: Fanny Elssler in *La Sylphide* and a new Spanish dance, *El Jaleo de Jeres.* Mme Lecomte at Chatham danced *La Sylphide* "just as if Fanny Elssler had not been here."

June 11: Elssler left New York. Some dramas and La Petite Céleste in *La Bayadère* and *La Cachucha* to an indifferent public.

Aug. 12: Fanny Elssler returned to New York in *La Sylphide* and *La Cachucha.* "The mere mortals of the company were exhibited in *The Married Rake.*"

Aug. 20: Elssler in *Nathalie* with Sylvain and Julia Turnbull.

1841 Fanny Elssler's tour south and to Havana with James Sylvain, the Vallee sisters, and Mlle Desjardins. To New York Dec. 8.

1842 Jan. to May: Elssler's second tour to Havana, with M. and Mme Jules Martin, and George Washington Smith.

June 8: Fanny Elssler at Park Theatre in *La Somnambule* with M. and Mme Martin, and Mlle Desjardins.

July 1: Elssler's last performance in America, in a benefit for the Theatrical Fund: *La Fille mal Gardée, La Gipsey, The Fairy and the Prince.*

July 16: Elssler sailed back to Europe.

Sept.: M. and Mme Lecomte, Mary Ann Lee, and Mrs. Goad at Chatham Theatre in *La Bayère.*

Dec. 13: *Mazulme,* Walnut Theatre, Philadelphia. Produced by Ravels, it ran twenty-three nights. G. W. Smith danced.

1843 March: Julia Turnbull at the Park Theatre, New York, in *La Cracovienne.*

Sept.: First American performances of *Robert le Diable* in New York, Lee supporting Lecomte.

Sept. 15: Auber's *Muette de Portici* at the Bowery, New York, with Lee as Julietta.

Dec.: M. and Mme Checkini at Barnum's, *Harlequin Santa Claus,* with some "Snow White Negroes from Brazil."

1844 Jan.: *The Three Lovers* "performed by twenty-five children, under six years of age—the most amusing novelty ever seen."

July 8: *The Revolt of the Harem*: Mr. Wells—Mohamet, King of Granada; M. Martin—Ishmael; Herr Korponay—Myssouf, Chief of the Eunuchs; Master Wood—Zeir, the King's Page; Mlle Pauline Desjardins—Zulma; Miss Vallee—Mina; Miss H. Vallee—Lolah; Mary Taylor—Zorah. Scenery, "very splendid," by Bengough and Duke White.

July 24: *La Somnambule* (Act I) with MM. Korponay, Martin, Wells, Joseph, and Mlle Desjardins, Miss Taylor, Mrs. Hardwick, and Miss Vallee.

Nov.: Mary Ann Lee to Paris, School of the Paris Opera, to study under Jean Coralli.

1845 Nov. 24: Mary Ann Lee's second début, Arch Street Theatre, Philadelphia, *La Jolie Fille de Gand,* G. W. Smith in cast. Repertory of things learned in Paris.

April 6: *La Fille du Danube,* presented by Mary Ann Lee as *Fleurs des Champs* at the Park Theatre, New York, with George Washington Smith as Rudolph.

1846 Jan. 1: First American production of *Giselle,* by Mary Ann Lee, with G. W. Smith as Albrecht, at the Howard Atheneum in Boston.

Feb. 2: Début of Mme Augusta in her production of *Giselle* at the Park Theatre, New York.

July 7: Début of Mlle Blangy at Niblo's Garden, danced and mimed in *The Vengeance of Diana* as Calisto. Placide and the Ravels also at Niblo's.

July 20: Mlle Blangy in *La Sylphide;* Sept. in *Giselle.*

July and Aug.: The Lehman Troupe (five sisters and Schmidt Lehman), and the Ravels in a "farewell performance" at Palmo's Opera House.

Sept.: Barnum's American Museum presented the "Shaking Quakers, three beautiful ladies, and three gentlemen from the society . . . at Canterbury, N.H.," who will "sing, dance, whirl and shake in a unique quaker costume." In October these were billed with two "ourang-outangs," two monstrous snakes, and an "Anatomical Venus."

Nov.: Mme Augusta, Mlle Blangy, M. Hazard, M. Bouxary, M. Frederic and Mlle Dumier at Palmo's Opera House.

Dec. 7: Début of Les Viennoises, 48 children drilled by Mme. Josephine Weiss. Opening night: "Pas de Fleurs" (with 42), "Pas Oriental" (with all), and "Pas Hongrois" (with 24). An enormous success.

1847 Jan. 23: Début of Signora Ciocca and her partner, Morra, Philadelphia, in *Diana and Endymion.* Feb. 1 in New York.

Feb. 16: Mme Augusta returned to New York in *Giselle;* 18th, *Nathalie;* 19th, *Urielle, ou le Diable Amoureux.*

March: Viennese children at the Park Theatre, the 1st through 20th, regular players "relegated to farce and afterpiece." Ciocca and Morra at New York Opera House (former Greenwich Theatre) which had opened on Feb. 8.

The Naiad Queen, Bowery Theatre, New York, Julia Turnbull's first success.

May: Mlle Blangy at the Park.

June 18: Lee's farewell performance (Smith also dancing) in "Pas Espagnol." (Lee, although she had retired because of ill health, danced a few times after this.)

Autumn: Smith at Bowery Theatre as *premier danseur* and ballet master, supervised Turnbull productions.

Oct. 21: Monplaisir troupe at the Broadway Theatre in a "grand asiatic ballet in two acts and five tableaux," *L'Aimée, or an Oriental Vision,* with Céleste. During 1847 and 1848 this troupe toured America.

Dec.: Turnbull and Smith at the Bowery, *The Naiad Queen, Giselle, Nathalie.*

1848 April: Smith and Turnbull again at Bowery.

Sept.: Reopening of the Park Theatre, "The entire interior was a marvel of richness, elegance and beauty." Adele and Hippolyte Monplaisir, Giovanna Ciocca, Gaetano Neri, George Washington Smith, Miss St. Clair, etc., participating.

Aug.: Bowery Theatre, New York, engagement of Signora Ciocca, rivalry with Julia Turnbull, Smith refuses to dance a Polka with Turnbull, riot. Smith's first major original work, *The Magic Flute,* first performance here.

Augusta Maywood engaged for Domenico Ronzani's famous Carnival at La Scala—tremendous reception, career afterward devoted to Italian theatre.

New York Directory lists eight dancing masters, eleven teachers of piano, two of singing, three of painting and drawing.

1850 Début of Leon Espinosa with Ravel troupe. Captured by Indians while on tour.

Dec. 16: Ballet troupe at Broadway Theatre with Célestine and Victorine Franck, "from the Grand Opera, Paris," Mr. Leon Espinosa, "from the Porte St. Martin," Mlle Espinosa, M. Gredelue, Adeline and Signor Neri. *Le Diable à Quatre.*

1851 Début of Lola Montez, New York, choreography by Smith. Montez a failure, applause for Smith and *corps.*

Feb. 3: Début of five Roussets in *Catarina, ou la Reine des Bandits.* Caroline Rousset (best of five) in title role, Adelaide

Rousset in male roles *en travestie,* Theresine, Clementine and Jean.

1855 Nov.: Eight male and eight female dancers from Madrid, directed by José Maria Lorente.

1856 Leon Espinosa and Mme Monplaisir in *Esmeralda,* New York.

1857 Sept. 15: Début of Domenico Ronzani troupe for opening of Philadelphia Academy of Music, with Cesare, Pia, Enrico Cecchetti (7 years old), six Pratesis, *primo* Filippo Baratti, *prima* Louise Lamoureux (American), in Perrot's version of *Faust.* Mechanical difficulties, troupe never successful.

Sept.: Beginning of financial panic in country, banks closing in New York and Boston, waning popularity of ballet.

Oct. 5: Ronzani troupe in New York at the Bowery with a ballet force of 80 *coryphées* and *figurantes* and nearly 100 males. *Faust* until Oct. 14, then *Il Biricchini di Parigi (Le Gamin de Paris).*

1858 Spring: Annetta Galletti with return of Ronzani from Europe. G. W. Smith joins Ronzani troupe.

May 4: *La Giselle* at the Stadt Theatre, with Célestine Franck, G. W. Smith, Lewens, Czollösy, Jünger, Frau Schadt and Frau Hübner.

May 24: Début of Annetta Galletti with Ronzani troupe at Burton's Theatre—well liked, though troupe unsuccessful.

1861 Fort Sumter. Little interest in the dance.

May 12: Advertisement by the "Gaieties" (616 Broadway) in New York *Herald:* "HANDSOME BALLET GIRLS, PRETTY WAITER GIRLS [30 times repeated] looking glasses . . . The proprietor is well aware that visiters [sic] go to Concert Rooms to be amused and to have a social chat, with a PRETTY GIRL [20 times repeated] and at the same time be gratified by seeing one of the BEST PERFORMANCES in the city."

Sept.: Annetta Galletti and Velarde and others from the Ronzani troupe at Melodeon Beer Hall, New York.

1862 Law passed in New York against "waiter-girl resorts," and against liquor being sold by the girls. Most complied. Police

enforced. The Gaieties opened "with only theatrical performances."

1863 June 1: *The Duke's Motto* (Lagardère) with ballet directed by Ronzani. Ran at least to Aug. 25.

July: Draft riots.

1866 March: Czollösy ballets at Tony Pastor's Opera House in the Bowery: *Bower of Beauty, The Belle of the Village, Sicilian Vespers,* etc.

Sept. 12: The epochal production of *The Black Crook* at Niblo's Garden, New York. Libretto by Charles M. Barras, choreography by David Costa; Maria Bonfanti, Rita Sangalli, the Rigl sisters, Rose Delval, other *premières* and soloists, twenty *coryphées* and "fifty auxiliary ladies from the principal cities of London and America." Ran 475 nights. Curtain down at "1¼ A.M." to thunderous applause. Its costs before opening night were estimated by the New York *Times* for Sept. 3 as $25,400 for machinery, properties, costumes, advance salaries, etc. Ladies wore veils on opening night because it was rumored dancers would be scantily dressed. "Legs," said one of the backers, "are a permanently salable commodity." It was produced in New York in 1869, 1871, 1873, 1879, 1881, 1884, 1889, 1903, was on the road almost continuously until 1909 and was followed by burlesque and imitations.

1867 May 27: *The Black Crook* much refurbished. Some new sets by Richard Marston, "formerly of the Drury Lane Theatre," a new ballroom scene, "the most elaborate and beautiful ever presented to an American audience," some new dancers and two new ballets: *The Bouquet* and *The Water Lily.*

June: The Zuccoli sisters, "late of *The Black Crook*" at Butler's American Theatre in *The Sylph, Les Aimées.* Joined in August by the Zanfretta troupe.

Sept.: Some new ballets, new costumes, a new illuminated ballroom, a grand carnival and masquerade for *The Black Crook.*

Oct.: Rita Sangalli and the Rigl sisters have left *The Black Crook.* 150 children were introduced in *La Garde Impériale,* "cavalry, chasseurs, sapeurs, zouaves, drum corps, etc., going through military tactics and evolutions."

Oct. 3: *The Devil's Auction,* rival of the *Crook,* at Bauvard's Opera House and Museum (Broadway at 30th Street), with the De Pol troupe in their American début, Mlle Guiseppina Morlacchi (Oct. 23), Elisa Blasina, Mlle Diani, Augusta Sohlke.

Dec.: De Pol troupe to Academy of Music, Mlle Morlacchi the favorite. *The Magic Fairy Mountain,* and a revival of *La Bayadère.*

1868 Jan. 4: 475th and last performance of *The Black Crook* at Niblo's.

Jan. 17: Opening of *The White Fawn* at Niblo's, not as successful as its forerunner.

Jan. 20-25: *The Water Spirit,* spectacularly staged, with Annetta Galletti, Viro Ferrand, Laura Vincent, Julia Melville and a full *corps de ballet* in Brooklyn.

March 10: *Humpty Dumpty* opened at the Olympic Theatre, wtih Rita Sangalli and Betty Rigl. Joined later by Mlle Leah from Niblo's and in April by La Petite Ravel. This spectacle ran 483 performances.

July 11: Howard Glover, musical director for *The White Fawn,* took a benefit; the ballet danced Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony, including a scene by a rivulet by Mlle Sohlke and M. Van Humme.

Oct. 5: *The Crimson Shield, or the Nymphs of the Rainbow* opened at the Bowery. "This piece is little else than the *Black Crook* with additions," said the *Times.* Ran four weeks.

1869 Jan. 4: Opening of Tammany auditorium with Marie Bonfanti dancing *ballets d'action.*

May 18: *Hiccory Diccory Dock* succeeded *Humpty Dumpty,* which closed May 17. Dances by Costa, with Mlle Sangalli. The Kiralfy troupe—Imre, Bolossy, Haniola (principal), and Emelie and Katie (seconds)—Hungarian dancers, appeared on May 31 and were an immediate success. Scenery was by James E. Hayes. This ran until Sept. 4.

1870 Jan. 3: Début of the Clodoche troupe at the Theatre Comique in *The Silver Knights.* Later, *The Sylphide Queen,* and *Jocrisse, or Harlequin and the Genius of Plenty,* etc.

Feb. 7: *The Twelve Temptations* at the Grand Opera House, "a most showy, spectacular union of story, ballet, scenery, costumes, mechanics, etc." Dances by Costa. The "Graces," the "Muses," and the "Senses" danced by "several mlles." The scenery by Marston, Dufloq and Dayton. It ran until July 9.

May 23: Imre Kiralfy's production of *The Bridal of Beauty.*

Oct. 3: Opening of the Globe Theatre (728 Broadway) with Costa as ballet master, Lisa Weber, Betty Rigl, Mlle de Vere dancing.

1871 Aug. 31: Revival of *Humpty Dumpty* with the Kiralfys in "wondrous ballets." Ran until June 11, 1872.

Sept. 11: Opening of the Union Square Theatre with a burlesque of *Ulysses, or the return of S. Q.* and a ballet, *The Home of the Butterflies,* with Marie Bonfanti, Mlle Bertha and *coryphées.*

1872 March 18: *Lalla Rookh* at the Grand Opera House with Mlle de Rosa, Mlles Albertina and L. Mazzeri.

Nov. 30: A spectacular ballet extravaganza, *Leo and Lotos* at Niblo's with Kathi Lanner.

1873 Feb. 24: *Uriella und Satanas* at the Stadt Theatre, *"grosses phantastiches Volkstuck mit Gesang, Ballet, Evolutionen, und Tableaux,"* with Rachel and Mariella de Francesco "from the Porte St. Martin, Paris," and Signor Novissimo "from the Academy of Music, New York." Ran to March 15.

April 28: *Azrael, or the Magic Charm,* a spectacle at Niblo's, Kathi Lanner and Mlle Pitteri dancing.

Aug. 19: *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* with a ballet of fifty children directed by Kathi Lanner.

Aug. 18-Dec. 6: Imre Kiralfy mounted dances for a revival of *The Black Crook.*

1875 Aug. 28: Kiralfy brothers' production of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* at the Academy of Music, Manhattan. This ran to mid-October and was often revived—in 1878 with Marie Bonfanti.

Oct. 17: Parisian Varieties at 16th Street and Broadway advertised in the N. Y. *Herald* as *"Guilt-Edged Pleasures,* a satire on

Free Love . . . voluptuous without coarseness, fascinating but fastidious, spicy without vulgarity, gorgeous ballets, naughty but so nice, funny but artistic, Parisian but proper, piquant but moral, charming but not loud." "Such advertising with resultant performances in the hall kept the Parisian Varieties afloat when decent shows were forced by lack of patronage to shut down."

1876 Aug. 4: A production at Booth's Playhouse of Byron's tragedy, *Sardanapalus,* with much ballet and spectacle, on which the N. Y. *Herald* of Aug. 15 sarcastically commented: "The play was hacked to pieces. . . . What we had from beginning to end was spectacle and ballet. . . . There was one fine tragic burst when standing on his toes he [Signor Mascagno] pirouetted across the stage and jumped at least four feet into the air, which drew forth thunders of applause from the admirers of Byron's immortal genius. . . ."

Sept. 18: At Niblo's Garden *Ali Baba,* a spectacular extravaganza, with Mlles Elizabeta and Helene Menzeli and a *corps* of fifty led by M. Blandowski. Scenes were: the Grotto of Emeralds, the Magic Ship, a Crumbling Palace, a Field of Mushrooms, etc. This ran uninterruptedly until Dec. 9.

Dec. 25: Niblo's Garden reopened with the Kiralfy brothers as sole managers, with a new spectacle, *Azurine* and on Jan. 22, a revival of *Around the World in 80 Days.*

1877 March 14: At Booth's Theatre, the Kiralfy brothers staged Jules Verne's *A Trip to the Moon,* with a chorus of 100, Offenbach's music and a ballet with Mlles de Rosa, Palladino, Mauri, Mascarina and Marie Gaugain. "This thing closed the house in ten days."

1878 Oct. 21: *The Deluge,* staged at Niblo's by the Kiralfy brothers, with Mlle de Rosa.

1879 Sept. 24: *Enchantment,* a new Kiralfy brothers' spectacle, opened at Niblo's.

1880 Influence of Froebel's theories of creative play on teaching movement to children. Increasing "respectability" of the dance beginning in the schools.

1881 George Washington Smith opened a studio for the dance in Philadelphia.

March 26: With the play *One o'Clock, or the Knight and the Wood Demon* at Aberle's Theatre on 8th Street, Novissimo and Florence Barrett danced *Slave and Wood Nymphs,* and an item entitled *North American Indians.*

Sept. 3: The Kiralfy brothers' version of *Michael Strogoff.* Other versions at the Booth, Aberle's and Niblo's. Much heralded but not successful. The N. Y. *Herald* of Sept. 4 commented: "The piece moved along so slowly at times as to be intolerably tedious, but the dresses, the scenery and the ballets . . . were . . . rich and beautiful." Closed mid-September. Later revived.

1883 Aug. 21: The Kiralfys' spectacle *Excelsior* at Niblo's, produced by Luigi Menzotti at the announced cost of $75,000, with "gorgeous scenery and dancing." It ran until December 15, glorifying the triumph of electric light over darkness.

1884 Aug. 18: At the Star Theatre, the Kiralfys' production of *Sieba and the Seven Ravens.* A production of the same by Heinrich Conreid was running simultaneously at Niblo's. The Kiralfy version closed first, on October 18, and the one at Niblo's on November 8. "A combination of drama, pantomime, opera and ballet."

1885 Dodsworth's *Dancing* published in New York.

1887 Jan. 9: Imre Kiralfy's production of Jerome Ravel's *Mazulm, or the Night Owl,* with Clara Qualitz and Arnold Kiralfy dancing. Ran to March 10.

Aug. 17: At Niblo's, *Lagardère* (founded on the melodrama *The Duke's Motto*), staged by the Kiralfy brothers, with Maurice Barrymore and dancers Clara Qualitz and Arnold Kiralfy.

Dec. 5: Mlle Bonfanti still dancing—in *Arabian Nights, or Aladdin's Wonderful Lamp*—with the Imperial Burlesque Company.

1888 June 25: The Kiralfys' spectacle *Nero, or the Fall of Rome* in Staten Island. 2,300 persons were asserted to have been in the cast. Scenes were: Interior of the Palace (300 feet long by 80 feet deep), the Coliseum and, finally, the Burning of Rome.

Aug. 18: Bolossy Kiralfy's production of *Mathias Sandorf*, "one of those spectacular nerve-thrillers that either Kiralfy could stage so well. As might be expected, the ballet took precedence of dramatic values." This ran through October 13 at Niblo's.

1889 Aug. 17: Bolossy Kiralfy's spectacular ballet extravaganza *Antiope,* with Mlle Paris and Carmencita. (At first the latter won no exceptional response but later was a sensation.)

1890 Opening of Madison Square Gardens with Leon Espinosa as ballet master. Ballets were *Peace and War* and *Choosing the National Flower;* both later deleted.

1893 Opening of Mme Menzeli's Knickerbocker Conservatory for dance in New York.

1896 New York Directory lists sixty-three teachers of dancing, eighteen of elocution, seven of fencing, fifteen of the zither and nine of painting and drawing.

1899 Death of George Washington Smith.

1908 Jan. 20: First American visit of Adeline Genée in Ziegfeld production *The Soul Kiss* at The New York Theatre.

1909 Opening of ballet school at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. First director and teacher, Mme Malvina Cavalazzi.

1910 Spring season of Anna Pavlova and Mikhail Mordkin at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York. Their first appearance in America.

1910 Victorina Galamberti, from the Manhattan Opera House and Giovanni Molassi, present program of "Danses Classiques Russes," announcing "for the first time on any English-speaking continent."

1910-1911 The Imperial Russian Ballet and Orchestra, Theodore Stier, Conductor, "Supporting the Incomparable Mlle Anna Pavlova, *Prima Ballerina Assoluta,* Imperial Opera House, St. Petersburg, and M. Mikhail Mordkin, *Premier Danseur Classique,* Imperial Opera House, Moscow." Season in New York and tour.

1911 La Saison Russe, Gertrude Hoffmann Company at the Winter Garden in New York. Director and Choreographer: Theodore Kosloff. Repertory: *Les Sylphides, Cleopatra, Scheherazade,* restaged without credit to Fokine and Bakst. Company included Lydia Lopokova, Maria Baldina, Theodore and Alexis Kosloff, Alexis Bulgakov, Alexandre Volinine.

Adeline Genée, Alexandre Volinine and Company at the Metropolitan Opera House, presenting: *La Danse* "an authentic record by Mlle Genée of Dancing and Dancers between the years 1710 and 1845," in two parts.

1912 Mikhail Mordkin, Bronislava Pajitzkaya, Lydia Lopokova in Ballet Divertissements, choreographed by Mordkin, sandwiched between the musicals, *Vera Violetta* and *Undine,* with Annette Kellermann at the Winter Garden.

1912-1913 All-star Imperial Russian Ballet, Mikhail Mordkin, Choreographic Director. Company included: Ekaterina Geltzer, Julia Sedowa, Lydia Lopokova, Alexandre Volinine, Bronislava Pajitzkaya. Program of Divertissements and "ocular operas."

1913 Gertrude Hoffmann, Mme Polaire, Lady Constance Steward-Richardson, "First International Tour."

1915-1916 Serge de Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, first American tour, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Opera Company. Fokine, Nijinsky, Karsavina are absent.

1916 Anna Pavlova, with Alexandre Volinine and Company, in Charles Dillingham's Hippodrome, "The National Amusement Institution of America," presented in a program with "The Big Show, The Mammoth Minstrels and the Ice Ballet, *The Merry Doll.*"

1916-1917 Serge de Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, second American tour, under the auspices of the Metropolitan Opera Company. First performance of Nijinsky's *Til Eulenspiegel.*

1917 Adolph Bolm organizes the Ballet Intime, with twelve dancers, including Roshanara, Ratan Devi and Michio Ito.

1918 *Le Coq d'Or* at the Metropolitan Opera House, choreography by Adolph Bolm, with Rosina Galli.

1919 Michel Fokine opens ballet school in New York.

Petrouchka at the Metropolitan Opera House, choreography by Adolph Bolm with Rosina Galli.

1919 Nov. 24: Michel Fokine stages the dances for *Aphrodite,* a Morris Gest Musical at the New York Century Theatre.

1920 First performance of *Skyscrapers,* "a ballet of modern American life in six scenes," music by John Alden Carpenter, décor and costumes by Robert Edmond Jones, Chicago Opera Company.

1920-1921 The Pavley-Oukrainsky Ballet, "first American ballet and official ballet of Chicago Civic Opera," directed by Andreas Pavley and Serge Oukrainsky.

1921 Sept. 3: Michel Fokine stages *Thunderbird* for the Hippodrome revue *Get Together.* Fokine himself and Vera Fokina in principal roles.

1922 New York, *Krazy Kat,* A Jazz-Pantomime, music by John Alden Carpenter, settings and costumes by George Herriman, choreography by Adolph Bolm, based on Herriman's cartoons, with George Barrère's Little Symphony.

1922 Oct. 15: First performance of the Fokine Ballet composed of advanced students.

1923 Michel Fokine composes two ballets for the Ziegfeld Follies, *Frolicking Gods* and *Farljandio.*

1924 Michel Fokine organizes the American Ballet with Vera Fokina and students from his school. First performance at the Metropolitan Opera House, February 26.

1924-1925 Last American tour of Anna Pavlova Company.

1924-1927 Organization of the Chicago Allied Arts, the first "ballet theatre" in the United States, directed by Adolph Bolm, Eric DeLamarter, Nicholas Remisoff, with John Alden Carpenter and Frederick Stock. Adolph Bolm, ballet master, Ruth Page, *première danseuse.* Thamar Karsavina as guest.

1925-1926 Mikhail Mordkin and his Russian Ballet Company, included Vera Nemtchinova, Hilda Butsova, Pierre Vladimiroff and *corps de ballet.* Repertory included, *Carnival, Azyade, The Bow and Arrow Dance, Italian Beggar Dance, Trepak.*

1926-1927 Mikhail Mordkin and his Russian Ballet Company, included Xenia Makletzova, Vera Nemtchinova, Hilda Butsova, Pierre Vladimiroff. *Swan Lake* added to repertory.

1928 Leonide Massine starts a three-year contract with the Roxy Theatre in New York, as choreographer and *premier danseur*. Four performances daily, weekly change of program. Patricia Bowman *prima ballerina* for two years.

1929 Anton Dolin dances in Lew Leslie's *International Revue* with Gertrude Lawrence and Argentinita.

1930 *Le Sacre du Printemps,* staged by Leonide Massine for the League of Composers, with the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra, Leopold Stokowsky as conductor, Martha Graham in principal role, The Chosen One. April 11, 12, 14 in Philadelphia, April 22, 23 at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

1931 Jan. 23: Death of Anna Pavlova (born 1882).

Feb. 27: Leonide Massine, Concert début at the Arts Club in Chicago.

1933 Dec. 21: First American performance of the Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo at the St. James Theatre in New York.

1933-1934 Jooss Ballet, first American season. Repertory: *Impressions of a Big City, Pavane on the Death of an Infanta, A Ball in Old Vienna, The Green Table, The Seven Heroes.*

1934 Jan. 2: Opening of the School of American Ballet.

1934 Dec. 6, 7, 8: The Producing Company of the School of American Ballet presents Balanchine's *Mozartiana, Serenade, Alma Mater, Transcendence* at the Avery Memorial Theatre in Hartford, Conn.

1934-1937 Ruth Page appointed Ballet Director and *première danseuse* of the revived Chicago Grand Opera Company.

1935 Mar. 1-15: First New York season of the American Ballet at the Adelphi Theatre in New York.

Nov.: The American Ballet Company is engaged as ballet company for the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

1936 The Hollywood Ballet, organized by Marcel Silver and Aida Barona, on tour in 1936.

May-July: Organization of The Ballet Caravan.

Organization of Catherine Littlefield's Philadelphia Ballet Company.

1937 Apr.: The Mordkin Ballet opens at the Majestic Theatre in New York, with *Giselle* and *The Goldfish.*

Apr.: Strawinsky Festival at the Metropolitan Opera House, with *Jeu de Cartes, Apollon Musagète, Le Baiser de la Fée.*

Willam Christensen appointed ballet master of the San Francisco Opera Company, former members of his company included.

Catherine Littlefield's Ballet appears at the Théâtre des Champs Elysées in Paris.

1937-1938 Dance International 1900-1937 in New York, including performances by the Philadelphia Ballet, Patricia Bowman, Paul Haakon.

1938 Split between de Basil and Massine. Incorporation of Universal Art. Massine appointed Director of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.

Organization of the (Ruth) Page-(Bentley) Stone Ballet Company in Chicago with more than thirty dancers.

Sept. 17: Theodore Kosloff Ballet at the Hollywood Bowl. Program: *Scheherazade, Spectre de la Rose, Chopin Memories, Shingandi.*

1938-1939 Second and last season of the Mordkin Ballet.

1939 Jan.: Ballet Carnival, organized by dancers from the motion-picture studios, backed by Franz Tuttle and David Robel with Nana Gollner as *prima ballerina.* Appeared for tentative season at the Wilshire-Ebell Theatre in Los Angeles.

1940 Jan. 11: Opening of Ballet Theatre at the Center Theatre in Rockefeller Center, New York City.

Michel Fokine, choreographer with Ballet Theatre, revives *Les Sylphides.*

1940-1941 Last (sixth) American tour of de Basil's Original Ballet Russe before the war.

1942 Sergei J. Denham becomes Director of the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo.

Leonide Massine works as choreographer for Ballet Theatre.

Aug. 22: Death of Michel Fokine in New York (born April 26, 1880).

Oct. 16: First performance of Agnes de Mille's *Rodeo,* by the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

Organization of The Dance Players, Eugene Loring as director and choreographer.

1943 Mar. 31: *Première* of *Oklahoma,* Theatre Guild Musical, by Oscar Hammerstein II and Richard Rodgers with choreography by Agnes de Mille.

The American Concert Ballet, organized by William Dollar, Todd Bolender, Lilian Lanese, Mary Jane Shea.

1944 July 15: Death of Mikhail Mordkin (born 1881, in Moscow). Vincent Youman's Ballet Revue, with ballets by Leonide Massine and Eugene van Grona. The company did not reach New York.

Jan. 3: First American tour of Mia Slavenska Company. Company included David Tihmar, Norma Vaslavina, Audrey Keane, Joseph A. Harris.

Oct. 30: Opening of the Ballet International at the International Theatre in New York.

1944-1945 The Foxhole Ballet, formed to tour in Europe for U.S.O., toured the United States 1945-1947.

1945 Lucia Chase and Oliver Smith appointed co-directors of Ballet Theatre.

Ballet Russe Highlights, organized by Leonide Massine, with Irina Baronova, André Eglevsky, Yurek Lazowsky, Anna Istomina, Kathryn Lee.

1945-1946 Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Company, including Ana Ricarda, Rex Cooper, Albia Kavan, Jack Gansert.

1946 Ballet Russe Highlights, organized by Leonide Massine. Company included Igor Youskevitch, Rosella Hightower, Yurek Lazowsky, Anna Istomina, Bettina Rosay, Jean Guelis.

Ballet for America, with Nana Gollner, Yurek Shabelevski, Kathryn Lee, Yurek Lazowsky, Tatiana Grantzeva, Paul Petroff, Bettina Rosay.

Nov. 20: First performance of Ballet Society at Central High School of Needle Trades, New York.

1947-1948 Alicia Markova and Anton Dolin Company, including Bettina Rosay, Oleg Tupine, Roszika Sabo.

1948 Alicia Markova, Anton Dolin and Mia Slavenska join the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo as guest artists for the fall season at the Metropolitan Opera House.

Ballet Theatre suspends activity for the 1948-1949 season. Alicia Alonso organizes the "Ballet Alicia Alonso" in Havana, Cuba, with former members of Ballet Theatre, including Igor Youskevitch, Barbara Fallis, Cynthia Riseley, Melissa Hayden and Pauline Lloyd. Fernando Alonso is general director, Alberto Alonso artistic director, Max Gobermann musical director.

Ballet Society established as New York City Ballet Company, presenting two nights of ballet weekly, also furnishing the incidental dances for the New York City Opera Company at the City Center.

CHICAGO OPERA BALLET

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	El amor Brujo		Manuel de Falla	Adolph Bolm	Rollo Peters	Rollo Peters	Chicago, Ill., 1925
2	Bal de Marionettes		Erik Satie	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1925
3	Christmas Carol		Vaughn Williams	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1925
4	Elopement		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1924
5	La Farce Du Pont Neuf	Adolph Bolm	Jeanne Clement Herscher	Adolph Bolm	Jean Valmier	Jean Valmier	Chicago, Ill., 1926
6	Le Foyer de la Danse	Adolph Bolm	Emmanuel Chabrier	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1924
7	Little Circus		Jacques Offenbach	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1925
8	Mandragora		Karol Szymanowsky	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1925
9	Parnassus Au Montmartre		Erik Satie	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1926
10	Pierrot Lunaire	A. Giraud	Arnold Schoenberg	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1926
11	The Rivals	Chinese legend	Henry Eichheim	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1925
12	Tragedy of the 'Cello		Alexandre Tansman	Adolph Bolm	Nicolai Remisoff	Nicolai Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1927

CATHERINE LITTLEFIELD BALLET

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	AUBADE		Francis Poulenc	Alexis Dolinoff	R. Deshays	J. Pascal	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
2	BARN DANCE	Catherine Littlefield	Folk Tunes	Cathe ine Littlefield	Angelo Pinto	Salvatore Pinto	Philadelphia, Pa., 1937
3	BOLERO		Maurice Ravel	Catherine Littlefield	Lee Gainsborough	Lee Gainsborough	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
4	CAFE SOCIETY	Catherine Littlefield	Ferde Grofe	Catherine Littlefield	Carl Shaffer	Carl Shaffer	Chicago, Ill., 1938
5	CLASSICAL SUITE		Johann Sebastian Bach	Catherine Littlefield	R. Deshays	P. T. Champs	Princeton, N. J., 1937
6	DAPHNIS AND CHLOË	Catherine Littlefield	Maurice Ravel	Catherine Littlefield	A. Jarin	J. Pascal	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
7	THE FAIRY DOLL		Josef Bayer	Catherine Littlefield	A. Jarin	P. T. Champs	Philadelphia, Pa., 1935
8	FANTASIA		Johann Strauss	Jack Potteiger	Mary Fales	Mary Fales	Chicago, Ill., 1938
9	FÊTE CHAMPÊTRE		Lully, Grétry, Rameau	C. Littlefield, Edward Caton	A. Jarin	J. Pascal	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
10	HOME LIFE OF THE GODS	Catherine Littlefield	Eric Satie	Catherine Littlefield	Lazar Galpern	Lazar Galpern	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
11	H. P.	Catherine Littlefield	Carlos Chavez	Catherine Littlefield	Diego Rivera	Diego Rivera	Philadelphia, Pa., 1932

12	Ladies' Better Dresses	Catherine Littlefield	Herbert Kingsley	Catherine Littlefield	R. Starke	Joy Michael	Chicago, Ill., 1938
13	Let the Righteous be Glad	Catherine Littlefield	J. Donath	Catherine Littlefield	Angelo Pinto	Salvatore Pinto	Philadelphia, Pa., 1937
14	The Minstrel	Catherine Littlefield	Claude Debussy	Catherine Littlefield	Angelo Pinto	Salvatore Pinto	Haverford, Pa., 1935
15	Moment Romantique		Frederic Chopin	Catherine Littlefield			Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
16	Parable in Blue	Catherine Littlefield	Martin Gabowitz	Catherine Littlefield	George C. Jenkins	Lee Gainsborough	Philadelphia, Pa., 1937
17	Prince Igor		Alexander Borodin	Fokine, Dolinoff	A. Jarin		Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
18	The Prodigal Son	Catherine Littlefield	César Franck	Catherine Littlefield		Lazar Galpern	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
19	Romantic Variations		Camille Saint-Saëns	Catherine Littlefield		J. Pascal	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936
20	The Sleeping Beauty		Peter Tchaikowsky	Catherine Littlefield	R. Deshays	Lee Gainsborough	Philadelphia, Pa., 1937
21	The Snow Queen	after Hans Christian Andersen	Murray Cutter	Catherine Littlefield	A. Jarin	P. T. Champs	Philadelphia, Pa., 1935
22	Terminal	Catherine Littlefield	Herbert Kingsley	Catherine Littlefield	Angelo Pinto	Salvatore Pinto	Paris, 1937
23	Viennese Waltz		Johann Strauss	Catherine Littlefield	A. Jarin	P. T. Champs	Philadelphia, Pa., 1936

RUTH PAGE-BENTLEY STONE BALLET AND OTHER COMPANIES

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	ADONIS	Heinrich Heine, Ruth Page	Lehman Engel	Ruth Page		John Pratt	Chicago, Ill., 1944
2	AN AMERICAN PATTERN	Ruth Page, Nicholas Remisoff	Jerome Moross	Ruth Page, Bentley Stone		John Pratt	Chicago, Ill., 1937
3	AMERICANS IN PARIS	Nicholas Remisoff	George Gershwin	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Cincinnati, Ohio, 1936
4	THE BELLS	Edgar Allan Poe, Ruth Page	Darius Milhaud	Ruth Page	Isamu Noguchi	Isamu Noguchi	[Chicago, Ill.] New York, 1946
5	BILLY SUNDAY	Ruth Page, Remi Gassmann Words: Ray Hunt	Remi Gassmann	Ruth Page	Paul DuPont	Paul DuPont	Chicago, Ill., 1946
6	CHOPIN IN OUR TIME	Ruth Page	Frederic Chopin, Owen Haynes	Ruth Page		John Pratt	Chicago, Ill., 1941
7	CINDERELLA	Ruth Page, after Perrault	Marcel Delannoy	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Ravinia, Ill., 1931
8	FRANKIE AND JOHNNY	Michael Blandford, Jerome Moross, after popular song	Jerome Moross	Ruth Page, Bentley Stone	Clive Rickabaugh	Paul DuPont	Chicago, Ill., 1938
9	GOLD STANDARD	Ruth Page, Nicholas Remisoff	Jacques Ibert	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1934

10	La Guiablesse	Ruth Page	William Grant Still	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1933
11	Guns and Castanets	Ruth Page, after Merimée words: Garcia Lorga	George Bizet, Jerome Moross	Ruth Page, Bentley Stone	Clive Rickabaugh	John Pratt	Chicago, Ill., 1939
12	Hear Ye! Hear Ye!	Ruth Page, Nicholas Remisoff	Aaron Copland	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1934
13	Iberian Monotone		Maurice Ravel	Ruth Page		Nicholas Remisoff	Ravinia, Ill., 1930
14	Love Song	Ruth Page	Franz Schubert	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1935
15	Oak Street Beach	Nicholas Remisoff	Clarence Loomis	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Ravinia, Ill., 1929
16	Pavane	Ruth Page	Maurice Ravel	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1932
17	Les Petits Riens	Ruth Page	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Ruth Page	Robert Davison	Robert Davison	Chicago, Ill., 1946
18	Scrapbook	Ruth Page	Miscellaneous	Ruth Page, Bentley Stone	Clive Rickabaugh	Pratt, Rickabaugh, Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1939
19	The Story of the Soldier	Igor Strawinsky	Igor Strawinsky	Ruth Page, Blake Scott	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1931
20	Waltz	Ruth Page, Nicholas Remisoff	Maurice Ravel	Ruth Page	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	Chicago, Ill., 1932

SAN FRANCISCO BALLET

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	BACH SUITE		Johann Sebastian Bach	Willam Christensen	Armando Agnini	Armando Agnini	San Francisco, Cal., 1938
2	THE BARTERED BRIDE		Bedrich Smetana	Willam Christensen	J. C. Taylor	J. C. Taylor	Portland, Ore., 1936
4	BLUE PLAZA	Antonio Sotomayor	Aaron Copland	Willam Christensen & José Manero	Antonio Sotomayor	Antonio Sotomayor	San Francisco, Cal., 1945
4	BOLERO		Maurice Ravel	Willam Christensen	J. C. Taylor	J. C. Taylor	Portland, Ore., 1936
5	LE BOURGEOIS GENTILHOMME	after Molière	Lully and Grétry	Christensen, Ferrier, Riggins		Goldstein and Company	San Francisco, Cal., 1944
6	CAPRICCIO ESPAGNOL		Rimsky-Korsakov	Willam Christensen	J. C. Taylor	J. C. Taylor	Portland, Ore., 1935
7	CHOPINADE		Frederic Chopin	Willam Christensen		J. C. Taylor	Seattle, Wash., 1935
8	COEUR DE GLACE		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Willam Christensen	J. C. Taylor	J. C. Taylor	Portland, Ore., 1936
9	COPPELIA	Nuitter and Saint-Léon	Léo Delibes	Willam Christensen	Charlotte Rider	Helen Green	San Francisco, Cal., 1939
10	DR. PANTALONE		Domenico Scarlatti	Willam Christensen		Geraldine Cresci	San Francisco, Cal., 1947

11	Hänsel and Gretel		Ernst Humperdinck	Willam Christensen	Jean de Botton	Jean de Botton	San Francisco, Cal., 1943
12	Now the Brides	Willam Christensen	Fritz Berens	Willam Christensen	Charlotte Rider	Helen Green	San Francisco, Cal., 1939
13	Old Vienna		Johann Strauss	Willam Christensen	Charlotte Rider	Helen Green	San Francisco, Cal., 1938
14	Pyramus and Thisbe		Fritz Berens	Willam Christensen	Russel Hartley	Russel Hartley	San Francisco, Cal., 1945
15	Romeo and Juliet		Peter Tchaikowsky	Willam Christensen	Charlotte Rider	Helen Green	San Francisco, Cal., 1938
16	Rumanian Wedding		George Enesco	Willam Christensen	J. C. Taylor	J. C. Taylor	Portland, Ore., 1936
17	Sonata Pathétique		Ludwig van Beethoven	Willam Christensen		Cliff Jones	San Francisco, Cal., 1943
18	Swan Lake	Begitchev and Geltser	Peter Tchaikowsky	Willam Christensen after Petipa	Eugene Orlovsky, Nicholas Pershin	Charlotte Rider	San Francisco, Cal., 1940
19	The Triumph of Hope	Jean de Botton	César Franck	Willam Christensen	Jean de Botton	Jean de Botton	San Francisco, Cal., 1944
20	Winter Carnival		Johann and Josef Strauss	Willam Christensen	Betty Bates, De Mars	Betty Bates, De Mars	San Francisco, Cal., 1942

MORDKIN BALLET

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	DIONYSUS	Mikhail Mordkin	Alexander Glazounov	Mikhail Mordkin	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1938
2	LA FILLE MAL GARDÉE	Jean Dauberval	Johann Wilhelm Hertel	Mikhail Mordkin	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1938
3	GISELLE	Mordkin, after Gautier	Adolphe Adam	Mikhail Mordkin	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1937
4	THE GOLDFISH	Mikhail Mordkin, after Pushkin	Nicolas Tcherepnine	Mikhail Mordkin	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1937
5	SLEEPING BEAUTY	Mordkin, after Petipa	Peter Tchaikowsky	Mikhail Mordkin			Waterbury, Conn., 1937
6	SWAN LAKE	Mikhail Mordkin after Petipa	Peter Tchaikowsky	Mikhail Mordkin	Lee Simonson	Lee Simonson	New York, 1937
7	TREPAK	Tcherepnine, Mordkin, Soudeikine	Alexandre Tcherepnine	Mikhail Mordkin	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1937
8	VOICES OF SPRING	Mikhail Mordkin	Johann Strauss, Zlatin	Mikhail Mordkin	Lee Simonson	Lee Simonson	New York, 1938

BALLET RUSSE DE MONTE CARLO

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	Ancient Russia	Bronislava Nijinska	Peter Tchaikowsky	Bronislava Nijinska	Nathalie Gontcharova	Nathalie Gontcharova	Cleveland, Ohio, 1943
2	Bacchanale	Salvador Dali	Richard Wagner	Leonide Massine	Salvador Dali	Salvador Dali	New York, 1939
3	Ballet Imperial		Peter Tchaikowsky	George Balanchine	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Chicago, Ill., 1944
4	Le Baiser De La Fée	Igor Strawinsky	Peter Tchaikowsky, Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Alice Halicka	Alice Halicka	New York, 1945
5	Le Beau Danube	Leonide Massine	Johann Strauss, Roger Desormière	Leonide Massine	Etienne de Beaumont	Etienne de Beaumont	(Paris), (1924)
6	The Bells	Ruth Page, after Edgar Allan Poe	Darius Milhaud	Ruth Page	Isamu Noguchi	Isamu Noguchi	Lee, Mass., 1946
7	Billy Sunday or Giving the Devil His Due	Ruth Page, Remi Gassman Text, J. Ray Hunt	Remi Gassman	Ruth Page	Herbert Andrews	Paul Du Pont	New York, 1948
8	Bogatyri	Leonide Massine	Alexander Borodin	Leonide Massine	Nathalie Gontcharova	Nathalie Gontcharova	New York, 1938
9	Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme	George Balanchine	Richard Strauss	George Balanchine	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1944
10	La Boutique Fantasque (Revival)	André Derain	Rossini, Respighi	Leonide Massine	André Derain	André Derain	(London), (1919)

BALLET RUSSE DE MONTE CARLO—*Continued*

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
11	CAPRICCIO ESPAGNOL	Leonide Massine	Rimsky-Korsakov	Leonide Massine	Mariano Andreu	Mariano Andreu	(Monte Carlo), (1939)
12	CARNAVAL (Revival)	Michel Fokine	Robert Schumann	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	(Paris), (1910)
13	CHOPIN CONCERTO (Revival)		Frederic Chopin	Bronislava Nijinska		Alexander Ignatieff	New York, 1942
14	COMEDIA BALLETICA		Pergolesi, Strawinsky	Todd Bolender	Robert Davison	Robert Davison	New York, 1945
15	CONCERTO BAROCCO (Revival)		Johann Sebastian Bach	George Balanchine			New York, 1945
16	COPPELIA (Revival)	Nuitter, Saint-Léon	Léo Delibes	Nicolas Sergueff, after Mérante and Ivanov	Pierre Roy	Pierre Roy	New York, 1938
17	THE CUCKOLD'S FAIR	Garcia-Lorca, Rivas-Cherif	Gustavo Pittaluga	Pilar Lopez	Joan Junyer	Joan Junyer	Cleveland, Ohio, 1943
18	DANSES CONCERTANTES		Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1944
19	DEVIL'S HOLIDAY	Paganini, Vincenzo Tommasini	Vincenzo Tommasini	Frederick Ashton	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	(New York), (1939)
20	DON JUAN (Revival)	Eric Allatini, Michel Fokine	Christoph Willibald Gluck	Michel Fokine	Mariano Andreu	Mariano Andreu	(London), (1936)

21	Les Eléments		Johann Sebastian Bach	Michel Fokine	Dimitri Bouchène	Dimitri Bouchène	(London), (1937)
22	Les Elves	Michel Fokine	Felix Mendelssohn	Michel Fokine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	(New York), (1924)
23	L'Épreuve D'Amour	André Derain, Michel Fokine	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Michel Fokine	André Derain	André Derain	(Monte Carlo), (1936)
24	Etude		Johann Sebastian Bach	Bronislava Nijinska	Alexander Borowsky	Alexander Borowsky	Cleveland, Ohio, 1943
25	Frankie and Johnny	Michael Blandford, Jerome Moross	Jerome Moross	Ruth Page, Bentley Stone	Clive Rickabaugh	Paul Du Pont	Kansas City, 1945
26	Gaité Parisienne (Revival)	Etienne de Beaumont	Jacques Offenbach, Manuel Rosenthal	Leonide Massine	Etienne de Beaumont	Etienne de Beaumont	(Monte Carlo), (1938)
27	Ghost Town	Marc Platoff	Peter Tchaikowsky	Marc Platoff	Pène Du Bois	Pène Du Bois	New York, 1939
28	Giselle	Saint Georges, Gautier	Adolphe Adam	Coralli, Serge Lifar	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	(Paris), (1910)
29	Icare	Serge Lifar	Lifar, J. E. Szyfer	Serge Lifar	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1937
30	Jeu De Cartes (Revival)	Strawinsky, Malieff	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Irene Sharaff	Irene Sharaff	New York, 1940
31	Labyrinth	Salvador Dali	Franz Schubert	Leonide Massine	Salvador Dali	Salvador Dali	New York, 1941
32	Madroños		Moszkowski, Yradier, etc.	Antonia Cobos		Castillo	New York, 1947

BALLET RUSSE DE MONTE CARLO—*Continued*

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
33	MAGIC SWAN (Revival)		Peter Tchaikowsky	Alexandra Fedorova, after Petipa	Eugene Dunkel	Eugene Dunkel	New York, 1941
34	MOZARTIANA (Revival)		Mozart, Tchaikowsky	George Balanchine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	New York, 1945
35	THE NEW YORKER	Rea Irvin, Leonide Massine	George Gershwin	Leonide Massine	Rea Irvin	Rea Irvin	New York, 1940
36	THE NIGHT SHADOW		Vittorio Rieti	George Balanchine	Dorothea Tanning	Dorothea Tanning	New York, 1946
37	THE NUTCRACKER (Revival)	Alexandra Fedorova	Peter Tchaikowsky	Ivanov, Alexandra Fedorova	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	
38	PETROUCHKA (Revival)	Strawinsky, Benois	Igor Strawinsky	Michel Fokine	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	(Paris), (1911)
39	PRINCE IGOR (Revival)		Alexander Borodin	Michel Fokine	Korovine	Korovine	(Paris), (1909)
40	QUELQUES FLEURS		François Auber	Ruthanna Boris	Robert Davison	Robert Davison	New York, 1948
41	RAYMONDA	Pashov and Petipa	Alexander Glazounov	Alexandra Danilova, G. Balanchine	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	New York, 1946
42	THE RED POPPY	Igor Schwezoff	Reinhold Gliere	Igor Schwezoff	Boris Aronson	Boris Aronson	Cleveland, Ohio, 1943
43	RODEO	Agnes De Mille	Aaron Copland	Agnes De Mille	Oliver Smith	Kermit Love	New York, 1942
44	ROUGE ET NOIR (Revival)	Leonide Massine	Dimitri Shostakovitch	Leonide Massine	Henry Matisse	Henry Matisse	Monte Carlo, 1939

45	St. Francis	Paul Hindemith, Leonide Massine	Paul Hindemith	Leonide Massine	Pavel Tchelitchew	Pavel Tchelitchew	London, 1938
46	Saratoga	Jaromir Weinberger	Jaromir Weinberger	Leonide Massine	Oliver Smith	Alvin Colt	New York, 1941
47	Scheherazade (Revival)	Léon Bakst, Michel Fokine	Rimsky-Korsakov	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	(Paris), (1910)
48	Serenade		Peter Tchaikowsky	George Balanchine	Jean Lurçat	Jean Lurçat	New York, 1935
49	Seventh Symphony (Revival)	Leonide Massine	Ludwig van Beethoven	Leonide Massine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	Monte Carlo, 1938
50	The Snow Maiden	Sergei J. Denham	Alexander Glazounov	Bronislava Nijinska	Boris Aronson	Boris Aronson	New York, 1942
51	Spectre de la Rose (Revival)	J.-L. Vaudoyer, Gautier	Carl Maria von Weber	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	(Paris), (1911)
52	Swan Lake (Revival)	Begitchev and Geltser	Peter Tchaikowsky	Marius Petipa	A. Schervazhidze	A. Schervazhidze	
53	Les Sylphides	Michel Fokine	Chopin, Ivan Boutnikoff	Michel Fokine	A. Schervazhidze	O. Larose	New York, 1945
54	The Three-Cornered Hat (Revival)	Martinez Sierra	Manuel De Falla	Leonide Massine	Pablo Picasso	Pablo Picasso	(London), (1919)
55	Union Pacific	Archibald MacLeish	Nicholas Nabokov	Leonide Massine	Albert Johnson	Irene Sharaff	Philadelphia, Pa., 1934
56	Vienna—1814	Leonide Massine	Carl Maria von Weber	Leonide Massine	Stewart Chaney	Stewart Chaney	New York, 1940
57	Virginia Sampler	Valerie Bettis	Leo Smit	Valerie Bettis	Charles Elson	Charles Elson	New York, 1947

BALLET THEATRE

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	ALEKO	Leonide Massine, Marc Chagall	Peter Tchaikowsky	Leonide Massine	Marc Chagall	Marc Chagall	Mexico, D.F., 1942
2	APOLLO (Revival)	George Balanchine	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Eugene Dunkel	Barbara Karinska	New York, 1943
3	BARN DANCE	Catherine Littlefield	David Guion, etc.	Catherine Littlefield	Angelo Pinto	Salvatore Pinto	(Philadelphia, Pa.) (1937)
4	BELOVED ONE (Revival)	Bronislava Nijinska	Franz Liszt	Bronislava Nijinska	Nicolas De Molas	Nicolas De Molas	New York, 1941
5	BILLY THE KID (Revival)	Lincoln Kirstein	Aaron Copland	Eugene Loring	Jared French	Jared French	(Chicago, Ill.) (1938)
6	BLACK RITUAL	Agnes De Mille	Darius Milhaud	Agnes De Mille	Nicolas De Molas	Nicolas De Molas	New York, 1940
7	BLUEBEARD	Michel Fokine	Jacques Offenbach	Michel Fokine	Marcel Vertés	Marcel Vertés	Mexico, D.F., 1941
8	CAPRICCIOSO		Domenico Cimaroso	Anton Dolin	Nicolas De Molas	Nicolas De Molas	Chicago, Ill., 1941
9	CARNAVAL (Revival)	Michel Fokine	Robert Schumann	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	(Paris) (1910)
10	COPPELIA (Revival)	Nuitter and Saint Léon	Léo Delibes	Simon Semenoff, after Ivanov	Roberto Montenegro	Roberto Montenegro	New York, 1942
11	DARK ELEGIES (Revival)	Antony Tudor	Gustav Mahler	Antony Tudor	Raymond Sovey, after N. Benois	Raymond Sovey, after N. Benois	New York, 1940
12	DEATH AND THE MAIDEN	Andrée Howard	Franz Schubert	Andrée Howard	Augustus Vincent Tack	Augustus Vincent Tack	New York, 1940
13	DIM LUSTRE	Antony Tudor	Richard Strauss	Antony Tudor	Motley	Motley	New York, 1943

14	Don Domingo	Alfonso Reyes	Sylvestre Revueltas	Leonide Massine	Julio Castellanos	Julio Castellanos	Mexico, D.F., 1942
15	Fair at Sorochinsk	Gogol, David Lichine	Modeste Moussorgsky	David Lichine	Nicholas Remisoff	Nicholas Remisoff	New York, 1943
16	Fall River Legend	Agnes de Mille	Morton Gould	Agnes de Mille	Oliver Smith	Miles White	New York, 1948
17	Fancy Free	Jerome Robbins	Leonard Bernstein	Jerome Robbins	Oliver Smith	Kermit Love	New York, 1944
18	La Fille Mal Gardée (Revival)	Dauberval, Nijinska	Wilhelm Hertel	Bronislava Nijinska	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1940
19	Gala Performance (Revival)	Antony Tudor	Serge Prokofieff	Antony Tudor	Nicolas De Molas	Nicolas De Molas	New York, 1941
20	Gift of the Magi	Simon Semenoff	Lukas Foss	Simon Semenoff	Raoul Pène Du Bois	Raoul Pène Du Bois	New York, 1945
21	Giselle (Revival)	Théophile Gautier	Adolphe Bolm	Coralli, Anton Dolin	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1946
22	Goyescas	Alden Jenkins	Enrique Granados	Argentinita	Nicolas De Molas	Nicolas De Molas	New York, 1940
23	Graziana		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	John Taras		Alvin Colt	New York, 1945
24	The Great American Goof	William Saroyen	Henry Brant	Eugene Loring	Boris Aronson	Boris Aronson	New York, 1940
25	Helen of Troy	David Lichine, Antal Dorati	Jacques Offenbach	David Lichine	Marcel Vertés	Marcel Vertés	Mexico, D.F., 1942
26	Interplay		Morton Gould	Jerome Robbins	Oliver Smith	Irene Sharaff	New York, 1945
27	Jardin Aux Lilas (Revival)	Antony Tudor	Ernest Chausson	Antony Tudor	Raymond Sovey	Raymond Sovey	New York, 1940

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
28	JUDGMENT OF PARIS (Revival)	Hugh Laing	Kurt Weill	Antony Tudor		Lucinda Ballard	New York, 1940
29	LADY INTO FOX (Revival)	Andrée Howard	Arthur Honegger	Andrée Howard	Raymond Sovey	Raymond Sovey	New York, 1940
30	MADEMOISELLE ANGOT	Charles Lecocq, Leonide Massine	Charles Lecocq	Leonide Massine	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	New York, 1943
31	MECHANICAL BALLET	Adolph Bolm	Alexander Mossolov	Adolph Bolm	John Hambleton	John Hambleton	New York, 1940
32	ODE TO GLORY	Yurek Shabelevsky	Frederic Chopin	Yurek Shabelevsky	Michel Baronov	Michel Baronov	New York, 1940
33	ON STAGE	Mary and Michael Kidd	Norman Dello Joio	Michael Kidd	Oliver Smith	Alvin Colt	New York, 1945
34	PAS DE QUATRE		Cesare Pugni	Keith Lester		after A. E. Chalon	New York, 1946
35	LES PATINEURS (Revival)		Meyerbeer, Constant Lambert	Frederick Ashton	Cecil Beaton	Cecil Beaton	New York, 1946
36	PETER AND THE WOLF	Serge Prokofieff	Serge Prokofieff	Adolph Bolm	Lucinda Ballard	Lucinda Ballard	New York, 1940
37	PETROUCHKA	Alexandre Benois, Igor Strawinsky	Igor Strawinsky	Michel Fokine	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	(Paris) (1911)
38	PILLAR OF FIRE	Antony Tudor	Arnold Schoenberg	Antony Tudor	Jo Mielziner	Jo Mielziner	New York, 1942
39	PRINCESS AURORA (Revival)		Peter Tchaikowsky	Petipa, Dolin	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	New York, 1941

40	QUINTET		Raymond Scott	Anton Dolin	Lucinda Ballard	Lucinda Ballard	New York, 1940
41	ROMANTIC AGE		Vincenzo Bellini	Anton Dolin	Carlos Mérida	Carlos Mérida	New York, 1942
42	ROMEO AND JULIET	Shakespeare, Tudor	Frederick Délius	Antony Tudor	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1943
43	RUSSIAN SOLDIER	Michel Fokine	Serge Prokofieff	Michel Fokine	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Boston, Mass., 1942
44	SHADOW OF THE WIND	Antony Tudor	Gustav Mahler (Das Lied von der Erde)	Antony Tudor	Jo Mielziner	Jo Mielziner	New York, 1948
45	SLAVONIKA	Vania Psota	Anton Dvorak	Vania Psota		Alvin Colt	New York, 1942
46	SPECTRE DE LA ROSE (Revival)	Vaudoyer, Gautier	Carl Maria von Weber	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	(Paris) (1911)
47	SWAN LAKE (Revival)	Begitchew and Geltser	Peter Tchaikowsky	Petipa, Dolin	Lee Simonson	Lucinda Ballard	New York, 1941
48	LES SYLPHIDES (Revival)		Frederic Chopin	Michel Fokine	Eugene Dunkel	Lucinda Ballard	New York, 1940
49	TALLY-HO	Agnes De Mille	Christoph Willibald Gluck	Agnes De Mille	Motley	Motley	New York, 1944
50	THREE VIRGINS AND A DEVIL	Ramon Reed	Ottorino Respighi	Agnes De Mille	Motley	Motley	New York, 1941
51	UNDERTOW	Antony Tudor	William Schuman	Antony Tudor	Raymond Breinin	Raymond Breinin	New York, 1945
52	VOICES OF SPRING		Johann Strauss	Mikhail Mordkin	Lee Simonson	Lee Simonson	(New York) (1938)
53	WALTZ ACADEMY		Vittorio Rieti	George Balanchine	Oliver Smith	Alvin Colt	Boston, Mass., 1944

ORIGINAL BALLET RUSSE

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	AURORA'S WEDDING		Peter Tchaikowsky	Petipa and Nijinska	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	Paris, 1922
2	CAIN AND ABEL	David Lichine	Richard Wagner	David Lichine	Miguel Prieto	Miguel Prieto	(New York), 1946
3	CAMILLE	John Taras, after Dumas	Franz Schubert, Vittorio Rieti	John Taras	Cecil Beaton	Cecil Beaton	New York, 1946
4	CARNAVAL	Michel Fokine	Robert Schuman	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	Paris, 1910
5	THE CEIBOS GROVE	Roman Vignoli Barreto	Eduardo Fabini	Vania Psota	Jacob Anchutin	Jacob Anchutin	Montevideo, 1944
6	CENDRILLON	after Perrault	Frédéric d'Erlanger	Michel Fokine	Nathalie Gontcharova	Nathalie Gontcharova	London, 1938
7	LES CENT BAISERS	Boris Kochno	Frédéric d'Erlanger	Bronislava Nijinska	Jean Hugo	Jean Hugo	Monte Carlo, 1935
8	CHOREARTIUM		Johannes Brahms	Leonide Massine	Constantin Tcherechkovitch, Eugene Lourie	Constantin Tcherechkovitch, Eugene Lourie	London, 1933
9	CONSTANTIA		Frederic Chopin, Adolf Schmid	William Dollar	Horace Armistead	Grace Houston	New York, 1944
10	LE COQ D'OR	Bielsky, Benois	Rimsky-Korsakoff, Tcherepnine	Michel Fokine	Nathalie Gontcharova	Nathalie Gontcharova	Paris, 1914
11	COTILLON	Boris Kochno	Emmanuel Chabrier	George Balanchine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	Monte Carlo, 1932

12	Les Dieux Mendiants	Sobeka	Händel, Thomas Beecham	David Lichine	Léon Bakst	Juan Gris	London, 1928
13	The Eternal Struggle	Igor Schwezoff	Schumann, Antal Dorati	Igor Schwezoff	Kathleen and Florence Martin	Kathleen and Florence Martin	Sidney (Australia), 1940
14	Les Femmes de Bonne Humeur	after Goldoni	Domenico Scarlatti, Fuerst	Leonide Massine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	Rome, 1917
15	Le Fils Prodigue	Boris Kochno	Serge Prokofieff	David Lichine	Georges Rouault	Georges Rouault	Paris, 1929
16	The Fire-Bird	Michel Fokine	Igor Strawinsky	Michel Fokine	Nathalie Gontcharova	Nathalie Gontcharova	Monte Carlo, 1934
17	Francesca da Rimini	David Lichine, Henry Clifford	Peter Tchaikowsky	David Lichine	Oliver Messel	Oliver Messel	London, 1937
18	Graduation Ball	David Lichine	Johann Strauss, Antal Dorati	David Lichine	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	Sidney (Australia), 1940
19	Icare	Serge Lifar	Serge Lifar, Eugene Fuerst	Serge Lifar	Jacob Anchutin	Sidney Nolan	New York, 1937
20	Jeux D'Enfants	Boris Kochno	Georges Bizet	Leonide Massine	Joan Miro	Joan Miro	Monte Carlo, 1932
21	Mad Tristan	Salvador Dali	Richard Wagner, Boutnikoff	Leonide Massine	Salvador Dali	Salvador Dali	New York, 1944
22	Mute Wife	after Anatole France	Paganini	Antonia Cobos	Rico Lebrun	Rico Lebrun	New York, 1944
23	Paganini	Rachmaninoff, Fokine	Serge Rachmaninoff	Michel Fokine	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	London, 1939
24	Papillons	Michel Fokine	Schumann, Tcherepnine	Michel Fokine	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Paris, 1914
25	Pavane (Las Menillas)		Gabriel Fauré	Serge Lifar	José Maria Sert	José Maria Sert	Paris, 1940

ORIGINAL BALLET RUSSE—*Continued*

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
26	PETROUCHKA	Benois, Strawinsky	Igor Strawinsky	Michel Fokine	Alexandre Benois	Alexandre Benois	Paris, 1911
27	LES PRÉSAGES	Leonide Massine	Peter Tchaikowsky	Leonide Massine	André Masson	André Masson	Monte Carlo, 1933
28	PRINCE IGOR		Borodine	Michel Fokine	Nicholas Roerich	Nicholas Roerich	Paris, 1909
29	PROTÉE	David Lichine, Henry Clifford	Claude Debussy	David Lichine	Georges de Chirico	Georges de Chirico	London, 1938
30	SCHEHERAZADE	Fokine, Bakst	Rimsky-Korsakov	Michel Fokine	Léon Bakst	Léon Bakst	Paris, 1910
31	SEBASTIAN	Edward Caton	Gian-Carlo Menotti	Edward Caton	Oliver Smith	Milena	New York, 1944
32	SCUOLA DI BALLO	Goldoni, Massine	Boccherini, Françaix	Leonide Massine	Etienne de Beaumont	Etienne de Beaumont	Paris, 1924
33	SWAN LAKE		Peter Tchaikowsky	after Marius Petipa	Constantin Korovine	Constantin Korovine	
34	LES SYLPHIDES		Frederic Chopin, Rieti	Michel Fokine	A. Schervachidze	O. Larose	New York, 1940
35	SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE	Hector Berlioz	Hector Berlioz	Leonide Massine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	London, 1936
36	YARA	Guicherme de Almeida, Psota	Francisco Mignone	Vania Psota	Candido Portinari	Candido Portinari	Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1946

AMERICAN BALLET CARAVAN

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	Air and Variations		Johann Sebastian Bach	William Dollar		Walter Gifford	Athens, Georgia, 1938
2	Billy the Kid	Lincoln Kirstein	Aaron Copland	Eugene Loring		Jared French	Chicago, Ill., 1938
3	Charade or The Debutante	Lincoln Kirstein	American Melodies, Rittmann	Lew Christensen		Alvin Colt	New York, 1939
4	City Portrait	Lincoln Kirstein	Henry Brant	Eugene Loring		Forrest Thayr, Jr.	New York, 1939
5	Encounter		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	Lew Christensen		Forrest Thayr, Jr.	Bennington, Vt., 1936
6	Filling Station	Lincoln Kirstein	Virgil Thomson	Lew Christensen	Paul Cadmus	Paul Cadmus	Hartford, Conn., 1938
7	Folk Dance		Emmanuel Chabrier	Douglas Coudy		Charles Rain	Burlington, Vt., 1936
8	Harlequin for President	Lincoln Kirstein	Domenico Scarlatti	Eugene Loring		Keith Martin	Bennington, Vt., 1936
9	Pocahontas	Lincoln Kirstein	Elliott Carter, Jr.	Lew Christensen		Karl Free	Middleburg, Vt., 1936
10	Promenade		Maurice Ravel	William Dollar		after Horace Vernet	Bennington, Vt., 1936
11	Show Piece		Robert McBride	Erick Hawkins		Keith Martin	Bar Harbor, Me., 1937
12	A Thousand Times Neigh	Edward Mabley	Tom Bennett	William Dollar	Walter Dorwin Teague	Alvin Colt	New York, 1940
13	Yankee Clipper	Lincoln Kirstein	Paul Bowles	Eugene Loring		Charles Rain	Saybrook, Conn., 1937

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	ALMA MATER	Edward M. Warburg	Kay Swift	George Balanchine		John Held, Jr.	Hartford, Conn., 1934
2	APOLLON MUSAGÈTE (Revival)	George Balanchine	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Stewart Chaney	Stewart Chaney	New York, 1937
3	BAISER DE LA FÉE (Revival)	Igor Strawinsky	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Alice Halicka	Alice Halicka	New York, 1937
4	BALLET IMPERIAL		Peter Tchaikowsky	George Balanchine	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	New York, 1941
5	THE CARD PARTY	Igor Strawinsky, M. Malieff	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Irene Sharaff	Irene Sharaff	New York, 1937
6	CHARADE (Revival)	Lincoln Kirstein	Trude Rittmann	Lew Christensen		Alvin Colt	New York, 1941
7	CONCERTO BAROCCO		Johann Sebastian Bach	George Balanchine	Eugene Berman	Eugene Berman	New York, 1941
8	DREAMS (Revival)	André Derain	George Antheil	George Balanchine	André Derain	André Derain	New York, 1935
9	ERRANTE (Revival)	Pavel Tchelitchew, George Balanchine	Franz Schubert	George Balanchine	Pavel Tchelitchew	Pavel Tchelitchew	New York, 1935
10	FANTASIA BRASILEIRA		Francisco Mignone	George Balanchine	Enrico Bianco	Enrico Bianco	Lima, Peru, 1941

11	JUKE-BOX	Lincoln Kirstein	Alex Wilder	William Dollar	Tom Lee	Tom Lee	New York, 1941
12	MOZARTIANA (Revival)		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	George Balanchine	Christian Bérard	Christian Bérard	Hartford, Conn., 1934
13	ORPHEUS	Ranieri De Calzabigi	Christoph Willibald Gluck	George Balanchine	Pavel Tchelitchew	Pavel Tchelitchew	New York, 1936
14	PASTORELA	José Martínez	Paul Bowles	Lew Christensen	Alvin Colt	Alvin Colt	New York, 1941
15	REMINISCENCE	George Balanchine	Benjamin Godard, Henry Brant	George Balanchine	Sergei Soudeikine	Sergei Soudeikine	New York, 1935
16	SERENADE		Peter Tchaikowsky	George Balanchine		Jean Lurçat	Hartford, Conn., 1934
17	TIME-TABLE	Lincoln Kirstein	Aaron Copland	Antony Tudor	James Morcom	James Morcom	New York, 1941
18	TRANSCENDENCE	Lincoln Kirstein	Franz Liszt, George Antheil	George Balanchine	Franklin Watkins	Franklin Watkins	Hartford, Conn., 1934

BALLET SOCIETY

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	BLACKFACE		Carter Harman	Lew Christensen	Robert Drew	Robert Drew	New York, 1947
2	DIVERTIMENTO		Alexei Haieff	George Balanchine			New York, 1948
3	THE FOUR TEMPERAMENTS		Paul Hindemith	George Balanchine	Kurt Seligmann	Kurt Seligmann	New York, 1946
4	HIGHLAND FLING	William Dollar	Stanley Bate	William Dollar	David Ffolkes	David Ffolkes	New York, 1947
5	THE MINOTAUR	Kirstein, Junyer	Elliot Carter, Jr.	John Taras	Joan Junyer	Joan Junyer	New York, 1947
6	MOTHER GOOSE SUITE		Maurice Ravel	Todd Bolender			New York, 1948
7	ORPHEUS		Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Isamu Noguchi	Isamu Noguchi	New York, 1948
8	PASTORELA (Revival)	José Martinez	Paul Bowles	Lew Christensen	Alvin Colt	Alvin Colt	New York, 1947
9	RENARD (Revival)	Igor Strawinsky	Igor Strawinsky	George Balanchine	Esteban Francés	Esteban Francés	New York, 1947
10	THE SEASONS		John Cage	Merce Cunningham	Isamu Noguchi	Isamu Noguchi	New York, 1947
11	SYMPHONIE CONCERTANTE IN E FLAT		Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	George Balanchine	James Stewart Morcom	James Stewart Morcom	New York, 1948
12	SYMPHONY IN C		George Bizet	George Balanchine			New York, 1948
13	THE TRIUMPH OF BACCHUS AND ARIADNE		Vittorio Rieti	George Balanchine	Corrado Cagli	Corrado Cagli	New York, 1948
14	ZODIAK		Rudi Revil	Todd Bolender	Esteban Francés	Esteban Francés	New York, 1947

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	BILLY THE KID (Revival)	Lincoln Kirstein	Aaron Copland	Eugene Loring	Jared French	Jared French	New Haven, Conn., 1942
2	CITY PORTRAIT (Revival)	Lincoln Kirstein	Henry Brant	Eugene Loring	Reginald Marsh	Reginald Marsh	New York, 1942
3	THE DUKE OF SACRAMENTO or HOBO OF THE HILLS	Eugene Loring	Norman Dello Joio	Eugene Loring	George Bockman	George Bockman	New Hope, Penn., 1942
4	HARLEQUIN FOR PRESIDENT (Revival)		Domenico Scarlatti	Eugene Loring		Keith Martin	Washington, D.C., 1942
5	JINX	Lew Christensen	Benjamin Britten	Lew Christensen	George Bockman	George Bockman	Washington, D.C., 1942
6	THE MAN FROM MIDIAN	Winthrop Palmer	Stefan Wolpe	Eugene Loring	Doris Rosenthal	Doris Rosenthal	Washington, D.C., 1942
7	PRAIRIE	after Carl Sandburg	Norman Dello Joio	Eugene Loring	James Morcom	Felipe Fiocca	Washington, D.C., 1942

BALLET INTERNATIONAL

	TITLE	BOOK	MUSIC	CHOREOGRAPHY	DECOR	COSTUMES	PREMIERE
1	BRAHMS VARIATIONS		Johannes Brahms	Bronislava Nijinska	Marcel Vertés	Marcel Vertés	New York, 1944
2	CONSTANTIA		Frederic Chopin	William Dollar	Horace Armistead	Grace Houston	New York, 1944
3	MAD TRISTAN	Salvador Dali	Richard Wagner	Leonide Massine	Salvador Dali	Salvador Dali	New York, 1944
4	MEMORIES	Winthrop Palmer	Johannes Brahms	Simon Semenoff	Raoul Pène Du Bois	Raoul Pène Du Bois	New York, 1944
5	THE MUTE WIFE	after Anatole France	Paganini, Vittorio Rieti	Antonia Cobos	Rico Lebrun	Rico Lebrun	New York, 1944
6	PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION		Modeste Moussorgsky	Bronislava Nijinska	Boris Aronson	Boris Aronson	New York, 1944
7	PRINCE GOUDAL'S FESTIVAL		Anton Rubinstein	Boris Romanoff	Mstislav Dobujinsky	Mstislav Dobujinsky	New York, 1944
8	SEBASTIAN	Edward Caton	Gian-Carlo Menotti	Edward Caton	Oliver Smith	Milena	New York, 1944
9	SENTIMENTAL COLLOQUY		Paul Bowles	André Eglevsky	Salvador Dali	Salvador Dali	New York, 1944
10	SWAN LAKE		Peter Tchaikowsky, Creatore	Anatole Vilzak, after Petipa	Eugene Dunkel	Grace Houston	New York, 1944
11	LES SYLPHIDES		Frederic Chopin	Vera Fokina	Eugene Dunkel	Grace Houston	New York, 1944

Index

Achille, Monsieur and Madame, 3, 4
Adam and Eve, 103
Air and Variations, 82, 85, 86
Alberti, Mlle, 8
Albertieri, Luigi, 65
Aleko, 46, 153
"All-American" ballet, 16
All-Star Imperial Russian Ballet, 14
Allan, Maud, 10
Allegro, 182
Alma Mater, 58, 75
Alonso, Alberto, xii
Alonso, Alicia, xii, 87, 120, 127, 155, 157, 162
Alonso, Fernando, xii, 87, 162
Alt-Wien, 24
Alvarez, Anita, 148
Alvin Theatre, 16
American and European dancing, xi, 42, 62, 124-27, 156
"American" and "Russian works," 50-51
American ballet, 58, 61, 64-71
  development of, xi
American Ballet, 35, 52, 56, 72, 75, 81, 82, 83, 85, 87, 90, 91, 149, 166, 175
  disbanding of, 82
American Ballet School. *See* School of American Ballet
"American Dancer," 77
American influence, 36
American Jubilee, 67
American preferences, 33
American Suites, 177
American themes, 38-42, 86
  See also names of ballets
Americana and Eleutheria, 3
Americanism, viii
Americanization, 48-63
Americans, young, portraits in *Fancy Free*, 140
Amor Brujo, El, 24
Andersen, Hans Christian, 79
Anderson, John Murray, 174
Anderson-Ivantzova, Mme, 149
Animated Gobelins, The (Le Pavillon d'Armide), 27
Apache dance, 8
Aphrodite, 27
Apollon Musagète, 24, 53, 54, 56, 78, 81, 87, 153, 154
Après-midi d'un Faune, L', 32, 35, 120
Archives, 73
Archives Internationales de la Danse, 73
Argentinita, 59
Argyle, Pearl, 103
Arlechinata, 24

Armitage, Merle, 20, 37, 81
"Dance Memoranda," xv
Aronson, Boris, 52, 59, 97, 172
Artist and businessman, 44
Ashton, Frederick, 79
Astaire, Fred, 128
Atlanta of the East, 103
Audience reaction, 128
Augusta, La Petite (Augusta Maywood), 4-7, 9
Augusta, Mlle, 4
Auric, Georges, 53
Aurora's Wedding, 66, 121
Ayers, Lemuel, 179
Azyade, 11, 14, 15

Babes in Arms, 176
Bacchanale, 10, 43-45
Bach, Johann Sebastian, 57, 87
Bach Cycle, 24
Bach Suite, A, 65
Bach's Goldberg Variations, 86
Baiser de la Fée, 54, 56, 79-80, 154
Bakst, Léon Nikolaevitch, 16, 19, 33
Bal, Le, 53
Bal des Marionettes, 24
Balaban, Emanuel, 87
Balanchine, George, xi, xii, xiii, 29, 31, 41-44, 52, 53, 54-62, 74-80, 82, 85-87, 89-92, 104, 105, 124, 129, 130, 139-40, 149, 150, 153-56, 166, 175, 176, 182
biography, and work, 52-59
style, 56-57
style defined by Denby, 85-86
Balanchivadze, Georgei Melitonovitch. *See* Balanchine, George
Ballerina, the, 156-58
Ballet Associates in America, 159
Ballet blanc, 95, 179
Ballet Caravan, 72, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 91, 124, 146, 149, 165, 166, 168
Ballet Club, 103
Ballet Imperial, 54, 56, 57, 87, 154
Ballet Institute, 170
Ballet International, 45, 85, 86, 159, 165-73
Ballet Intime, 23, 68
Ballet Mécanique, 24
Ballet Russe I (Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo), xiii, 29-36, 123, 124, 152, 153, 155, 159, 160, 170, 171
roster, 35
Ballet Russe II, 36-47
Ballet Russe III, and its Americanization, 48-63
"Ballet Russe d'Amérique," 152
Ballet Russe Highlights, 31, 39
Ballet School. *See* School of American Ballet
Ballet Society, xii, xiii, 58, 71, 72, 74, 84-92, 149, 159
policy and scope, 88-89
Ballets Suédois, 98
Ballet Theatre I, II, and III, xi-xii, xiii, 17, 24-26, 28, 31, 36, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 67, 85, 93-164, 170
Ballet Theatre Foundation, 158
Ballet Theatre Guild, 158
"Ballet-play," 97
Ballets, Les, 29, 54
Ballets Russes, early, viii, 19, 21, 25, 27, 103
Ballets Russes (1936-37), 28
Ballets Russes de Monte Carlo. *See* Ballet Russe I
Barabau, 53
Barn Dance, 66-67
Baron, Paul, 115
Baronova, Irina, 32, 35, 62, 152
Barrère, George, 23
Barzel, Ann, 115
Basil, Colonel Wassily de, 29-32, 35, 36, 160-61, 163, 172, 173
parting from Massine, 34
Bat, The, 87
Bate, Stanley, 90
Bauchant, André, 53
Beau Danube, Le, 29, 31, 32, 35
Beaumont, Cyril W., 103
"Complete Book of Ballets," and "Supplement," xiv
Beecham, Sir Thomas, 103
Beethoven, Ludwig van, 24, 54
Bells, The, 60, 69-71, 104
Benois, Alexandre, 16, 23, 33, 53, 59, 151
Benois, Nadia, 102
Bentley, Muriel, 101, 128, 132, 141, 162
Bentley-Stone Company, 71
Bérard, Christian, 53, 54
Bergère Coquette, La, 3
Berlin, Irving, 68
Berman, Eugene, 117, 119
Berners, Lord, 53
Bernstein, Leonard, 132, 141, 143, 144
Bettis, Valerie, 51, 60, 61, 104
Bibliography, xiii-xiv
Biche au Bois, La, 8

Biches, Les, 52, 176
Billion Dollar Baby, 129
Billy the Kid, 48-50, 82-83, 87, 97, 126, 146, 151, 165-67, 177
Billy Sunday, xiii
Birthday of the Infanta, The, 23, 67
Bizet, Georges, xiii
Black Crook, The, 8-9, 98, 174
Black Ritual (Obeah), 95, 98, 151, 153
Blackface, 84
Blandford, Michael, 68
"Blast at Ballet," by Kirstein, 76, 77, 91, 124, 125
Bloch, Ernest, 103
Bluebeard, 28, 150, 153, 154
Blues, 177
Blum, René, 29-31, 52
Boeuf sur le Toit, 53
Bockman, George, 169
Bohemian Girl, The, 6
Bolender, Todd, xiii, 51, 59-61, 87, 89, 90, 104, 146
Bolero (Iberian Monotone), 71
Bolm, Adolph, 12, 20, 23-25, 65, 67, 68, 70, 78, 94, 95, 153
Bolshoy Theatre, 14, 15
Bonfanti, Maria, 9
"Book of the Dance, The," by Kirstein, xiii, 73, 91
Books, xiii-xiv
Boris, Ruthanna, xiii, 51, 60-62, 87, 127, 146
Borlin, Jean, 98
Borodin, Alexander Porfirevitch, 33
"Borzoi Book of Ballets," by Grace Roberts, xiv
Boulgakov, Alexis, 19
Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Le, 29, 53, 54, 56, 57
Boutique Fantasque, La, 31, 38, 45, 153
Bow and Arrow Dance, 10
Bowery Theatre, 8
Bowles, Paul, 87, 172
Bowman, Patricia, 16
Boys from Syracuse, 176
Braithwaite, Margaret, 99
Brant, Henry, 83, 97, 168, 169
Brazilian legend in *Yara*, 36
Breinin, Raymond, 111, 115
Britton, Benjamin, 169
Brogan, D. W., 142
Broken Brow, 53
Businessman and artist, 44
Butsova, Hilda, 14
Bye Bye Jackie, 131
Caccialanza, Giselle, 80, 87, 89
Cadmus, Paul, 83, 84
Caesar and Cleopatra, 53
Café Society, 67
Cage, John, 90
Cajal, Ramon y, 143
Caliph of Bagdad, 4
Camille, 149
Cappricio Espagnol, 153
Captive Princess and the Hero, The, 146
Card Game. See Jeu de Cartes
Carmen (Guns and Castanets), 68, 71
Carnaval, 25, 28, 52, 95, 150, 153
Carosio, Natalie, 65
Carousel, 178
Carpenter, John Alden, 23, 67
Carroll, Earl, 174
Carter, Elliott, 56, 90
Cartier, Jacques, 98
Castillo, 59
Catherine Littlefield Ballet Company, 66
Caton, Edward, 16, 59, 128, 171
Cave of Sleep, The (The Four Temperaments), 54, 90
Cecchetti, 68
Céleste, Mlle, 3-4
Center Theatre, 67, 94
Chabrier, Alexis Emmanuel, 24, 53
Chagall, Marc, 25
Chamber Music Society, Washington, 24
Chaney, Stewart, 78
Character dancing of Massine, 38
Characteristics, national, 58
Charade, 82, 84, 87
Chase, Lucia, 15, 16, 94, 154, 159, 160, 162-63
Chatte, La, 33
Chausson, Ernest, 102
Chicago Allied Arts, 23, 68, 71
Chicago Civic Opera Company, 23, 67, 68
Chicago Grand Opera Ballet, 68
Chicago Grand Opera Company, 23, 64, 66, 68
Chirico, Georges de, 53
Chopin, Frédéric François, 77
Chopin Concerto, 51
Chopiniana. See Sylphides, Les
Chopin's F Minor Piano Concerto ballet (*Constantia*), 85-86, 173
Choreartium, 32
Choreography, definition of, x
Christensen, Lew, 79, 82, 83-85, 87, 89, 126, 165, 169
Christensen, Willam, 42, 64-65

Christmas Carol, 24
Chronology, 184-206
Chujoy, Anatole, xiv
Ciocca, Giovanna, 6, 8
Cirque de Deux, 60, 61
City Center Theatre, 44, 63, 160
City Portrait, 82, 83, 97, 165, 166, 168-69
Classic Ballet, 77
Classical, the, and the new, 25, 52, 55, 61, 62, 104-05, 124
Cléopatre (Une Nuit d'Egypte), 19, 27
Clustine, Ivan, 12, 67
Cobos, Antonia, 59, 60, 146, 171, 172
Cochran, Charles B., 99
Cocteau, Jean, 38, 127
Colon Theatre, Buenos Aires, 24, 35, 68, 79
Colonel W. de Basil's Ballet Russe. *See* Basil, Colonel W. de
Colt, Alvin, 41, 146, 149
Commedia Balletica (Musical Chairs), 59, 61
Competition, excessive, 160
"Complete Book of Ballets," and "Supplement," by Cyril W. Beaumont, xiv
"Concert Varieties," 129
Concerto Barocco, 56, 57, 87, 104, 154, 156
Concurrence, La, 29, 32, 53
Conrad, Karen, 16, 66, 95
Consecration, 24
Constantia (Chopin's F Minor Piano Concerto), 85-86, 173
Coolidge, Elizabeth Sprague, 24, 78
Cooper, Rex, 132
Copland, Aaron, 49, 50, 83, 87
Coppelia, 14, 80
Copyrights, 31
Coq d'Or, Le, 23, 25, 27, 50
Corally, Jean, 5, 6
Corps de ballet, 156-57
  and soloist, 55-56
Costa, Daniel, 9
Cotillon, Le, 29, 53
Courting at Burnt Ranch, The. See Rodeo
Covent Garden Ballet Russe, 30
Covent Garden Royal Opera House, 103
Cracovienne, La, 4
Craske, Margaret, 103
Création du Monde, La, 98
"Crime and Punishment," 113
Cross-Gartered, 103
Crothers, Nathalie, 41
Cuba, xii
Cuckold's Fair, The, 59
Cuevas, Marquis de, 119, 159, 163, 170-73
Cunningham, Merce, 90

Daganova, 128
Dali, Salvador, 45, 118-19, 172
Dance Archives, Museum of Modern Art, xiv, 91
Dance Center, 128
"Dance Index," xiii, 22, 72, 91
"Dance Memoranda," by Merle Armitage, xv
"Dance Memorandum," 81
Dance Players, 83, 84, 146, 165-70
Dance Theatre, 99, 103
Danieli, Fred, 87, 89
Danelian, Leon, 63
Danilova, Alexandra, 16, 34, 35, 53, 59, 62
Danse d'Ecole, 38
Danse Noble, 24
Danses Concertantes, 54, 56, 57, 81, 104, 124, 126, 156
Daphnis and Chloe, 26, 66
Dark Elegies, 95, 101, 103, 153
Davison, Robert, 59, 61
Deakin, Irving, 65
Death and the Maiden, 95
Deaths and Entrances, 105
de Basil Ballets Russes. *See* Basil, Colonel W. de
de Falla, Manuel, 24, 38
"Degas, Dance, Drawing," 109
Delius, Frederick, 117
Dello Joio, Norman, 146, 148, 167, 168
Delval, Rose, 9
de Mille, Agnes, xiii, xv, 40, 49, 60-61, 93-122, 124, 126, 129, 132, 145, 153, 154, 176-82
Denby, Edwin, critiques by, xv, 79, 85-86, 88, 102-03, 104, 107, 124-25, 126-27, 139-40, 141, 142, 145, 156
Denham, Sergei J., 30, 31, 44, 63, 163
Derain, André, 53, 54
Descent of Hebe, The, 103
Development of a theme, 139
Devi, Ratan, 23
Diaghilev, Serge de, 10, 13-16, 18-28, 50, 53, 66, 68, 71, 77, 78, 88, 91, 103, 127, 156, 163
  break with Nijinsky, 37

Diaghilev, Serge de—*Continued*
repertory, 32
succession, 29-36
Dialogue. *See* Speech
Dieux Mendiants, Les, 53
Dim Lustre, 102, 105-07, 111, 112, 153
Dimitriev, Vladimir, 53, 54
Dionysius, 16
Divertimento, xiii, 54, 90, 104
Dobujinsky, Mstislav, 150
Dokoudovsky, Vladimir, 16
Dolin, Anton, 25, 95, 129, 150, 153-55
Dolinoff de Wels, Alexis, 66
Dollar, William, 77, 80, 82, 85-87, 89, 90, 104, 171
Don Domingo, 153, 154
Don Juan, 52
Dostoievsky, Fedor Mikhailovitch, 113
Drama, appeal of, 113
Drums Beat in Hackensack, 99
Duncan, Isadora, 10, 13, 74, 109
DuPont, Paul, 68, 69
Durang, John, 3, 4, 9
Dust, 177
Dying Swan, 10, 12-13, 26

Eckl, Shirley, 132, 141
Economics, xi
Educational Ballet Russe, 30
Eglevsky, André, 62, 171, 172
Egorova, Lubov, 65
Eichhaim, Henry, 24
Éléments, Les, 52
Elopement, 24
Elson, Charles, 60, 61
Elssler, Fanny, 4-8
Elves, Les, 52
Encounter, 82, 84
Enesco, Georges, 65
Ensembles. *See* Corps de ballet
Ephemerality of the ballet, 54
Epreuve d'Amour, L', 52
Errante, 54, 87, 154
Espinosa, 8
Essen Viola, 15, 95, 171, 172
European and American dancing, 9, 42, 62, 124-27, 156
Expressional dance, 61

Facsimile, 110, 129, 143-45, 154
Fair at Sorochinsk, 153
Fall River Legend, xiii
Falla, Manuel de, 24, 38
Fancy Free, xv, 86, 126-30, 132-41, 145, 153-54
scenario, 132-39
Farce du Pont Neuf, La, 24
Fastes, 54
Faust (opera), 61
Federal Theatre Project, 68
Feet, positions of the, x
Fernandez, José, 95
Ffolkes, David, 90
Fille du Danube, La, 5
Fille Mal Gardée, La, 16, 95, 153, 163
Filling Station, 82-84, 97
Fils Prodigue, Le (*The Prodigal Son*), 53, 54
Finances, xi
Finian's Rainbow, 148, 181
Fioca, Felipe, 167
Firebird, 24, 25, 153
Fleischmann, Julius, 30
Fokine, Michel Mikhailovitch, x, 12, 15, 19-21, 23, 25-28, 30, 31, 33, 37, 50, 52, 57, 61, 62, 64, 71, 92, 94, 95, 104, 108, 122, 132, 149-51, 153, 154, 156, 175
Fokine, Vera, 27, 171
Fokine Ballet, 27, 82, 85, 149
Folk dances, 38, 67
Ford Motor Company ballet, 85, 87
Form and movement, 54-55
Formula for ballet, 19
'49, 177
Forty-Niner, 177
Four Temperaments (*The Cave of Sleep*), 54, 90
Foyer de la Danse, La, 24
Frail Quarry, The. See Tally-Ho
Francés, Esteban, 90
Franco-Russian ballet, 31
Frankie and Johnny, 60, 68-69, 71, 97, 126
Franklin, Frederic, 16, 35, 49, 58, 62-63
French, Jared, 83
Fuller, Loie, 10
Future of ballet in America, 124-27
as seen by Kirstein, 91-92
Function, theatrical, 178

Gabo, Naum, 53
Gaîté Parisienne, 38, 42
Gala Performance, 110, 115-17, 130, 153
Gallant Assembly, 103
Gatti-Casazza, Giulio, 19
Gautier, Théophile, 6
Gavrilov, Alexandre, 20
Geltzer, Ekaterina, 14
Genée, Adeline, 10
Gershwin, George, 41, 177

Gest, Morris, 14, 27
Gesture, "modern" plastic, 53
Gesture and movement, language of, 108
"Gesture-dialogue," 143
Geva, Tamara, 53
Ghost Town, 36, 48, 60
Gide, André, 110
Gift of the Magi, 154
Gilder, Rosamond, 182
Giselle, 5-7, 11, 12, 14, 16, 35, 69, 95, 119, 120, 150, 153-55, 163
Glazounov, Alexander, 16, 51, 59
Gliere, Reinhold, 59
Gluck, Christoph Willibald, 77, 99, 176
Goberman, Max, xii
Golden, Miriam, 66
Goldfish, The, 16, 163
Goldwyn Follies, 176
Golizovsky, Kazian Yaroslavevitch, 53
Gollner, Nana, 24, 36, 120
Gottschalk, L. M., 66
Gould, Morton, 75, 141
Gounod, Charles François, 61
Goyescas, 95
Graduation Ball, 153
Graham, Martha, 61, 87, 105, 111, 125
Grahn, Mlle, 6
Grand Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 173
Gray, Gilda, 175
Graziana, 148-49, 154
Great American Goof, The, 48, 94-98, 151, 166
Green Grow the Lilacs, 176-77
Greenwich Village Follies, 174
Grigorieff, Sergei, 22, 35
Grigorieva, Tamara, 35
Gris, Juan, 53
Grisi, Carlotta, 11
Guest-and-star system, 158, 161
Guion, David, 66
Guns and Castanets (*Carmen*), 68, 71

Haakon, Paul, 67
"Haffner Serenade," by Mozart, 84
Haieff, Alexei, 90
Halicka, Alice, 79
Hamlet, 117
Hammerstein, Oscar II, 179
Händel, George Frederick, 53
Harlequin for President, 165
Harris, Margaret, 99
Harvard Theatre Library, 73
Harvesting, The, 177
Hawkins, Erick, 87
Hazard, P. H., 5, 7
Hear ye! Hear ye! 71
Held, John, Jr., 75
Helen of Troy, 28, 153, 154
Heloïse, Mlle, 4
Helpmann, Robert, 117
Herriman, George, 24
Herscher, 24
High Button Shoes, 129, 181
Highland Fling, 90
Hightower, Rosella, 127
Hindemith, Paul, 45, 47, 90
Hitchins, 128
Hofburg, Vienna, 7
Hoffman, Gertrude, 19, 175
Holst, Gustav, 103
Hooray for What, 99
Howard, Andrée, 94, 95
Humphrey, Doris, 61
Hurok, Sol, 30, 32, 33-34, 43, 44, 151, 152, 160, 161, 173
  memoirs, "Impresario," 152
Hutin, Mme, 3

I Married an Angel, 176
Iberian Monotone (*Bolero*), 71
Ida Rubinstein Ballet, 79
Imperial Ballet Academy, 21, 26, 33, 53, 70, 105
Imperial Russian Ballet, 10, 11, 14, 19, 21, 33
Imperial School of the Theatre, 37
Imperial Theatre, 14
"Impresario," by S. Hurok, 152
Impresarios, 161-62
Individuality, 55
International Ballet. *See* Ballet International
Interplay, 126, 130-31, 141-43, 154
Interpretations, 120
Irvin, Rea, 41
Isaacs, Edith J. R., 176
It Happens on Ice, 67
Ito, Michio, 23
Ivanov, Lev, 79, 92

Jack-in-the-Box, 53
Jardin aux Lilas (*Lilac Garden*), 61, 95, 101-03, 105, 107, 111, 117, 121, 153
Jeu de Cartes (*Card Game; Poker Game*), 56, 80, 154
Jeux d'Enfants, 29, 45
Jinx, 84, 169
Johnson, Albert, 39, 41, 67
Johnson, Edward, 76, 77

Jolie Fille de Gand, La, 5
Jones, Robert Edmond, 22, 23, 97
Jooss, Kurt, 99
Judgment of Paris, 95, 101, 153, 163
Juke Box, 86, 87
Junyer, Joan, 59, 90

Kahn, Otto H., 10, 20
Kamerny Theatre, 14, 15
Karnakoski, Kari, 16
Karsavina, Thamar, 13, 20, 24, 25
Kaye, Nora, 120, 127, 144, 147, 162
Kent, Carl, 41
Kidd, Michael, 86, 87, 101, 110, 123-49, 154, 165, 181
Kindertotenlieder, 101
Kirstein, Lincoln, ix, xiii, xv, 20, 21, 42, 44, 54, 72-93, 104, 124-26, 154, 157, 159, 163, 165, 166, 168, 173
"Book of the Dance," xiii, 73, 91
on Diaghilev, 18
on players and audiences, 128
school, 73-74
Kochno, Boris, 127
Korovin, Constantin, 33
Kosloff, Alexis, 19
Kosloff, Theodore, 19, 65, 98
Krazy Kat, 23
Kreutzberg, Harald, 68
Kriza, John, 132, 141, 144, 147, 162

Laban, Rudolph van, 38
Labyrinth, 45
Ladies' Better Dresses, 67
Lady Into Fox, 95
Laing, Hugh, 94, 99, 103, 120, 144, 162
Lambert, Constant, 103
Lament, 24
Lang, Harold, 65, 132, 141
Language of gesture and movement, x, 108
Latin America, tours in, 35, 52, 67, 85, 87, 90, 154
Laurie Makes Up Her Mind, 179-82
Le Clerq, Tanaquil, 89
Lee, Mary Ann, 5-9
Legend of Azyade, The, 11, 14, 15
Légende de Joseph, La, 27, 37
Léger, Fernand, 98
Lester, Keith, 153-55
Let the Righteous Be Glad, 67
Lewisohn Stadium, 27, 76
Lichine, David, 28, 35, 153-55
Lieutenant Kije (Russian Soldier), 28, 150, 153
Lifar, Serge, 31, 52, 129
Lilac Garden. See Jardin aux Lilas
Limon, José, 175
Liszt, Franz, 23
Literature on the ballet, xiii
Little Circus, 24
"Little Symphony" of Barrère, 23
Littlefield, Catherine, 42, 64-67, 126, 149
Littlefield, Dorothy, 66
Lloyd, Margaret, 152
Lola Montez, 59
London, Lorna, 87
London Ballet, 103
Look, Ma, I'm Dancing, 129
Lopez, Pilar, 59
Lopokova, Lydia, 19, 20
Loring, Eugene, 40, 48-50, 60-61, 82, 87, 94, 95, 97, 104, 126, 128, 145, 146, 151, 165, 166, 169, 170
Louise, Mlle, 4
Louys, Pierre, 27
Love, Kermit, 49, 132
Lundborg, Arne, 99
Lyon, Annabel, 87
Lysistrata (The Strike of the Wives), 103

Mabille, Charles, 6-7
MacLeish, Archibald, 39
Mad Genius, The, 24
Mad Tristan, 45, 172
Madroños, 59
Magellanes, Nicholas, 87
Mahler, Gustav, 101
Maid of Cashmere, The, 4
Majestic Theatre, 15
Maletzova, Hilda, 14
Malieff, M., 80
Mamoulian, Rouben, 163, 179
Mandragora, 24
Marie-Jeanne, 62, 87, 171
Marie Rambert Ballet, 68
Marinsky Theatre, 12, 13, 15, 19, 20, 26, 53, 79
Markova, Alicia, 16, 25, 35, 62, 120, 152
Markova-Dolin Company, 129
Marsh, Reginald, 168
Martin, John, critiques, xv, 86, 94, 97, 104, 107, 111, 113, 125, 142, 143, 164, 166, 169, 176, 182
Massine, Leonide, 14, 16, 20, 27, 29-32, 34, 35, 40, 41, 43, 47, 51, 52, 57,

Massine, Leonide—*Continued*
60-62, 91, 126, 129, 153-55, 171, 173
Ballet Russe, 36-47
biography, 37
character dancer, 38
method, 45-47
parting from de Basil, 34
Matelots, Les, 45, 129
Matisse, Henri, 53
Maywood, Augusta (La Petite Augusta), 4-7, 9
Mazillier, 6
McCracken, Joan, 66, 165
McPhee, Colin, 169
"Mechanical ballet," 24
Mechanical Ballet, 95
Menotti, Gian-Carlo, 172
Mephisto Waltz, 23
Mercure, 32, 45
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 99
Metropolitan Ballet Company, 20
Metropolitan Music Bureau, 20
Metropolitan Opera Association, 76, 81, 85, 146
Metropolitan Opera Company, 19, 23, 68
Metropolitan Opera House, 14, 34, 44, 152, 161, 175
Mielziner, Jo, 107, 111
Mikhail Mordkin Ballet, 15
Milhaud, Darius, 53, 54, 69, 70, 98
Minotaur, 90, 149
Mlle Angot, 153, 154
Molas, Nicholas de, 98, 115, 117
Monaco, Prince of, 29, 30, 173
Moncion, Francisco, 89, 171, 172
Mondonville, 24
Monte Carlo, 29
Monte Carlo Ballets Russes. *See* Ballet Russe I
Montez, Lola, 8
Moore, Lillian, 7, 40-41
Moore, Marjorie, 87
Morcom, James, 167
Mordkin, Mikhail, 10-17, 85, 93-95, 163
Mordkin Ballet, 15, 16, 163
Morlacchi, Giuseppina, 8
Morley, Christopher, 98
Moross, Jerome, 68, 69
Moscow Art Theatre, 14, 15
Mossolov, Alexander, 24
Moszkowsky, Alexander, 59
Mother Goose Suite, xiii
Motive, psychological, 122
Motley, 99, 106
Mountain White, 177
Moussorgsky, Modeste Petrovitch, 33
Movement, use of, 71
Movement and form, 54-55, 108
Movement and music, 57
Movement-feeling and movement-tenor, 58
Moylan, Mary Ellen, 62, 89, 127
Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus, 24, 54, 84, 149
Mozartiana, 54, 56, 75, 77
Museum of Modern Art, 73
Dance Archives, xiv
Music and movement, 57
Music Box Revue, 68
"Music for Children," by Prokofieff, 129
Musical Art Management Corporation, 76
Musical Chairs (*Commedia Balletica*), 59, 61
Musical comedy, 174-83
Mute Wife, 60, 172, 173

Nabokoff, Nicholas, 39, 41
Naiad Queen, The, 6
Narrative, dramatic, 124
National traits, 58
Negro girl dancers in *Obeah,* 98
Neher, Caspar, 54
Nemtchinova, Vera, 14, 128
"Neo-classicism" and "classicism," 55
Neri, Gaetano, 8
New, the, and the classical. *See* Classical, the
New Dance League, 128
New York City Ballet Company, xii
New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, 78
New Yorker, The, 36, 38, 41
Niblo's Garden, 8
Night Shadow, 54, 56, 57
Nijinska, Bronislava, 31, 51-52, 57, 61, 79, 95, 153, 171, 176
Nijinsky, Vaslav, 13, 14, 20-22, 25-27, 120-21
break with Daghilev, 37
Nikitin Circus, 15
Nimura, 128
Nobilissima Visione (*St. Francis*), 43-46, 61
Noces, Les, 52
Noguchi, Isamu, xii, 69, 70, 90
Nordoff, Paul, 99, 100
Novikoff, Laurent, 12, 64, 68

Nuit d'Egypte, Une (Cléopatre), 19, 27
Nutcracker, The, 46, 62
Nymph Errant, 99

Obeah (Black Ritual), 95, 98, 151, 153
Obolensky, Prince Serge, 30
Ode, 32, 45
Ode to Glory, 95
Offenbach, Jacques, 24, 28, 150
Oklahoma! xv, 100, 176-77, 179-83
On Stage! 86, 146-48, 154, 159
On the Town, 129
On Your Toes, 176
Operas, ballets for, 76-78
Optimism, 110
Original Ballet Russe, 30, 34-36, 129, 149, 160-61, 172, 173
  roster, 35
Orpheus, xii, xiii, 77-79, 176
Osato, Sono, 35
Oukrainsky, Serge, 65

Page, Ruth, xiii, 24, 42, 51, 60, 64, 67-69, 101, 104, 126
Page-Stone Ballet Company, 68
Pajitskaya, Bronislava, 14
Palmer, Winthrop B., "Theatrical Dancing in America," xiv
Palmer, Mrs. Winthrop B., 165
Parable in Blue, 67
Parade, 32, 37, 45
Paris Opera, 31, 89
Paris Opera Ballet, xii
Parnassus au Montmartre, 24
Pas de deux, 43
Pas de Quatre, 119, 153-55, 163
Pas de Trois, 129
Passing Show, 174
Pastorale, La, 53
Pastorela, 82, 84, 87
Pavane pour une Infante Défunte, 24
Pavillon d'Armide, Le (The Animated Gobelins), 27
Pavlova, Anna, 10-17, 21, 25, 26, 30, 67, 98, 103
Pène du Bois, Raoul, 48, 60
Personalities of dancers, 119-20
Peter and the Wolf, 24, 95, 153
Peters, Rollo, 24
Petipa, Marius, 19, 59, 79, 80, 92, 104
Petrouchka, 2-25, 30, 34, 35, 50, 52, 80, 150, 151, 153, 163
Pevsner, Antoine, 53
Philadelphia Ballet Company, 66, 149
Philadelphia Civic Opera Company, 66
Philadelphia Opera, 64
Philadelphia Symphony, 66
Picasso, Pablo, 38
Pictures at an Exhibition, 172, 173
Pierrot Lunaire, 24
Pillar of Fire, 102, 105, 107-11, 120-22, 124, 153, 159, 163
Pinto, Salvatore, 66
Pioneers, three American, 64-71
Pittaluga, Gustavo, 59
Placide, Alexandre, 3
Plages, 29
Planets, The, 103
Platoff, Marc, 48, 128
Pleasant, Richard, 93, 95, 150-52, 162
Pocahontas, 82, 84
Poe, Edgar Allan 69-70
Poker Game. See Jeu de Cartes
Polish Ballet, 51
Positions of the feet, x
Potteiger, Jack, 66
Powell, John, 66
Prairie, 166-69
Preferences, American, 33
Présages, Les, 32, 45
Prince Igor, 25, 30, 32, 34, 35, 50, 52
Princess Aurora, 153
Principles, basic, x
Principles of reform, by Fokine, 26
Prodigal Son, The. See Fils Prodigue, Le
Program, typical, 43
Prokofieff, Serge, 24, 28, 53, 103, 115, 117, 129, 150
Promenade, 82, 84-86
Proust, Marcel, 102, 110
Pruna, Pedro, 53
Psychoanalysis, 109
"Psychological dramas," 105-06
Psychological motive, 122

Quelques Fleurs, xiii
Quintet, 95

Radio City Music Hall, 85, 175
Raksin, David, 41
Rambert, Marie, 103
Rambert School, 103
Ramon y Cajal, 143
Rasch, Albertina, 175
Ravel, Maurice Joseph, 24, 66
  Valses Nobles et Sentimentales, 86
Ravel family, 4
Ravinia Opera Company, 68
Raymonda, 59
Red Poppy, The, 59
Reed, Janet, 65, 132, 141, 147-48, 165

Reed, Ramon, 99
Reform and classics, 104-05
Reform of the ballet by Fokine, 26
Reminiscence, 75, 77
Remisoff, Nicholas, 24, 71
Renard, 54, 90
Repertory, importance of, 153
Repertory, "Russian," 32-33
Respighi, Ottorino, 99
Revalles, Flore, 20
Revil, Rudi, 90
Revivals and survivals, 54
Riabouchinska, Tatiana, 32, 35, 62
Rickabaugh, Clive, 68
Rieti, Vittorio, 53
Riggs, Lynn, 176
Rigl, Betty, 9
Rimsky-Korsakoff, Nikolai Andreevitch, 11, 23, 33
Rito Rita, 175
Rittman, Trude, 87
Rivals, The, 24
Robbins, Jerome, xv, 86, 101, 110, 123-49, 153, 154, 181
Robbins, Sonya, 128
Robert, Grace, "The Borzoi Book of Ballets," xiv
Rockettes, 175
Rodeo (The Courting at Burnt Ranch), 49, 50, 51, 58, 100, 126, 129, 177, 179
Rodgers, Richard, 38, 179
Roerich, Nicholas Konstantin, 16, 33
Romanoff, Boris, 171
Romanoff, Dimitri, 15, 95
Romeo and Juliet, 65, 99, 108, 117-19, 153, 159
Ronzani, 8
Ronzi-Vestris, Charles, and Mme, 4
Rosalie, Mlle, 4
Rose, Billy, 129
Roshanara, 23
Rossignol, Le, 53
Rosters of Original Ballet Russe and Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, 35
Rouault, Georges, 53
Rouge et Noir, 44
Roxy Theatre, 29, 37
Royal Opera House, Covent Garden, 103
Rubinstein, Ida, 26, 79
Rückert, Friedrich, 101
Rumanian Wedding, 65
"Russian" and "American" works, 50-51
Russian Ballet, 31
Russian ballet in America, 10
Russian Soldier (Lieutenant Kije), 28, 150, 153
Russian tradition, 36-37

Sacre de Printemps, 38
Sadler's Wells Ballet, 79
St. Denis, Ruth, 10, 13, 98
St. Francis (Nobilissma Visione), 43-46, 61
St. James Theatre, 32
Sandburg, Carl, 68, 167
Sandor, Gluck, 128
San Francisco Civic Ballet Association, 65
San Francisco Opera, 24, 64, 65
Sangalli, Rita, 9
Saratoga, 36, 38, 41-42, 58, 126
Saroyan, William, 96-98
Satie, Erik, 24, 53
Sauguet, Henri, 53, 54
Scala, La, Milan, 7
Scandals, 174
Scheherazade, 19, 25, 26, 32, 35, 37, 46, 50, 52, 62, 108, 121, 122, 132, 176
Schönberg, Arnold, 24, 107, 111
School of American Ballet, The (Kirstein's), 54, 73-74, 82, 83, 85, 87, 91, 149
School of the dance, 38
School of the dance, of Mordkin, 14-16
Schools, national, x
Schubert, Franz Peter, 54, 87
Schuman, William, 111, 115
Schwezoff, Igor, 59
Scope of a ballet company, 93-94
Scuola di Ballo, 29
Seasons, The, 14, 90
Sebastian, 172, 173
Sedowa, Julia, 14
Seelig, 103
Seligmann, Kurt, 90
Semenoff, Simon, 154, 171
Sentimental Colloquy, 172
Sept Péchés Capitaux, Les, 54
Serenade, 56, 75, 77, 87, 104, 154, 156
Sergava, Katherine, 16
Seventh Symphony, 44
Severn, Margaret, 68
Shadow of the Wind, xiii
Shabelevski, Yurek, 95
Shakespeare, William, 103, 117
Sharaff, Irene, 39, 41, 80, 141, 143
Shaw, G. Bernard, 53
Shawn, Ted, 126
Shea, Mary Jane, 87

Shubert, J. K., 174
Simonson, Lee, 16
Slaughter on Tenth Avenue, 175, 176, 182
Slavenska, Mia, 16, 62
Sleeping Beauty, The, 66, 163
Smallens, Alexander, 66
Smit, Leo, 60, 61
Smith, George Washington, 4-9
Smith, Joseph, 8
Smith, Oliver, 41, 49, 50, 132, 141, 143-46, 148, 160, 164
Snow Maiden, 51-52, 67
Soby, James Thrall, 46
Sokolova, Lydia, 14
Sokolow, Anna, xiv
Soleil de Nuit, 37
Soloists, 156-58
  and ensembles, 55-56
Sonata Pathétique, 65
Songes, Les, 54, 75
Sorel, Felicia, 128
Soto, Pepita, 8
Soudeikine, Sergei, 16
Sound. *See* Music
South America, touring in, 35, 52, 67, 85, 87, 90, 154
Sovey, Raymond, 102
Spectacle and story, 56
Spectre de la Rose, Le, 25, 28, 32, 35, 52, 150, 153
Speech, use in ballet, 71, 131
Sponsorship, 159
Sprague-Coolidge, Elizabeth, 24, 78
Staats, Leo, 65
Stanislavsky, Constantin, 14
Star-and-guest system, 158, 161
State Academy Theatre, 14
Steinberg, Ben, xii
Stevenson, Hugh, 102
Stokowski, Leopold, 66
Stone, Bentley, 68
Story and spectacle, 56
Strauss, Johann, 16, 87
Strauss, Richard, 22, 37, 53, 106
Strauss, Sara Mildred, 175
Strawinsky, Igor, xii, 24, 38, 53, 57, 59, 61-79, 80, 81, 87, 90, 151
  festival, 78-81
Stream-of-consciousness method, 109
Strike of the Wives, The (*Lysistrata*), 103
Strip-Tease, 177
Stroganova, Nina, 16, 95
Stuart, Muriel, 146
Style, American, 142
Suarez, Olga, 87
Subsidized ballets, 159
Success, factors in, 121
Summer Day, 129-30
Sunday, Billy, ballet on, 71
"Supplement to Complete Book of Ballets," and "Complete Book of Ballads," by Cyril W. Beaumont, xiv
Survivals and revivals, 54
Suspense, 56
Swan Lake, 14, 16, 35, 62, 65, 69, 95, 121, 150, 151, 153-55
Swedish Ballet, 98
Swift, Kay, 75
Swinging the Dream, 99
Sylphides, Les (*Chopiniana*), 19, 25-28, 30, 34, 35, 52, 90, 91, 94, 95, 100, 119, 121, 132, 150, 151, 153, 154, 156, 163, 171
Sylvain, James, 4, 5, 7
"Symphonic ballet," 91
  of Massine, 44
Symphonie Concertante (Mozart), xiii
Symphony in C (Bizet), xiii
Szymanowsky, Karol, 24

Taglioni, Marie, 5, 119
Taglioni, Paul, 5
Tairoff, Alexander, 14
Talbot, J. Alden, 154
Tallchief, Maria, 62, 127
Tally-Ho (*The Frail Quarry*), 98-100, 126, 153, 154, 159, 163
Tansman, Alexander, 24
Tarantule, La, 4
Taras, John, 89, 90, 104, 146, 148-49, 154
Tartini, Giuseppe, 103
Tchaikowsky, Peter I., 33, 54, 57, 65, 66, 79, 80, 87, 155
Tchelitchew, Pavel, 46, 54, 77, 90
Tcherepnine, Nicolai, 16, 163
Teatro Colon, Buenos Aires, 24, 35, 68, 79
Technique, basic, x
  vocabulary, 55
Terminal, 67
Terry, Walter, xiv, 54
Thayr, Forrest, Jr., 83
"Theatre Arts," 176, 182
Theatre Arts Department, Museum of Modern Art, xiv

"Theatrical Dancing in America," by Winthrop B. Palmer, xiv
Theatrical function, 178
Theilade, Nini, 46
Theme and Variations, 150, 153-56
Themes, American, 38-42, 86
Thompson, Woodman, 155
Thomson, Virgil, 83, 84
Thousand Times Neigh, A, 85-87
Three Virgins and a Devil, 98, 99, 153, 154
Three-Cornered Hat, The (Le Tricorne), 31, 38, 45, 153
Til Eulenspiegel, 120
Tiller Girls, 174-75
Toller, Ernest, 53
Tompkins, Beatrice, 87
Toumanova, Tamara, 16, 32, 34, 35, 62
Touring in Latin America. *See* Latin America
Touring in the United States, 63
Tradition, ix, x, 57
Tragedy of the 'Cello, 24
Train Bleu, 176
Traits, national, 58
Transcendence, 75
Traveling. *See* Touring
Trepak, 16
Tricorne, Le. See Three-Cornered Hat
Tristan and Isolde, 172
Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, The, xiii
Triumph of Neptune, 53
Tudor, Antony, xiii, 44, 45, 60-61, 93-122, 124, 130, 132, 145, 153, 154, 162, 164
Turkey Trot, 8
Turnbull, Julia, 5-9
Turner, Harold, 103

Undertow, 102, 105, 111-15, 120, 153
Union Pacific, 36, 38-41
Universal Art, 30, 31
Utrillo, Maurice, 53

Valéry, Paul, 109
Valmier, Jean, 24
Valses, Les, 54
Values, aesthetic, ix
Van Druten, John, 111
Vanities, 174
van Praag, Peggy, 99
Varkas, Leon, 15, 95
Veloz, 128
Verklärte Nacht, 111
Vertès, Marcel, 150
Vestris, Charles, and Mme Ronzi, 4
Vic-Wells Ballet, 103
Vilzak, Anatole, 171
Vilzak-Schollar School of the Ballet, 146, 171
Virginia Sampler, 60-61, 104
Vladimiroff, Pierre, 14, 64
Vocabulary of technique, 55
Voice in the ballet. *See* Speech
Voices of Spring, 16, 17, 94, 95
Volinine, Alexandre, 12, 14, 19, 85

Wagner, Richard, 172
Waltz Academy, 54, 150, 153-55
Warburg, Edward M., 54, 73, 75, 76
Ware, Walter, 77
Weidman, Charles, 175
Weill, Kurt, 54, 101
Weinberger, Jaromir, 41
Wels, Alexis Dolinoff de, 66
White, George, 174
White, Miles, 179
Whitman, Walt, 127
Wigman, Mary, 38
Wilder, 87
Williams, Vaughn, 24, 177
Winter, Marion, 7
Winter Garden, New York, 19
Witt, Fred, 59
Words spoken, in ballet. *See* Speech
Wynn, Ed, 99

Yankee Clipper, 82
Yara, 36
Yazvinsky, Yurek, 35
Young Ballet, 53
Youskevitch, Igor, xii, 16, 62, 155
Yradier, 59

Ziegfeld, Florenz, 175
Ziegfeld Follies, 174
Zodiac, 90