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Carter, Alexandra (2010) Archives of the Dance (22): Pioneer Women – early British modern dancers (the National Resource Centre for Dance, University of Surrey). *Dance Research*, 28 (1). pp. 90-103. ISSN 0264-2875

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ARCHIVES OF THE DANCE

Pioneer Women: early British modern dancers

The National Resource Centre for Dance, University of Surrey

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In 2007 the Department of Dance, Film and Theatre and the National Resource Centre for Dance (NRCD) at the University of Surrey received a Resource Enhancement Scheme award from the Arts and Humanities Research Council. The project which was to benefit from this funding aimed to preserve, catalogue and disseminate research findings from four collections held at the NRCD.¹ All of these collections contained material pertaining to women dance artists who were practising in Britain primarily in the early/middle twentieth century. By opening up these archives, the *Pioneer Women: early British modern dancers* project will make an important part of Britain's dance heritage accessible to scholars and to all those interested in this under-researched and barely recorded period of history. It will also form the basis for an expansion of sources by attracting further deposits; through a series of oral history interviews which are being conducted with 'second generation' participants, and in newly filmed reconstructions of works of the period from the Natural Movement repertoire.

The largest collection coheres around the dance form of Natural Movement, developed and systematized by Madge Atkinson (1885 – 1970). Its core vocabulary extends natural ways of travelling and gesture, with a lyrical style that emphasises expressiveness and musicality.² The second largest collection contains material on a dance form contemporaneous with Natural Movement, the Revived (subsequently Classical) Greek Dance. Devised by Ruby Ginner (1886 – 1978), it was initially based on her research into the Hellenic Greek chorus. This dance form embraces different movement vocabularies, qualities and moods, ranging from the emotional imperatives of the bacchic to the athleticism of the pyrrhic.

Two of the smaller collections contain material on Leslie Burrowes (1908 – 1985) who was the first English dancer to study at Mary Wigman's school in Dresden (1929 – 1931). Donated by her daughter in 2003, it contains scrapbooks, photographs, books and other ephemera, including letters from Wigman to Burrowes. Also donated in 2003 is a collection of photographs, correspondence, programmes, music scores, gramophone records and other ephemera from Ludmila Mlada, also known as Ludi Horenstein (1918 – 2003). Mlada studied with Marie Rambert in the late 1930s and later performed on tour with her company; she danced with the Ballets Jooss in the 1940s, further trained with Sigurd Leeder and presented her own work in the 1950s under the auspices of the Contemporary Dance Theatre Centre and the Related Arts Centre. These two collections would, therefore, throw an interesting light on the burgeoning British 'contemporary' dance scene. Furthermore, ephemera contained in the two larger collections above, including four albums of cuttings and photographs of Anna Pavlova, who was a friend of Ginner, would be of interest to ballet scholars.

The focus of the project is primarily on the Natural Movement and Revived/Classical Greek Dance archives. The former, donated by Anita Heyworth, comprises 38 running metres. It contains approximately 2000 photographs, mainly from the 1920s and 1930s; scrapbooks of newspaper cuttings from 1905 – 1965; almost five hundred theatre programmes, posters and playbills; original costumes for about 30 dances; music scores and descriptions of many dances in prose and notation. It includes documents and ephemera on the teaching of Natural Movement: session plans, syllabi, scrapbooks on the London College of Dance (1946 – 1965) and minutes of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dancing's (ISTD) Natural Movement branch (1925 – 1979) which offer an insight into the development of the formal training. The Bice Bellairs collection on Revived Greek Dance, and other smaller donations on Classical Greek Dance, extends to 7 running metres. They contain similar material: press cuttings, photographs, albums, music scores, books and manuscripts.³ Both of these main collections contain material which illuminates Atkinson's and Ginner's own professional practice and situates them within the broader dance context of the time.

Periodicals such as *The Dancing Times*, theatre programmes and press cuttings of other artists' work demonstrate their awareness of and congruence with not only British dance activity but also the pervading international climate.

The cultural context

During the first three decades or so of the twentieth century there were strongly discernible trends in artistic, educational and broad cultural beliefs and practices. These cohered around the themes of nature and the 'natural', and revised perceptions of the body and its place in a holistic view of what it was to be human. Further, the role of movement in physical education and the very nature of education itself were receiving revisionist attention. Largely, these debates emerged from what were perceived as the strictures of the Victorian era. The Hellenic model of society, located specifically around the fifth century BCE, was privileged as an ideal. Far less connected to the reality of Hellenic times and more to its idealised conception, central to all these new ways of thought and behaviour was the changing role of women. The participants in the Greek-style/'natural' forms of dance were almost solely women. These dance forms facilitated choreographic creativity by women which is not commonly found - or rather, made public - in the history of Western theatre dance up to this period. They embodied new emancipations; allied with the principles of dress reform they allowed women not only to explore a much more overt relationship with their bodies through participation and performance but also to do so in the public domains of the salon, the stage and the open air.

Madge Atkinson and Ruby Ginner

The summary above of the cultural landscape is a most pertinent one within which to situate the work of two of the women artists who worked in Britain during this period: Madge Atkinson and Ruby Ginner. Of the two, Atkinson is possibly the least well known in the sense that although her work was prolific, she did not publish in book form, unlike Ruby Ginner and another important practitioner of the time, Margaret Morris. Interestingly, however, an undated, typed manuscript of plans and part content for a nine-chapter book has been found in the archives entitled *Dancing based on*

Natural Movement, edited by Mary A. Johnstone and Madge Atkinson, but this was never published ([NM/E/2/3/1](#)).⁴ Atkinson dedicated her life to the technical development, choreographic practice and teaching of Natural Movement. The term is now synonymous with her, but it was not of her own devising. She had studied at the Annea Spong School of Dancing (Natural Movement) and although she acknowledges that 'my own inspiration came from the Duncan School and from Miss Annea Spong of London' ([Atkinson](#), *The Ball Room*, Dec. 1926: 27 [NM/M/5](#)) Atkinson did not study directly with Isadora Duncan.⁵ What is significant, however, in relation to the trend toward antiquity as inspiration, is Atkinson's comment that although she admires the ideals of the Greeks, 'we who live in the 20th century must gain what we can from these past glories, yet make our dance for today the natural outcome of our feelings. So it is that I would call it "natural" rather than "Greek"' ([Atkinson](#), *The Ball Room* Dec. 1926: 27 [NM/M/5](#)).

Atkinson was born and worked in Manchester. Ill health and filial care prevented her from following a career as a professional actress but she became interested in the work of Isadora Duncan, via Spong (above) and the Eurythmics of Dalcroze. Combining these in a training system which embraced the relationship between movement, music and expression, she devised the dances for theatre productions at the Gaiety Theatre and offered public performances of her own new work. (It is important to signal here how regional activity tends to be missing from history. Manchester is a case in point, for in the early part of the twentieth century, it was a city which flourished as a result of the cotton trade and this provided the economic base for the burgeoning of the arts.) Atkinson opened her School of Natural Movement in Manchester in 1918 where she was joined by Mollie Suffield as her partner in this venture. Four years later she was invited by the ISTD to form a Natural Movement branch with a systemised approach to training and one which redressed this lack in Duncan's work. Atkinson's approach was valued for its educational benefits and filtered through Manchester schools until the late 1930s. It was taught at the Bergman Osterberg Physical Training College by her pupil and life companion, Anita Heyworth, who also undertook delivery of the form at the Cone School of Dancing in London. In

1944, Atkinson and Heyworth were invited by Grace Cone to help establish the London College of Educational Dance (later London College of Dance and Drama) which was the first dance specialist teacher training college in the United Kingdom. Atkinson died in 1970 but the Natural Movement work of the ISTD continues not only through teaching but also in the collection of archive and study material and the reconstruction of dances (see <http://www.istd.org/dancestyles/naturalmovement/intro.html>)

Ruby Ginner initially trained as an actress, during which time she studied the chorus of Greek theatre. Inspired by its dramatic qualities, she extended her studies to the art of dance. In 1913 she founded The Grecian Dancers and soon after the Ruby Ginner School of Dance. Joined by the mime artist Irene Mawer, this became the Ginner-Mawer School of Dance and Drama. As the theatre performances declined later in the 1920s the education work expanded and was absorbed into schools by teachers who had encountered it at physical training colleges. In 1923 Ginner founded the Association of Teachers of Revived Greek Dance. Her methods were absorbed into the ISTD and some into the Royal Academy of Dance Free Movement syllabus. Ginner was an advocate of classical Greek dance in her writing as well as in the theatre and education. She produced three books (1933, 1960 and a reprint of part of the latter in 1963) plus journal articles. Ginner acknowledged the cultural trends within which she was working. Although her claims are personalised, she claimed that

frequently one finds . . . that a new idea in art has simultaneous birth in more than one mind. Unknown to each other, widely varying personalities at great distances will conceive the same idea and set work to reproduce it. When Isadora Duncan was beginning her work in the United States the same seed of inspiration was growing in England, where, under my guidance, it took shape as the revived Greek dance (*sic*).

Ginner 1960: 18

Both Atkinson and Ginner presented their theatre repertoire primarily during the 1910s - 1930s. As the above synopsis shows, they addressed the problem of Duncan's work by filtering their ideals through much more systemised methods of teaching. The sheer number of performances and the cuttings held in the archives indicate that these 'natural' dance forms were not only popular with audiences but also very well received by the press. And yet, although the teachings of Atkinson and Ginner are sustained in the private sector of dance education, their theatre work and their general achievements have almost completely disappeared from history. There is a dearth of texts which acknowledge indigenous British dance and, as historians generally tend to focus on theatre dance, the legacies of dance in education and (particularly) training in the private sector have yet to be fully explored. As such, diversification into these fields by British dance artists such as Atkinson and Ginner has diluted rather than strengthened perception of their achievements. The sources held at the NRCD, exemplified below, hint at those achievements and their synchronicity with the times.

THE ARCHIVES

Photographs

The archives are rich in photographic images. Pictures of Pavlova, Duncan, St. Denis and other artists from the 1920s speak eloquently of Atkinson's and Ginner's interest in the various dance forms of the period. In the Atkinson collection, many of the images of the dance are taken in either the photographer's or her own studio. It is a tribute to both the developing art of photography, the photographer and the performer that some of these poses are highly precarious and some even capture a sense of the moment of movement. For example, there are several shots by Longworth Cooper of what Alter describes as a 'signature pose' of the period (1994: 106). This entails a side profile, with a highly raised front leg in a skipping position. The back is, often impressively, arched backwards and the arms reach out either laterally, diagonally or in a vertical position. There is also a strong sense of movement in, for example, images of fabric flowing through the space. A work performed by Anita Heyworth entitled *The spirit of the bush fire* (featured in the *Dancing Times* July 1927: 90 [\(p.386\)](#)

[in bound copies](#)) and [NM/M/5](#)), depicts a dancer lying on the floor, head down, with an large arc of fabric swirling through the air above her (Fig.1).

The extensive photographic records in the archives also present a view of prevailing trends in photography and, as such, are of interest in their own right. As Ewing claims, 'dance photography, no less than dance, can be regarded as a language, with a vocabulary, grammar and syntax' (1987: 10). From the end of the nineteenth century an amateur movement evolved which became known as 'pictorialism'. In an attempt to counteract the low status of photography, its artistic dimensions were explored. Pictorialism 'stressed formal concerns and atmospheric effects rather than subject matter' (Ewing 1987: 19). Atmosphere is much in evidence in Longworth Cooper's pictures, for although they might have been lit in order to capture a sense of the theatrical, the lighting is also a carefully considered part of the image itself. It is also the 'formal concerns' which bring much of the photography of the 1920s into the modernist world. Lighting is used to accentuate limb and muscle definition which helps produce both clarity of form and a flat two-dimensionality. This not only refers back to the *bas-relief* on ancient artefacts which provided much of the inspiration for the dance vocabulary but also, in its linearity, steps into the modernist realm of Art Deco.

Photographic images can stimulate the historian into making broader links with the cultural and artistic context. For example, one set of images is not of the dance at all, but comprises photographs taken of Atkinson and her home surroundings when she was in her childhood and 'teens ([NM/F/4/1](#)). Although her father was an actor he was not a nationally known one and a researcher might have speculated that their circumstances were modest. However, the very large family home in Cheshire with expansive gardens, and a photo of Atkinson on a horse with 'the groom', indicate the upper-middle class nature of her background. This chimes with Alter's (1994) view that both money and leisure were needed in order to engage with these dance forms and participants were likely to come from the higher social classes. This is not simply an innocent social fact, but it might explain their reformatory faith in the efficacy of the dance. As Alter claims, 'they assumed their vision of the arts, their concept of society,

and their use of leisure time and extra money was correct – and therefore could satisfy the life goals of all people’ (1994: 109). Furthermore, although fashion had changed considerably by the 1920s, images of the young Atkinson in formal Edwardian dress with high collar and long skirt remind us of the social attitudes to women’s bodies which the costumes of these dance forms helped to contest.

A further set of images includes works such as *The sigh of autumn* (1928) (ref [NM/F/2/20/1](#)). Here, lateral group shapes across the stage, characterised by ascending and descending levels, produce a strong dramatic effect. Similarly, *Toil* (1934) ([ref NM/F/2/23/1](#)) depicts three clear groupings, two of women, one of ‘men’, each with strong unison gestures (Fig.II). The resemblance to the group expressiveness of Central European Dance is striking. It is interesting to note that Atkinson visited dance schools in Germany and wrote about her experience (1930: 242–47 and typescript of visit to Germany, 1930, [NM/E/2/7/1](#)). She met Wigman herself and watched one of her works in rehearsal (*The call of the dead*, being prepared for the Munich Festival of 1930). Her outlook was broadened to the extent that in her teachers’ courses in 1937 and 1938 the syllabus included ‘Central European movement’, taken by Doryta Brown ‘who holds the diploma of the Mary Wigman School in Dresden’ ([NM/E/2/1/2](#)). Furthermore, Anita Heyworth attended the Jooss-Leeder summer school at Dartington in 1937 and made extensive notes on the exercises, sequences and lectures given by Jooss, Leeder, Cohen and Ullman ([NM/E/2/7/2](#)).

There are other trends which can be discerned from general scrutiny of the photographic archives. One is in terms of the location of the shots, which tend to fall into the studio-posed images as discussed above and in the outdoors. It is the latter which resonate most significantly of the times. From the late 1800s and well through into the 1930s there was a broad cultural fascination with the open air and its perceived contribution to the development of the fit and healthy body. Unlike the wilder flights of imagination of the Romantics at the end of the eighteenth century, nature tends to be tamed and domestic. Many of the dances are executed in gardens or,

latterly, in the grounds of the training colleges by their pupils. The specificity of the outdoors to these forms of dance is revealed when we think how rarely students of today take their classes – of any kind - in the open air. These shots reveal far more of the lyricism and air-bound movement of the dances and as such tend to capture the joy of the participants in their dancing. One such image comes from an album of amateur photographs collected by Pauline Grant, who was a pupil at the Ginner-Mawer school. This shows an unusual image of a Revived Greek dancer, not sturdily posed as in most previously published photographs but mid-leap, dextrously wielding her spear (Fig.III).

The photographic archives also reveal a less well-known aspect of Atkinson's work in the realm of 'national' dances from Europe, forms which the Ginner-Mawer company also presented in mixed programmes of work. Other sources demonstrate Atkinson's extensive research into historical dance, which she performed and taught. Illustrated books in the Ginner collection exemplify her extensive research into Greek dance as represented on *bas-reliefs* and other artefacts.

Scrapbooks

A series of scrapbooks in the Natural Movement collection contain press cuttings and printed ephemera ranging from Atkinson's father's performances through to those of London College from the 1940s onwards. An album of autographs from 1888 – 1914, many appended with literary/theatrical quotes, and the press cuttings from her father's and her own early acting performances (NM/N/4 & NM/M/1) demonstrate Atkinson's immersion in the world of theatre. They expose its melodramatic nature, as do photographs of costume dramas enacted at the family home. What is significant here is the contrast between Atkinson's engagement with melodrama, its exaggerated gestures, fully blown narratives and naturalistic but complex costumes, and the classical world to which she turned for inspiration.

One of the striking aspects of all the scrapbooks from both collections, particularly those containing press cuttings, is the thoroughness with which they are organised

and annotated. As Hammergren (in Carter 2004) argues, primary sources such as these are not just 'raw material' but are 'imbued with patterns of meaning' (p.22). Hammergren uses an example of a collection of scrapbooks produced by Swedish sisters Marja and Rachel Björnström-Ottelin who likewise performed during the 1920s. Meticulously kept, Hammergren reads these sources as evidence of the sisters 'acting as professional archivists of their own life stories' (p.23). Likewise, the Atkinson/Heyworth and the Ginner scrapbooks are meticulously kept and there is a strong sense that their keepers had an eye for perpetuity and a faith in the longevity of their dance forms.

Press cuttings, of course, have a pragmatic function in not only evidencing how performances were received but also in helping to build a choreochronicle. In terms of repertoire, however, the key sources in the collections are theatre programmes.

Theatre programmes

Both the Revived Greek and the Natural Movement archives contain a large number of programmes, all kept in neatly organised fashion. They indicate when works were in repertoire, but although dates given for works in this article are taken from the earliest found on these programmes, they do not necessarily signal the year of premiere as (although unlikely) those from earlier performances might be missing from the collection. Programmes offer all sorts of other information, including the composers and music, the performers, some indication of narrative and the changing nomenclature used to describe the genres. Although titles are not always indicative of content, they do reveal the main threads of choreographic subject matter. In Atkinson's work, themes from the natural world feature: the seasons; elements; animals, birds and insects (for example, *Autumn*, 1916; *Lightning*, 1933). Many works are titled with the name of the music or its quality (*Gigue*, 1926; *Rhythm*, 1933) and in contrast to these seemingly more abstract pieces, Atkinson also favoured narrative drawn from British and international myth, folk tales and legends (*Raag Deepak: the Tune of Fire*, 1916; *Peer Gynt Suite* 1921; *Elf Music* 1933). Ginner, similarly, drew on nature for

inspiration but as befitted her research interests, stories or general themes from Greek mythology have a more dominant place in her repertoire (for example, the Hyde Park performance in 1931 included *Armies of the Earth and Air* and *Fauns and Nymphs*). As such, the subject matter of their work is entirely in accord with contemporary obsessions with both the natural and the Greek worlds. Perhaps more revelatory is another facet which the programme collections reveal, that of the large variety of venues in which the repertoire was shown. For example, Atkinson's work was presented not only in theatres but also in assembly halls, schools, hospitals, music clubs, the Manchester Town Hall, a College of Technology, at fetes, garden parties, a sports day and for many charity events. These presentations ranged from full theatrical programmes, to lecture-demonstrations and 'dance interludes'. Ginner and Mawer presented regular performances in the open air, at Hyde Park particularly, and a performance at the Albert Hall (1936) which included over 400 dancers drew a full house there twice over. This range of venues is significant in terms of indicating the popularity of both Atkinson's and Ginner's work and how, arguably, it served a far wider range of constituencies than is reached today.

Costumes

One of the key components of the Natural Movement archive are boxes of costumes, most from repertoire, others containing tunics from the studio. It is with these that the pristine purity of the monochrome photographs and the vital but stark information on theatre programmes come to life. In the photographs there is a dominance of plain, unpatterned fabric which reflects the apparent simplicity of their representation on Greek artefacts and the whole concept of 'the natural'. Some of the boxes, however, reveal an intensity of pattern, such as a richly coloured Art Deco inspired cloak in a box labelled 'Laidurette' (in programmes, this was the character Laideronette, the story-teller character from *Mother Goose*, 1919) and a charming 'moth' costume complete with antennae. Very large, dyed mottled squares of fairly heavy fabric indicate the skill which would have been needed to manipulate these. They also suggest how photographers were able to capture fabric seemingly arrested in the air (as for *Spirit of the bush fire*, above), for its weight would give it solidity. What all the

costumes have in common is their seeming ease of wear, the freedom they give to the body and their capacity for facilitating movement. The Dress Reform Society, formed in 1881, had already challenged restrictive dress, and some women wore classical Greek and Roman-style chitons in the early twentieth century. By the 1920s this had given way to the looser, freer style epitomized (at least for the middle and upper classes) by the 'flapper' dress, with its lower-knee length also seen in the dance tunics and costumes.

What is clear both from the actual costumes and from photographs is that although many of the costume fabrics, especially for tunics and chiton-style dresses, were fine and light, sometimes in silk, they were not translucent. Diaphanous trimmings might be overlaid on short under-dresses. Photographs of Revived Greek dances tend to depict darker colours in plain and what look to be heavier fabrics, giving a more 'grounded' but dramatic look.

Further sources

The above sources reveal many facets of British theatre dance in the early twentieth century and, taken together, help to create an image of the actual dances. Two other single sources, held in the core collection of the NRCD, are crucial to constructing that image. One is a video transferred from cine-film of extracts from various outdoor performances by the Ginner-Mawer company, taken in 1933 (NRCD ref [CGD/J/1](#)). The film is slightly jerky and there are fragments from Mawer's mime productions as well as from Ginner's work.⁶ The other is a recording of a lecture-demonstration and reconstructions of Atkinson's and Ginner's repertoire, taken at a University of Surrey conference in 1983 (NRCD ref [XZJ/127](#) & [CGD/D/2](#)). These pieces were re-created by those with deep and extensive experience of the dance forms; the opening up of the archives will contribute significantly to future reconstructions of the dances. A further set of invaluable sources both for the historian and the reconstructor comprises 'notation' for approximately [five](#) hundred Natural Movement works, primarily those used for ISTD syllabus work. These comprise the titles of dances (often taking the title of the music); dance notes and music scores. The music for Atkinson's work was

drawn largely from 19th composers such as Chopin, Schumann, Liszt and Grieg, though she also commissioned a well-known musician from the north of England, Edward Isaacs, to both compose and arrange. These works range from studies for babies and children, to syllabus grade work and adult repertoire. There is also a glossary of notation symbols which comprise basic spatial directions, some core steps such as hops, jumps, rocks and turns, and designs and angles of the upper body. These tend to be inter-mingled with prose descriptions rather than used as stand-alone notation.

Conclusion

The archives discussed above reveal two artists who deeply researched their respective fields, kept dance works in the repertoire for long periods, and preserved their own histories with meticulous detail and organisation. All of this contradicts any notion of free-floating spirits who improvised their way through their dances and were simply 'prancing around in Greek costume' (Karsavina, 1950: 133). Paradoxically, the neo-classical forms of dance practised by these early British artists, despite nomenclature of the 'natural', embrace clarity and structure, and rest on systematic and rigorous training. Even when set in the most 'natural' of environments, such as gardens or sea-shore, the photographs depict images which are carefully composed for the camera, with a heightened consciousness of the design of the human body in space.

The rich archives at the NRCD signal the importance of the 'natural'/Greek dance movement in Britain. They reveal the extent to which the protagonists inter-connected with other indigenous and international dance activity at the time of their own practice, especially with mainland Europe, and provide opportunities for further research on these webs of connections. Furthermore, and most significantly, these archives endorse the claim that British theatre dance which posits an alternative to ballet, has a history which reaches back to the beginning of the century. They facilitate, therefore, the re-writing of British dance history; a history which can be enriched by addressing regional activity and the role of women as prime movers in that history. On a

conceptual level, the work of these artists raises questions of nomenclature. Their work, as Isadora Duncan's with which it shared common principles and practice, has been described as 'early modern' yet Atkinson and Heyworth resisted this term and their pupils see the work as more culturally resonant of the end of the nineteenth century than of the twentieth century 'modern'. Such questions have broader ramifications for how we conceptualise and categorise periods in theatre dance history.

NOTES

1. Other related activities included [two](#) Study Days, exhibitions, oral histories, dance reconstructions and a Symposium on 'Moving Naturally: rethinking dance 1900s – 1930s' in October 2009. See www.surrey.ac.uk/NRCD for further information.
2. The term 'natural' as used here is somewhat misleading for it tends to suggest a culturally innocent 'everyday' movement vocabulary. It is beyond my remit to discuss whether any dance movement can ever be 'natural' but in terms of Atkinson's work – and as suggested later in this article – it is used to describe everyday movement which is developed in rhythmic, spatial and expressive modes.
3. Bice Bellairs was a pupil of the Ginner-Mawer School and later founded, with Pauline Grant, the Grant Bellairs School of Dance and Drama in West London. This relocated to Guildford and later became the Guildford School of Acting.
4. According to the contents page, Part I of the mss. was to contain chapters on The Evolution of the Dance; Part II focuses on the Study of Natural Movement, Music and Typical Classes.
5. It would seem that Spong did study with Raymond Duncan, though there is no indication for how long. Anita Heyworth notes that Atkinson 'began her study of Natural Movement after meeting Duncan and working with one of her pupils' ([Heyworth, A. 1960 'Natural Movement' *The Imperial Society A 'Dancing Times' supplement, May p.27-28 \(NM/E/2/3/2\)*](#)) though Atkinson herself makes no mention anywhere of actually meeting Isadora.

6. It has not yet been possible to categorise the work that Mawer presented with Ginner from the programme titles and descriptions. Programmes from performances at the New Scala Theatre in February and July 1927 which include *A Miracle of Santa Caterina*; *The White Fool of Faerie* (a Celtic legend) and *The Moon Man's Fairy Ring* give just a partial glimpse of her repertoire.

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Illustrations

Fig. I *The spirit of the bush fire* ([Atkinson c. 1926](#)). Photograph by T.Longworth Cooper; performed by Anita Heyworth. (NRCD Natural Movement archives [NM/F/2/15/1](#))

Fig. II *Toil* (Atkinson c. 1934) Photograph by Guttenberg Limited. The photo also appeared in the *Dancing Times*, Christmas 1936: 411. (NRCD Natural Movement archives [NM/F/2/23/1](#))

Fig. III The dancer is Nancy Sherwood, a tutor at the Ginner-Mawer school and Ginner's main demonstrator. (Pauline Grant photograph album of revived Greek dancers, Bice Bellairs collection, NRCD (ref BB/F/l, album))

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