MAUD ALLAN: HER LIFE, WORK AND PLACE IN WESTERN EARLY MODERN THEATRE DANCE

by

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ABSTRACT

Maud Allan (b. 1873–d. 1956) performed in the style described as western early modern theatre dance from her debut in 1903 until the mid 1930s. She was an Edwardian star attraction on the London music hall stage. However, in the general dance history literature Allan’s role has not been recognized. Her work is invariably relegated to a footnote. This current largely negative perception of Allan is perplexing since readings of contemporary descriptions of her performances present a more positive portrait. This thesis examines the paradoxical contrast of Allan’s contemporary image with the later verdict of dance historians.

This uncritical judgement of her inferior position in dance historiography has been made without the benefit of a full and detailed documentation of both her life and work. This study provides the essential foundation to enable future dance historians to further re-evaluate Allan’s role. Part One details her life and explores contextual issues. Allan’s superior musicality and exposure to early German expressionism is examined. Part Two narrows the focus to a study of her choreographic and performance styles. The construction of an original choreochronicle of Allan’s complete repertoire provides an essential underpinning for this research.

Her role as a choreographic innovator may have been relatively minor, but her function as a proselytiser for modern dance in Britain has hitherto not been addressed. Allan fought hard through example and speech to make the music hall a permissible and respectable venue for serious dance. It is hypothesized that Allan’s true significance may not be only her qualities as a dancer, but rather her function as a role model who helped to legitimize bare-foot dancing in Britain and thus prepared the way for the next generation of western early modern theatre dancers.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My fascination with Maud Allan, the ‘unknown’ Canadian dancer, began in 1978 when I audited an American dance history class taught by Susan Manning, a promising graduate student, at Harvard University, Boston. Now Dr. Manning is an Assistant Professor of English and Theatre at Northwestern University and recent author of a seminal text on Mary Wigman. Next Dr. Selma Odom and Dr. Dianne Woodruff at York University, Toronto, both well respected dance history scholars, served as mentors. Not satisfied that I had yet unlocked the enigma of Allan, I further pursued my studies with another two highly regarded dance historians, Professor June Layson (now Emeritus Professor) and Professor Janet Adshead-Lansdale (Head of the Dance Department) at the University of Surrey, Guildford. Thus, in my pursuit of Allan, I have had the honour to work with five of the most renowned dance history scholars in three countries. Each of these women has given me their time and support. In particular, my thesis advisor, Professor June Layson has taught me the value of pain-staking attention to detail and the need for a careful methodology and analytical framework.

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PART ONE: HER LIFE

1. THE FACTS AND THE FICTION

1.1 Introduction
1.2 Structure and Methodology
1.3 Sources
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1.1 Introduction

The intent of this thesis is to examine the life, work and place in Western early modern theatre dance of Maud Allan (b.1873–d.1956). It is the perceived wisdom, first perpetrated by some critics of her time and her contemporary dancers, and subsequently accepted, often without careful scrutiny by dance historians, that Maud Allan was not a legitimate pioneer of Western early modern theatre dance, but rather an exploitative and vulgar imitator. It is only after an objective examination of contextual issues and a study of Allan's complete dance oeuvre that it is possible to make informed statements about her place in early modern dance.

It is the hypothesis of this thesis that Allan's true significance may not be only her qualities as a dancer, but rather her function as a role model who helped legitimize this form of new dance in Britain. The study of Allan's choreographic and performance style sheds important information on her distinctive contributions in helping to prepare the way for the next generation of early modern theatre dancers.
1.2 Structure and Methodology

The purpose of this thesis is to build up by empirical evidence a foundation of knowledge of the life and work of Maud Allan. As I will demonstrate in 1.4 Review of Literature there is a great deal of erroneous information in the current literature on Maud Allan. 2. Salomé’s Unveiling: Allan’s Life, a biographical study which has been subdivided into three distinctive periods, provides an accurate account with supporting evidence. The chronology, Appendix I supplements this biographical study with additional information such as specific performance dates and venues, addresses and other such information, which both informs the present research and may aid future research on Maud Allan. It is not possible to understand the origins of Allan’s dance career without a contextual study of her artistically formative years in Germany. Neither is it possible to understand why Allan had such a receptive welcome in Edwardian London without studying the cultural, political and social background of that period of English history. Therefore 3. Allan Stranded in Germany: 1895–1907 and 4. Allan in Edwardian London provides this contextual background.

Part Two: Her Work focusses on Allan’s dance oeuvre. It is composed of two chapters, 5. Turning Big Themes into Movement, which examines her entire repertoire by concentrating on several aspects including choreographic and performance style. The construction of a
An essential component required for a study of a dancer’s oeuvre is an accurate choreochronicle. A choreochronicle (the terminology is of recent invention) is a chronology of all the known works performed by an individual dancer or company. Depending on the model adopted, differing pieces of information are recorded. Essential information includes the title of the work and date of its premiere. Frequently, as in a chronology, the works are listed in the order of their debut. In other models the dances are listed in alphabetical order by title. Additional
information varies and can include the music composer, venue of the premiere, group or solo dance and names of the dancers (if applicable), decor, costumes and lighting. After an examination of a variety of choreochronicles, including those compiled by Schlundt for St. Denis (1962) and Humphrey (1972, p.274-286), Stodelle (1984, p.298-317) and De Mille for Graham (1991, p. 436-455), Wigman's own choreochronicle (1966) among others, I adapted the model Layson (1987) devised for her study of Isadora Duncan.

There were a number of reasons for this decision. Layson's model with a chart spanning Duncan's career (Pre-1898 to Post-1927) is helpful for studying patterns such as the duration and performance history of a particular dance. Since Allan is often accused of copying Duncan in a variety of areas such as choice of music and subject matter, it is a relatively simple task to compare the Duncan and Allan choreochronicles to substantiate or refute these claims. For example, it can be seen that Duncan first performed Spring Song (named La Primavera in Duncan's programmes) in 1902 and presented it continually in her programmes from 1902 to 1908. Allan included Spring Song in her 1903 debut and continued to present it periodically until 1923. Taking another of Allan's popular dances, Funeral March (Chopin, Sonata no. 1 B flat minor, Op.35) it can be seen that Allan first presented it at her 1903 debut while it first entered Duncan's repertoire in 1913.
In my choreochronicle I have listed all known dances by Allan in alphabetical order by name of the dance. Information in the chart includes the name of the dance (which was frequently the name of the piece of music selected) the composer, details of the music and the date and venue of the debut. Next my choreochronicle charts by year from 1903 to post-1930 all subsequent performances. Thus the duration and frequency of performance of each dance in her repertoire becomes clear.

The next step in my methodology was collecting information on as many dances as possible from contemporary eye-witness accounts. These were mainly dance reviews from newspapers and weekly journals. I tabulated the dance reviews with the name and location of the publication, date and the specific dances discussed. Then I extracted the critical or descriptive comments on the dances. Some of the dances which remained only briefly in her repertoire such as *The Marseillaise*, performed for a short time in 1917, attracted scant critical comment. Other dances which enjoyed popularity or continued in her repertoire for many years, such as *Spring Song* or *Blue Danube*, yielded many reviews.

A major problem, faced by all dance historians working with primary sources dealing with Western early modern theatre dancers, is the difficulty the reviewers faced in attempting to describe a new genre of
dance. Writers often lacked the words to describe this new form of movement and thus often resorted to the more familiar but inappropriate vocabulary of the balletic style. As well some critics had an unswerving loyalty to the balletic tradition and using the criteria of balletic movement found Allan’s dance to be inferior. For example, the Russian ballet critic Valerian Svetlov (b.1860–d.1934) reviewing her Moscow performance in *Birzhevie Vedomosti*, November 23, 1909 faulted Allan for her lack of dance training. Likewise *The Dancing Times*, March 1921 in reviewing Allan’s *Egyptian Dances* to Luigini criticized her for lack of operatic training and stated, “still more was this noticeable in a several times introduced leaping step which gave the impression of a badly executed *pas de chat*..” The British dance critic, Cyril Beaumont (b.1891–d.1976) in a review of Allan’s July 28, 1922 performance at Bournemouth’s Winter Gardens directly addressed the problem.

Classical dancing is surely the most difficult branch of the art, for if no use is to be made of the vast selection of steps of the academic ballet, with their infinite number of permutations, there devolves upon the dancer the necessity of founding a whole new grammar of mime and movement.

...And after a careful consideration of the performances given by the most talented exponents of the classical dance, I am convinced that any form of artistic theatre dance, where the choreography is not founded in some part on academic technique, must fail in the first requisite of an entertainment, namely that the interest of the spectator shall be aroused and retained.

Beaumont (1949, p.122)

Therefore it not surprising that Beaumont found Allan’s dances unsatisfactory. Although he found her to possess great musicality, he also
commented that "her vocabulary of gesture is limited in the extreme" (1949, p.12).

The problem of eye-witness accounts of Allan's performances is further aggravated by the fact that there were few bona fide dance critics in England at the time. Often a publication's drama critic reviewed dance performances as well. A case in point is J.T. Grein, the drama critic for The Sunday Times, who wrote extensively on Allan's early London performances. Frequently these reviewers did not have the knowledge to describe the movement itself and resorted to effusive descriptions of the aesthetic qualities of the dances. However, naive observations by the uninformed provide useful insights on how the spectator reacted to Allan's performances.

Once the groundwork had been established, it was then possible to take the next step and focus on choreographic and performance style aspects of her complete oeuvre. The choreographic style looks at what Adshead (1988) labels components of dance, namely Aural Elements, Subject Matter and Treatment, Visual Setting and Dance Movement. The last component, dance movement, is more problematical since it is difficult to apply dance movement analysis techniques to inert artifacts. However, when disparate pieces of information from a multitude of sources were collated, it became possible to make a large number of verifiable
observations. For example, although there is no extant record of Allan’s dance movement in the form of films or reconstructions, the materials I collected allows observations on certain characteristic and consistent qualities to her movement style. The knowledge that her mission as a dancer was “turning big [musical] themes into movement” (Allan, 1908, p.77) and a close examination of her musical choices provides a clearer picture of Allan’s motivations as a dancer.

I chose to take the work further with an in-depth study of two key dances, Vision of Salomé and Khamma which I suggest were instrumental in the making and breaking of Allan’s career. Khamma may be considered an unorthodox choice since it was never actually performed by Allan. However it merits close attention for several reasons. It reveals Allan to have been a forerunner in commissioning Debussy for dance music. The discovery of Allan’s annotated proof copy of the piano reduction provides a unique opportunity to study her choreographic process. The fact that Allan wished to replace her signature dance, Salomé, illustrates her serious intent to be known as more than the “Salomé dancer.”

Many misconceptions and much factually inaccurate information on Allan have stood unchallenged. A study based on documentation of her life and contextual background must be laid before any
verifiable statements can be articulated or any challenges made to existing perceptions of her role in early modern theatre dance.

1.3 Sources

Part One: Her Life is based on historical research which required the compilation, evaluation, interpretation and analyses of a plethora of extremely valuable primary and secondary sources. The challenge has been to gather together extant primary sources which are scattered throughout libraries and archives both in Europe and North America. As well a persistent search has uncovered several pieces of original materials. The task has been made more difficult by the decision of Allan’s executor, Leo Cherniavsky, to destroy much of her correspondence originally held in storage in London.¹

The Dance Collection at the New York Public Library and the Harvard Theatre Collection, Cambridge, Massachusetts yielded primary source materials on Allan including programmes, photographs and newspaper clippings, some of which are still to be dated and identified. A rich source of primary material on Allan is held at the University Research Library at the University of California, Los Angeles.²

In England, London’s Theatre Museum holds a significant amount of Maud Allan material including programmes, a collection of postcards and
a scrapbook of newspaper clippings spanning the period 1908–1916. The Manders and Mitchenson Collection also holds an assortment of postcards, programmes and newspaper clippings pertaining to Allan. A valuable source of Allan ephemera is located at the newly established archives at The Palace Theatre, London. The British Library newspaper collection (Colindale) has an extensive file of Allan clippings spanning the years from 1908 to 1941 on microfiche. Unfortunately some of these clippings either do not identify the newspaper or omit the date. However, often it has been possible to ascertain the proper date by cross-referencing with other materials.

A new source of material is becoming available with the opening up of Eastern European archives. Through correspondence with the Hochschule der Kunste, Berlin, I was able to get some hitherto uncorroborated details such as accurate dates of Allan’s enrollment at the Royal High School of Music. However to date the school’s archival materials are still not available to scholars. ³

Part Two: Her Work is an examination and analysis of written, visual and aural evidence plus original work in the compilation of a choreochronicle. The choreochronicle was assembled by using both programmes and newspaper reviews. Extant programmes were found at London’s Theatre Museum, The Manders and Mitchenson Collection, the archives at The
Palace Theatre, the Westminster Public Library, the National Resource Centre for Dance (University of Surrey), The Garrick Club Library, The Dance Collection at the New York Public Library and twenty-seven programmes in my possession. Prior attempts at choreochronicles of Allan’s works have been incomplete and inaccurate. McDonagh (1976) included Allan in his section on forerunners to modern dance. He lists fifteen dances, several with erroneous dates such as Nair the Slave which he dates as 1910 and which Allan actually performed on her North American tour of 1916. The Biographical Dictionary of Dance entry on Allan lists twenty-two works but this also includes some inaccuracies. To date, my choreochronicle documents fifty-three separate dances spanning the years from 1903 to 1926.

A valuable discovery was Allan’s copies of manuscripts of Khamma which are held by the Music Library, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Allan’s annotated piano score with its pencilled markings indicating stage positions, actions and comments on the music gives a unique insight into her preparation for a dance. In section 6.3 Khamma is studied in detail.

The material at the University of British Columbia indirectly led to a hitherto unknown and unexpected source of information. Among the Allan material were two cancelled cheques from her to Claude Debussy
drawn from a branch of the London City and Midland Bank. The archivist at Midland Group supplied valuable information on Allan’s financial situation from 1908 to 1930 as well as several of Allan’s London addresses.

There is no extant film footage of Allan dancing. However a good source of visual material can be found in the form of theatrical postcards. New technology for reproducing photographic images and cheap printing processes presaged the modern advertising industry. In 1894 the British Post Office permitted the printing of postcards by private companies which led to the wide-spread popularity of cards of theatre and music hall personalities. Maud Allan was a popular subject and several British postcard companies including Philco Series, Aristophot Company, Opalette Series, Downey’s Real Photo Series, Rotary Photo and Beagles Postcards sold series of Allan postcards. In the Rotary Series she is shown in costume for Vision of Salomé, Spring Song, Funeral March, La Danse Sacrée et Profane and Moment Musical (as the dances are titled on the postcards). As well there are several unspecified poses of Allan in a Grecian style tunic against the background of marble pillars and a few of her in street clothes as a perfect Edwardian beauty. Another set of postcards from the Atelier Grunberger, Prague, depict Allan in a series of very dramatic poses from Vision of Salomé.
Along with this important collection of studio poses, a series of seven candid photographs of Allan dancing outdoors were discovered. These photos which are analyzed in detail in 5.241 Movement Captured: Spring Song are previously unrecorded in the Allan literature.

Allan’s autobiography (1908) provides a selection of photographs from a variety of photographers including the well known German portrait photographers Rudolph Duhrkoop and Ernest Sandau as well as the English photographer, E.O. Hopper whose soft-focus pictures were favoured by many dancers including Pavlova and members of The Ballets Russes.

All these visual clues are extremely worthwhile for analysis purposes. They provide information on costume and setting details and to some extent give clues about movement preferences, intended mood and tone of specific dances.

Another useful visual source is the videocassette entitled Did She Dance: Mlleud Allan in Performance produced by Dance Collection Danse which includes photographic images, newspaper illustrations and music from the Cherniavsky Trio.
Allan wrote her autobiography *My Life and Dancing* (1908) to coincide with her 250th consecutive performance at The Palace Theatre on October 14, 1908. In the preface, Allan acknowledged that the premature publication of her autobiography would invite criticism. However she argued that if it brought pleasure to her fans, better understanding to her detractors and inspiration to young women in pursuing an artistic career, the risk was worth taking. She stated that the idea of writing an autobiography came from others. It is quite possible that it was conceived as a publicity device and may have even been ghostwritten. It would have been difficult for Allan to write a twelve chapter book at the same time as she was performing daily at The Palace Theatre. It is nevertheless, an important piece of primary source material, almost as valuable for its clever deceptions as for its veracity. It presents her as she wished to be viewed by her public. For example, she writes of a nurse, cook and governess in her childhood. Research carried out in Toronto at the city archives using the 1871 Ontario census and 1873 Assessment Rolls show that she came from a working class family and therefore the Durrant family would not have been able to afford domestic staff. The chronological detail is sometimes inaccurate. For example, she relates that her mother visited her during her first year in Berlin which would have been in 1895. Extant letters show that Mrs Durrant visited her daughter in Germany in 1899. Reports in the San Francisco newspapers establish the
fact that Mrs Durrant remained in California from 1895 to 1898 during her son's murder trial, appeals and eventual hanging. Allan's adroit inaccuracy concerning the date of her mother's visit carefully avoids the painful truth of her brother's crime. However Allan provides the correct date of 1901 for her attendance in Busoni's Master Classes in Weimar and her 1908 Palace debut date. A careful reading of the sub-text gives insights into Allan's character.

Later in 1921 Allan updated her career with a series of newspaper memoirs. These articles were advertised as "Confessions of the San Francisco Dancer, Who Shocked and Fascinated Kings, Critics, Millionaires and International Society with her Salomé and Exotic Dances; Her Royal Romances, Artistic Turmoil, Trials, Triumphs." Clearly the truth was greatly embellished and sensationalized. For example she wrote that she was accompanied to both Russia and the Far East by a full orchestra when, in fact, she used a local symphony orchestra in Russia and the Cherniavsky Trio in the Far East. She described her entourage for the 1913/14 Far East tour.

It may interest readers to know that I travelled with nearly 150 persons, consisting of my own orchestra and seventy-five performers, the remainder of the party being made up of baggage attendants and other necessary helpers.

San Francisco Call and Post, December 16, 1921

In reality Allan travelled with a group of seven comprised of her friend Alice Lonnon, the Cherniavsky Trio, the musician Frank St. Leger, general
manager, W. Angus MacLeod, advance manager, Howard Edie and Fred Mitchell, who performed the dual roles of baggage manager and electrician. It is interesting to note that Allan published what are shown to be falsehoods only eight years after the event. As will be discussed in detail in 2.3 Performing Years 1903-1936 Allan had suffered a humiliating blow to her reputation as the result of a 1918 libel trial and perhaps her exaggerated claims were motivated by a desire for exoneration.

Although, as source material, Allan’s 1908 autobiography and 1921 newspaper memoirs can not be taken as factually accurate, they are, however, useful for her impressions, opinions and insights on how she wished to be presented.

The memoirs of contemporaries provide illuminating information on how Allan was viewed by her peers. And since these opinions to date have played a major role in forming the public’s perception of the significance of Allan to early modern theatre dance, they are extremely important to study. The British ballet dancer Phyllis Bedells provides informative background to the London theatre and dance world. Commenting on Allan’s 1908 success in London, Bedells explained that the dancers at the Empire “were severely critical, as we felt Maud Allan’s work lacked any sort of technique” (1954,p.29). Ruth St. Denis in her autobiography wrote disparagingly of Allan describing “her slight
repertoire of pretty dances set to light music” and “titillating her music-hall audiences” (1939, p.117). St. Denis had obviously self-censored her comments since she was more critical in her unpublished diary. After seeing Allan perform in London, she wrote that Allan’s dance was an amalgam of copied styles—“an adaptation of Isadora’s Greek Spring rhythms [sic], the costume [sic] and actions of some of the German actresses in the part of Salome which Miss Allan had put to music, and a generous sprinkling of my arm movements during all of her numbers.”

Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan did not make a direct reference to Allan in their autobiographies. However, Duncan’s close friend, Victor Seroff, in his recall of Duncan’s life did discuss Allan. He described her as an imitator who “had superficially acquired an insight into Isadora’s aims” (1971, p.125).

It is useful to examine dance writers’ comments in a chronological sequence since it gives an historic perspective on how Allan was viewed as a dancer. Several contemporary writers acknowledged Allan’s significance by including her in their studies of western early modern theatre dance. Caffin (1912) borrows heavily from Allan’s own autobiography and offers little critical comment. Flitch (1912) credits Allan with introducing modern dance to the English audience.

If Isadora Duncan propounded the gospel of the classical dance, Maud Allan promulgated it with the greatest popular success. She won the ear of England for the new word. Not that she was by any means a mere copyist—her talent was
too original for that. Coming after her predecessor, she nevertheless found her own inspiration in herself.

Flitch (1912, p. 110)

However his observations contained inaccuracies. For example in Allan’s dance *Vision of Salomé* he incorrectly identified the music as by Strauss when, in fact, it was by Marcel Remy.

The Russian dance critic, Valerian Svetlov, in collaboration with Leon Bakst, published a book simultaneously in French and Russian (1912) which discussed the current trends in the world of art. Svetlov, who had a predisposition to classical ballet, included Allan in his chapter on the Salomé craze. In his four page discussion of Allan, he repeated his observations made during her 1909 trip to St Petersburg. In general he faulted her for her lack of a perceived proper dance training which he felt led to awkward or ugly movements and ill-defined choreography. Again it is significant that Allan was deemed of sufficient importance to be included in a study of contemporary dance.

The dramatic critic for *The Montreal Star*, Samuel Morgan-Powell, in his book claimed Allan as a fellow citizen describing her as “the Canadian choreographic artist who, some years ago, won for herself a unique place among the interpretative dancers of the day” (1929, p. 234). Although Morgan-Powell does not make it clear if he saw Allan perform in London or on one of her North American tours, he discusses several of her dances
in quite eulogistic terms describing her as a great tragedienne.

La Meri (pseudonym of Russell Meriwether Hughes, b.1898–d. 1988) attributed equal importance to Duncan and Allan as pioneers of what she described as “Free Dance.”

In the early years of this century there came out of California two of the first disciples of Free Dance, Isadora Duncan and Maud Allan. Both these young women offered a courageous defiance of the modes and manners of that day and flinging away their shoes and stays, danced with their bodies as God made them. No age could have offered less inspiration or encouragement to the Free Dance, and these pioneers shock the world so thoroughly as to create changes in everything, from arts to women’s styles.

La Meri (1932, p.61)

Perugini (1935) in his survey of the evolution of the Dance and Ballet made only a brief reference to Allan, but emphasized her popularity, especially to women, at The Palace Theatre.

A search and examination of secondary source literature reveals that dance historians in the past two decades have shown an increasing interest in Allan. Kendall’s book, Where She Danced (1979) studies the first two generations of American modern dancers. She makes several references to Allan. For example, Kendall postulates that Allan’s use of serious classical music in her dance interpretations may have pressured Duncan into using more serious classical music.
In her first program, wearing a Greek tunic like Isadora’s she “visualized” selections from Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Mendelssohn. Isadora, dancing in Budapest, very near Vienna, may well have heard about the content of this performance. It was only then in 1903 that she herself began to use all the music in Gluck’s operas instead of just the dance divertissements; and only in 1904 did Isadora dance her first Beethoven in public.

Kendall (1979, p.67)

Sorrel (1981) also challenges the conventional position of Maud Allan as a mere imitator of Isadora Duncan.

Take the case of Maud Allan, the Canadian-born dancer, Isadora’s contemporary, with ideas surprisingly similar to hers. Maud wanted to revive the classic Greek dance and mainly danced barefoot in a loose Greek gown. She was trained as a musician, and she was a self-taught dancer. Imitation or influence? Coincidence or parallelism of concept?

Sorrel (1981, p.329)

However Jowitt (1988) in her book analyzing the image of dancers throughout the ages is unequivocal in describing Allan, along with others, as Duncan imitators.

During her lifetime there were professionals (or amateur professionals like Lady Constance Stewart-Richardson, wafting through London drawing rooms and onto American stages) who, arguably, imitated the Duncan look: the Wiesenthal sisters of Vienna; Orchidée, billed as as a “child of nature”, who performed with Loie Fuller’s company in New York in 1909; and particularly, the Canadian-born Maud Allan.

Jowitt (1988, p.99)

In fact, the Wiesenthal sisters were all trained as classical ballet dancers and specialized in interpreting the Viennese waltz. They certainly were
not Duncan imitators. Jowitt does not provide any proof for her evaluation of either the Wiesenthal sisters or Allan as imitators of Duncan. However her book does provide useful contextual information in the two chapters *The Veils of Salomé* and *The Veils of Isis*, exploring the themes of Orientalism in early twentieth century western dance.

The journal *Dance Chronicle* has published several biographical studies on Maud Allan. The first to appear was *Maud Allan: The Public Record* (1978) written by Lacy McDearman, a librarian with the New York Public Library Dance Collection. He based his article on materials available at that time in the Dance Collection. Although limited in scope, the article is a valuable document since it alerts readers to what he considers to be Allan’s undeserved obscurity. McDearmon states that in twenty-four general histories of dance and modern dance published from 1925 to 1974, Allan is not mentioned in seventeen and has only a brief mention in three. The remaining four discuss her in varying detail.

Dr. Felix Cherniavsky published a five part series in *Dance Chronicle* (1983–86) based on personal papers of Allan in his possession. He divided Allan’s career into five periods; *The Early Years: 1873–1903; First Steps to a Dancing Career: 1904-1907, Two Years of Triumph: 1908-1909, The Years of Touring: 1910-1915 and The Years of Decline: 1915-1956*. He does not provide a rationale for his division of her career into the five periods or
explain his choice of 1915 as the beginning of her career decline. As can be seen by the Choreochronicle (Appendix 8.2) 1915 is a premature date for the decline of Allan’s career. She performed regularly both abroad and in England and choreographed new dances until the mid-1920s. She continued to make the occasional appearance until her last performance in 1936.

The dance writer, Elizabeth Weigand, has published articles on aspects of Allan’s career. In Dance Chronicle (1986) she published The Rug Maker’s Daughter, Maud Allan’s 1915 Silent Film. Weigand states that Allan’s dance performances were among the first efforts to include modern dance within a narrative story.

Allan has not been the subject of many scholarly papers. Weigand presented a study of the relationship of Allan and the theatre director, J.T. Grein at the February 1983 Conference of the Society of Dance History Scholars. Weigand has provided scholarly and new information about two non-dance episodes in Allan’s career. I presented a paper entitled Maud Allan’s 1909 Performances in Russia at the 1988 International Congress on Research in Dance Conference (CORD). This paper was based on research at Moscow’s Lenin Library and the theatre library of the USSR National Centre of the International Theatre Institute. It provided unique
and original factual information on her performance in St Petersburg and Moscow.


Cherniavsky’s articles in *Dance Chronicle* were a prelude to his biography of Allan, *The Salomé Dancer* (1991). Although Cherniavsky has a unique vantage point with his private collection of Allan ephemera, his biography contains unsubstantiated statements and factual errors. A major theme in his book is that the execution of Allan’s brother “traumatized Maud’s psyche, conscience and boundless imagination” (1991 p.10). He suggests that she never forgave society for making her a murderer’s sister and in later years manifested “an underlying instability” (1991, p.11). He claims that her brother’s plight was the driving force motivating her dance career, and that her choice of themes—both joyous and macabre—were directly linked to her brother’s execution. He provides no evidence to substantiate these theories. In fact it was five years after her brother’s execution before she made her professional dance debut. In addition Cherniavsky’s book has several instances of information which,
by cross-referencing to other sources, can be shown to be incorrect. For example, Cherniavsky states that in 1909 Allan performed at The Palace Theatre from February to November “no doubt with unrecorded breaks” (p. 173). In fact, she performed from February 12 to the first week in April, followed by an extended British provincial tour. Cherniavsky adds that by 1909, “hindsight shows, the boom was sinking, although her international fame kept her career afloat for a few more years” (p.173). In fact she returned to The Palace Theatre again in 1911 from February to April with the same positive critical acclaim. He further states that in November 1917, Allan appeared for a short season at London’s St. Martin’s Theatre and “was neither featured nor greatly praised” (p. 240). In fact she was the only dancer in a two hour programme and received a generally positive press meriting the title of “Valse Queen” by The Sunday Times (November 4, 1917). Furthermore he practises the unscholarly habit of selecting only the critical reviews to support his viewpoint. For example he describe’s Allan’s brief tour of Russia in December 1909 as a “catastrophe in which she walked into a lion’s cage of critics and was badly mauled” (p.190). Cherniavsky suggests the motive for her Russian tour was “to match or eclipse the success of Isadora Duncan, who a few years earlier had taken the Russians—and the young Russian poet Sergei Essenin [sic] by storm” (p190). It is well documented throughout the Duncan literature that she did not meet Esenin until 1921. He quotes the Russian dance critic, Valerian Svetlov, as dismissing Allan as a “a slavish
imitator of Isadora Duncan—almost a caricature” (p.190) Cherniavsky neglects Svetlov’s other comments about Allan’s great musicality, expressive face and professional arm movements. Only a few examples of the factual errors and unsubstantiated claims are given here. The point being made is that despite access to unique and unpublished crucial primary source materials, Cherniavsky’s work is seriously flawed and riddled with major inaccuracies.

A more useful source material is a compendium of Cherniavsky’s personal documentation titled *Did She Dance: Maud Allan in Performance*, which was published in 1991 as an electronic publication by Dance Collection Danse. It includes excerpts from reviews, interviews and oral histories collected by Cherniavsky.

Professor Robert Orledge’s chapter on *Khamma* in his book *Debussy and the Theatre* (1982) is thoroughly researched and provides valuable bibliographic sources.

trial and provides little additional information on Allan. However these discussions of an extremely significant and traumatic episode in Allan’s life are valuable for their contextual material. The trial exposed the continuing hysterical reaction to Oscar Wilde’s play *Salome* and the unfairness of the British justice system.

1.5 Summary

Using the methodology described, the following chapters will examine the life, work and place of Maud Allan in Western early modern theatre dance. **Part One** explores her life and contextual issues. **Part Two** scrutinizes her work. **Chapter Five** presents the broad picture examining her entire dance repertoire, while **Chapter Six** narrows the study down to two seminal works which provide a key role in understanding her dance career. **Chapter Seven** draws together the evidence and challenges future dance history scholars to re-evaluate Allan’s role in the light of these findings.
ENDNOTES

1. According to Doris Langley Moore, in her unpublished memoirs, Leo Cherniavsky sorted through Allan's boxes of papers and made the decision to burn the entire collection held in storage in London. However a small amount of ephemera was saved after Allan's death in California. Felix Cherniavsky (son of Mischel Cherniavsky b.1893–d.1932, a cellist with the Cherniavsky Trio) holds materials which include 4 pocket diaries covering the period February 14,1895 to February 1898, letters to Allan from her mother and brother, program notes and manuscripts, a two hundred page unpublished manuscript, *Two Years in the Life of a Great Dancer: 1908-1910* plus some costumes.

2. Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, a British dealer of theatrical materials, sold 18 items which belonged to Maud Allan to the Special Collection in 1965. Included in Collection 2038 are books, some of which have personal inscriptions from the authors to Allan, several photograph albums, 1 postcard album, 1 scrapbook album, a letter book of the 1913/14 Far East trip and a box of ephemera including a dance programme.

3. In a letter from Dr. Dietmar Schenk, he indicated that materials were in the process of being microfilmed and at a future date this material would be available to scholars.

4. The music library at the university of British Columbia holds three copies of the printed piano score (Paris: Durand, 1912–Plate No. 8443), one copy of which is signed and annotated by Allan, two unsigned, undated orchestral MS, the orchestral parts, hand copied, unsigned and in various hands. Also included are two cancelled cheques drawn on the London City and Midland Bank, by Maud Allan and payable to Claude Debussy: one for ten thousand francs (equivalent at the time to £395.17.7) dated October 15, 1910 and one for £200 dated April 16, 1913.

5. Pavlova was another popular subject for postcards. Lazzarini (1980, p15) in a discussion of the photographic imagines of Pavlova described how photographers attempted to overcome the difficulties with long exposure times in capturing the action of dance. In most cases the dancers were photographed with both feet on the ground or kneeling, sitting or reclining. In the rare instance when the photographer attempted to simulate action, the body was held in position by wooden supports. After the negative plates were developed the supports would be air-brushed out. According to Lazzarini, in April 1911 experiments were made at The Palace Theatre to photograph Pavlova in action. This was just two months
after Allan’s February 1911 appearance at The Palace. It was only in 1923 that The Times developed a technique for taking instantaneous shots of live performances.

6. These photographs are in an album in the Special Collection at the University of California, Los Angeles.

7. Copyright 1991. Arts Inter-Media Canada. It is five minutes and forty-five seconds in length.

8. A special souvenir edition was presented on October 14 by the Palace directors to patrons of that performance. It was later sold in the lobby of The Palace Theatre. The souvenir edition had the following insert.

The Directors of the Palace Theatre, in asking their patrons to accept a copy of the Life of Miss Maud Allan as a Souvenir of her unparalleled success, on the occasion of her 250th consecutive appearance, would like to pay a small tribute to the Public and the Press for so warmly appreciating and applauding the appearance of Miss Maud Allan.

It has been often said that the Continent and America are more artistic in their tastes than London, but it should be remembered that the great gifts of Madame Patti, Signora Tetrazzini, Miss Maud Allan, and many other great artistes, went unrecognized by the world at large until London put the stamp of its cultivated approval on their talents which will stand for ever in the highest ranks of their respective Arts.

It has been proved that the audiences of the Palace Theatre are as capable of praising that which is supreme in culture as the patrons of any Opera House.

The hands of London open the gates of the world.

9. Maud Allan. “How I Startled the World.” San Francisco Call and Post. December 12-30, 1921. These memoirs were copyrighted by International Feature Service, Inc.

10. Ruth St. Denis, St. Denis Diary in unedited typescript, University Research Library, The University of California, Los Angeles.

11. One whole chapter of Svetlov’s book (1912) was devoted to Isadora Duncan.
2. Salomé’s Unveiling: Allan’s Life

2.1 Introduction

Before an analysis of the dance career of Maud Allan is possible, it is necessary to have a clear, accurate biographical study of her life. As discussed in 1.4 there is a great deal of misinformation about Allan in the existing literature. The biographical study has been divided into the three distinctive periods of Allan’s life.

2.2 The Formative Years: 1873-1903 discusses the first thirty years of Allan’s life. Allan’s first ambition had been to become a concert pianist and her decision to become a dancer came near the end of her twenties. She was a student for nearly three decades living in both North America and Europe and thus had a greatly superior education and cultural knowledge than most of her contemporaries in the dance world.

2.3 Performing Years: 1903-1936 covers a span of thirty-three years in which dance was the main focus of her life. This section is, by necessity, the longest since it puts on the record Allan’s extended dance career. It establishes that Allan’s early success with her *Vision of Salomé* dance
was superseded by many other dances. 2.4 Post Dance Career: 1937-1956 covers the last twenty years in Allan's long life in which she returned to California and suffered years of declining health and poverty. In her final years she became isolated and ignored by the dance world as the second generation of modern dancers gained prominence.

The destruction of the majority of her personal papers together with the fact that there were no immediate heirs has made it difficult to construct a comprehensive biographical study of her life. However, the following outline biography contains new information and corroborates or refutes existing biographical accounts. It is likely that as dance historians increasingly recognize the significance of Maud Allan, more biographical details will emerge.

2.2 Formative Years 1873–1903

Maud Allan's beginnings were more humble than the story she told to London's newspapers shortly after her English debut. She misrepresented her background stating she was an only child in a wealthy family in which both parents were oculists.1 In her autobiography, (1908, p24) her childhood reminiscences include a "big, fat, good-natured cook" and "nursie" who spent her time mending Allan's pinafores and stockings.

Ulla Maude Durrant, as her birth-certificate states, was born in Toronto on August 27, 1873.2 She was the second child of William Allan Durrant and
Isabella Mathilda Hutchinson, who had married in 1870. Her older brother, William Theodore Durrant, had been born in 1871. Her father was a shoemaker and her mother a housewife who took in occasional boarders to make ends meet. Mrs Durrant was both "cook" and "nursie" to her daughter.3

The Durrants came from a working class background. Allan's paternal grandfather had emigrated from England and owned a one-story wooden house in Toronto. His neighbours were respectable shopkeepers and tradesmen. William Allan Durrant followed in his father's footsteps as a cobbler. During their years in Toronto Allan and her family lived at a number of addresses in central Toronto.

For as yet unknown reasons William Allan Durrant moved his wife and two children to San Francisco at the end of 1878. During their California years both Allan and her brother received excellent educations. Although her parents came from a humble background, they made considerable effort and sacrifice to ensure that their children received the best possible education. In later years Allan was appreciative of her parents' insistence on giving their daughter the same educational opportunities as her brother. Both graduated from the three-year general arts program at Cogswell College, San Francisco, in 1891. The Durrants were amongst the first graduates of the College which had been established to provide young
Californians with practical occupational training in addition to the traditional academic pursuits and physical culture. Courses included English, Latin, mathematics and science. The history course included a study of Ancient Greece and Rome. In addition the girls were instructed in free-hand drawing and design, modelling, carving and sewing. Tuition was free and students were responsible only for textbooks and material costs of approximately twelve dollars annually. Graduates were eligible for admittance to university.4

Throughout her childhood, Allan had been studying piano. From an early age she had shown musical talent. Her first teacher was a Miss Lichtenstein. Allan states in her autobiography: "I had been learning the preliminaries of music and grinding out yards of scales ever since I was five and a half years of age"(1908, p34). She progressed to lessons with Professor Eugene S. Bonelli at the San Francisco Conservatory of Music. An article on Bonelli in The Bay of San Francisco (1892 p193) alleges that he pioneered and performed a surgical operation on more than 575 of his pupils. It is reported that he came up with the "inspired" idea to sever the accessory slip of the tendons of the ring finger in order to create more flexibility and a wider stretch of the fingers. He is quoted, "The brain conceives, the fingers execute. Hence the necessity of training them for their duty. Liberate them first, if you would lessen your labour." If one trusts the veracity of this report, Professor Bonelli may have literally left
his mark on Maud Allan. She credits Bonelli with encouraging her to go to Europe to complete her musical training.

Allan held Saturday morning music classes while still at school. Between the time she graduated from Cogswell College in 1891 and her departure for Europe in 1895, she was registered in the San Francisco Directory as a music teacher working from her home. Living at home and giving lessons would have allowed her to save money for further studies abroad. During her formative years Allan was living in a city with rich cultural opportunities. San Francisco was proud to be the West’s leading citadel of culture in which its citizens could see artists of international stature. She took full advantage of all that the city had to offer. In 1890, the German pianist, Aus der Ohe came to perform. Allan says in her autobiography that she went to the German pianist’s hotel room with an armful of flowers in the hopes of meeting her. "She seemed to take an interest in me too, and many instructive and delightful hours were spent with her during her stay in San Francisco" (1908, p44). Perhaps Aus der Ohe, who had studied with Franz Liszt in Weimar in 1877, encouraged Allan in her idea to continue her studies in Germany. Allan attributes even greater inspiration to the 1891 visit of the French actress, Sarah Bernhardt.

She was the one woman in the world I wanted to rival, and I have not lost the feeling yet. So great an artist and yet so simple and childlike, it is no wonder that everyone loves her. I think the turning point in my career came from my first sight of that great woman. She inspired me to express my thoughts in another manner. I had hitherto used the piano as
my medium, but when I played alone in the drawing-room I could feel the call of another art than I had chosen.

Allan, 1908, p 36.

However Allan waited four more years until February 14, 1895 to depart for Europe. She wrote of her mixed feelings at the prospect of leaving her family and sheltered home life.

I remember that when it was settled and my brave courageous mother was blinking back her tears, I said with the egotism of a very young girl-- "Some day, dear, you shall come to me over there, when I have made you proud of your daughter.

Allan. 1908, p47.

It was quite a step for a rather protected young woman of twenty-two to travel to Europe although she was apparently chaperoned by a family friend on the trip to Germany. In April she was accepted as a student at the Berlin Koniglichen Akademischen Hochschule.

On April 15, 1895, just two months after Allan left home, her brother Theodore was arrested in San Francisco and charged with the murder of two young girls. After graduating from Cogswell College, Theodore had gone on to the Cooper Medical School. The first girl to be murdered, Blanche Lamont, had been found in the belfry of the Baptist Emmanuel Church, naked with her feet close together, hands folded on her breast and a block of wood to support her head; a position similar to that used by
medical students in the dissecting room. She had been strangled. Another
girl, Minnie Williams, had been stabbed to death. Both girls were
members of the church where Theodore was the assistant superintendent
of the Sunday School and secretary of the social society. Allan had also
attended this church. The evidence was overwhelming. Theodore had
been seen in the company of both girls shortly before their deaths and
Minnie William's purse had been found in his pocket. Durrant's trial
during the summer of 1895 received massive press coverage including
daily reports in the *International Herald Tribune*. He was found guilty
and, after exhausting all appeal attempts, Allan's brother was hanged in
San Quentin jail on January 7, 1898.5

Allan remained in Europe during the three years between Theo's arrest
and execution. She relied on letters from home and visits to the library to
read the *International Herald Tribune* to follow the plight of her brother.
Mrs Durrant spoke to the press on the day of Theo's execution. Allan had
sent her brother a locket with her picture as a New Year's Day gift. Mrs
Durrant reported that Theo had put the chain around his throat and said
"Now we are all together again." She said that Theo wanted his parents to
leave the United States and join his sister in Europe. However the parents
remained in California although in 1901 Mrs Durrant visited her daughter
in Europe.
In later years Maud Allan attempted to distance herself from her brother's fate. Although she tried to dissociate herself from Theodore Durrant by adopting a stage name and representing herself as an only child, the issue was made public on more than one occasion. On her first return home to San Francisco in April 1910 on a cross-country tour, she was unable to deny her relationship to one of California's most famous murderers. The San Francisco Chronicle in an article entitled, "Dancer Would be Seen in This city," informed its readers, "not since the tragedy of her brother, Theodore Durrant, has Miss Allan been in her native city."

While her family endured the years of Theodore's trial and the shock of his execution, Allan struggled along with her music studies in Germany. During this stressful period in her life, she was given emotional and financial support by the German sculptor, Arthur Bock (b.1875–d.1956). Allan met Bock in July 1897 and remained romantically involved with him for an eight year period.6

In the summer of 1901 after six years of study in Berlin, she was accepted into the elite circle to study with the great pianist, composer and teacher, Ferruccio Busoni (b.1866 - d.1924). Busoni's aesthetic theories and his influence on his pupil, Allan, are discussed in detail in 3.4. Busoni became a mentor to Allan and their friendship continued until his death in 1924.
It was after Allan's Weimar summer that she decided to give up her dreams of becoming a concert pianist.

2.3 Performing Years 1903–1936

Whatever the reasons for Allan's career switch, it was two years before she made her professional dance debut. She began her career as a dancer on November 24, 1903 at the small hall of the Royal Conservatory of Music in Vienna. The next day, the Viennese journal, *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, reviewed her two hour "performance of musically impressionistic mood settings" to the music of Bach, Beethoven, Chopin, Mendelssohn and Schumann. Reporting that she danced before an invited audience of artists, writers and patrons of the fine arts, the unidentified critic named her a rival to Isadora Duncan.

Allan struggled for nearly five years before achieving recognition. She was thirty years old at the time of her first public dance appearance. After her Vienna debut there were long gaps between engagements. She travelled with a group of performers under the management of M. Thede Sauset. A publicity postcard for the 1905-06 season found in one of Allan's albums at the University Research Library, University of Los Angeles lists M. Thede Sauset as concert director. There were small pictures of Liesbeth Thomsen, Francis MacMillen, Elsa D. Rompe and Maud Gwendelen Allan.
How Allan supported herself through these years is another mystery. Vague comments in letters from her mother make it a safe assumption that she was receiving financial backing from a man. For example on March 26, 1904 Mrs Durrant asked her daughter, "what does the gentleman who has provided you with the means, what does he think of the agent?" (Cherniavsky, 1983 (6:3) p194) Allan appears to have had more than one supportive man in her life at this time. She was collaborating with Marcel Remy (b.1865 -d.1906), a Belgian free-lance music critic and minor composer. After leaving his home town of Liege Remy had spent several years in Paris before moving on to Berlin. He lived a rather hand-to-mouth existence as a freelancer. A comment in a letter from Mrs Durrant makes it clear that Remy was not the "gentleman with the means." In an informative interview in London's *Weekly Dispatch*, March 15, 1908 Allan described him as "a great friend who was entirely disinterested". She credited him with "being the only man who ever influenced me in my work". She called herself his pupil. Remy would come to Allan's Berlin rooms and accompany her on the piano. He would play improvisations and she would attempt to interpret his music in dance form. In 1906 the two collaborated on the dance, *Vision of Salomé*, that would make Maud Allan a star.

She premiered her *Vision of Salomé* dance on Dec 28, 1906 in Vienna. (6.2 is devoted to an in-depth discussion of *Vision of Salomé*). Marcel
Remy arranged the music. Remy did not witness Allan's debut and subsequent success. He died alone and impoverished in Berlin on December 9, 1906 at the age of forty-one. Maud Allan and his brother Albert were the only mourners at his funeral. Allan came from Vienna for the burial and returned immediately for rehearsals at the Court Opera House. The Viennese press reported on the debate concerning the propriety of a Salomé dance performed at the prestigious Court Opera House. The Viennese newspaper Die Zeit, December 16, 1906 reported that the steward of the Opera House decided that Allan's costume was inappropriate. A compromise was reached and seventeen days after her collaborator's death, Allan presented their Vision of Salomé at the Carl Theatre.

Suddenly Maud Allan was receiving more bookings. In January 1907 she was in Hungary. She defended her choice of costume in a letter to the editor of the Budapest newspaper A Het, January 17, 1907. Not for the last time did she insist that her body was her instrument which must be uncovered in order to be expressive. She attracted further notoriety when the Munich’s Men Club for the Fight Against Public Immorality had her performance banned. In May she moved on to Paris and performed at the Theatre des Varietes for several weeks.

A turning point in her career occurred in September 1907 when she
performed privately for King Edward VII in Marienbad. This Bohemian spa had become the unofficial mid-summer capital of the entire Continent after the British king favoured it annually with his presence. He required an antidote to the strict regime of curative mineral waters and mild exercise. Both as the Prince of Wales and later as the King of England, Edward had a grand passion for the theatre and its actresses. So it was obvious to any ambitious young performer that Marienbad was the place to be during the King's tenure. Through a complicated series of social introductions, it was arranged for Allan to dance for the King at a private dinner given in his honour. Allan recalled the event in her autobiography. “He took my hand with his calm, great dignity and told me that he considered my art a beautiful one, and my dances worthy of the word classical” (1908, p.86).

In early March 1908 Maud Allan was introduced to the English public for the first time and began what was to become her record run at London's Palace Theatre of Varieties. She became a star attraction of the Edwardian stage. The Daily Mail, along with several other London newspapers on May 22, recounted Allan's extraordinarily busy schedule of the previous twenty-four hours. On May 20, after her usual appearances at the Palace, Allan was whisked onto a midnight train to Birmingham to which a special supper car had been added for her pleasure. After an idolatrous reception at the afternoon matinee at the Prince of Wales Theatre on May
21, she was swamped by a crowd as she returned to the train station. Nine o'clock in the evening found her back on the London stage dancing to a packed house. She appeared shortly after eleven the same evening in the ball room of the Carleton gardens home of Lord and Lady Dudley dancing for sixty guests including the King and Queen of England. The following day *The Daily Mail* reported that Allan had lunch with Prime Minister and Mrs Asquith at 10 Downing Street.

But not all of English society was ready to accept Allan's dances. She had been scheduled to make a brief appearance at Manchester’s Palace Theatre during mid-July. The Manchester Watch Committee, the local branch of the National Vigilance Association (NVA), which was the most prominent morality group in the Edwardian era, banned her performance, objecting to her "inadequate" clothing and her Salomé dance. The London branch of the NVA had been thwarted in their attempts to censor Allan due to her patronage by the King, the Prime Minister and Society.

During those first months of 1908 in London, she brought out her autobiography called *My Life and Dancing*. The small book with Allan in Salomé costume on the front cover, was dedicated to her "darling mother". Patrons at the Palace Theatre on October 14th were given special souvenir gift copies to commemorate her 250th consecutive performance. An unidentified newspaper on the following day, October 15, reported
that The Palace Management had marked this occasion by presenting Allan with a huge floral tribute, in the shape of the star, with 7,000 blossoms made from gold chrysanthemums, red roses and tiger lilies.

Such a gruelling routine as a daily turn in the regular programme as well as a series of Wednesday afternoon special matinees with an extended repertoire led to exhaustion. In late October 1908 Allan sprained her ankle and was forced to suspend her performances.

After successful medical treatment and a recuperative rest cure in Switzerland, she returned in triumph to the Palace Theatre on February 12, 1909. Once again Alfred Butt held a special preview matinee and on this occasion he hired the London Symphony Orchestra. The reviewers greeted her return with enthusiasm. *The Times* of February 13 stated that "she has no rival in the purely musical side of her art." *The Sunday Times* reviewer, J.T. Grein, in the February 14 edition wrote, "Miss Maud Allan has come back as buoyant as ever, and, if anything, with greater mastery of her art." Allan was asked to speak at the O.P. Club on Sunday, February 21 on the meaning of her dances. Several newspapers, including *The Times* reported on her speech which attracted a standing-room-only audience.

She terminated her engagement with The Palace on April 7 and, after a
special luncheon in her honour on April 8 at the Cafe Royal, she began a tour of the English provinces. Once Allan left the protection of London society several provincial morality committees attempted to ban her performance. Allan defiantly went ahead. She circumvented the Manchester Watch Committee by performing at a theatre on the outskirts of town controlled by a different censoring committee. The theatrical magazine, *The Era*, reported that the Manchester audience had given her an enthusiastic welcome.

In response to recalls she thanked those present for the warmth of her welcome and resented the accusations made against her first of all by those in Manchester who were so narrow-minded as to condemn her without first seeing her performance. She thought that a great injustice had been done to her, for in no court in the world could a person be condemned without having an opportunity of presenting a case.

*The Era*, May 1, 1909

In November 1909 Allan travelled to Russia to make two appearances only; one in St. Petersburg on Dec 4 (November 21-Old Style) at the Grand Hall of the Conservatory and on Dec 11 (November 28-Old Style) at Moscow’s Conservatory. She received mixed reviews from the Russian dance critics.

The British newspapers in late 1909 announced that Allan had signed a contract with the American agent, R.E. Johnson for fifty appearances in the
United States with a guaranteed £500 for each dance recital. She debued in Boston on January 19, 1910. She appeared in all the major eastern cities - New York, Chicago, Washington, Cincinnati and throughout the mid-West. After a sixteen year absence she returned triumphantly to San Francisco in April 1910. The press welcomed back a home town girl with such headlines as "Maud Allan Conquers Girlhood Home with Marvellous Offering" -San Francisco Chronicle , April 6, 1910; "Maud Allan Pleads for Love, San Francisco Opens its Arms" -Oakland Examiner , April 6, 1910.

Upon her return to England, Allan began to plan for a spectacular successor to her Vision of Salomé. In September 1910, Allan commissioned Claude Debussy to compose the music for her proposed ballet, Khamma.. 6.3 Khamma (1910) The Dance Never Danced is a detailed discussion of this episode in her life.

There had been a lapse of precisely two years when Maud Allan again appeared at The Palace Theatre in February 1911. Significant events in the London dance world had occurred during her absence. Diaghilev's Ballets Russes had made its debut in Paris although London audience would have to wait until the summer of 1911 to see this innovative ballet company. The Russian influence had extended to the London music halls with Russian ballerinas accepting solo engagements for the first time.
Anna Pavlova had made her first extended appearance at the Palace Theatre while Allan had been touring America. Perhaps these developments explain Allan's need for a new work with original music by Debussy. However, Allan was disappointed in her plans to return to the Palace with her commissioned Debussy score. Instead she included Debussy's impressionistic piece, *Danse Sacree et Profane*, which he had composed in 1904.

After leaving the Palace in early April, Allan spent the rest of 1911 fulfilling engagements in England and travelling to Southern Africa. The society pages continued to follow her every move with photographs. For example an unidentified London newspaper published a picture of Allan polishing boots to raise funds for a charity event in the Royal Botanical Gardens in July while *The Daily Sketch* on August 15, 1911 caught her coyly descending from a bathing machine at St. Leonards, East Sussex.

In November she left for an engagement in Southern Africa accompanied by her childhood friend, Alice Lonnon (nee Perkins) who had become an actress and performed stories in verse and prose. Alice Perkins had been a fellow classmate when the two Durrants had attended Cogswell College. A history of the class of 1891 stressed the friendship between the two young women.8

The Misses Durant [sic] and Perkins are two young ladies who are always associated with each other in the mind of
Cogswellites. They are both blond maidens of statuesque order, and their talents run in much the same direction, being both able to wield the pencil and the carving tool with great facility. Both Maud and Alice are experts at playing jokes upon unsuspecting humanity, while they are equally expert at avoiding the snares laid for them. There was once a corporation in this school which was called "The Third Triumvirate." It was formed by three young ladies wearing respectively the titles, "The Smile," "The Dimple," and "The Frown." Two of the young ladies were Miss Durant (The Dimple) and Miss Perkins (The Frown), though why frown it would be hard to discover.

Sturges, 1891, p 16

The Perkins had remained loyal to the Durrant family throughout the ordeal of Theodore's trial and execution.

Allan's photo album of her African trip shows her relaxing on-board ship, sightseeing at Victoria Falls, Cecil Rhodes grave site and watching native dance performances. She epitomized the elegant Edwardian lady in these holiday photos in a light, lacey dress and huge wide-brimmed hat. In examining the photographs in the album, Allan appears to be strikingly beautiful in a fragile manner. She performed in Capetown, Johannesburg and Pretoria in late December. She gave six performances at Johannesburg's His Majesty's Theatre to sellout audiences. The local Sunday Times (Dec. 17, 1911) reported the audience included "ex-mayors and distinguished members of the Consular services; military men and financiers; well-known hostesses and chaperoned charges; and many of Johannesburg's most notorious deadheads."
The Cherniavsky Trio which consisted of brothers, Jan, Leo and Mischel, were in South Africa at the same time. According to Mischel's son, Felix Cherniavsky, Allan and the trio met in Johannesburg in the Carleton Hotel. The lives and careers of Allan and the trio meshed for the next few years. They toured together in the Far East in 1913/14 in North America in 1916 and last in Egypt in 1923. According to Felix Cherniavsky and substantiated by one of Allan's secretaries, Leo Cherniavsky and Allan were romantically involved for several years. She was fifteen years older, but she had conveniently shed several years in her publicity material. To date, the time between Allan's initial meeting of Leo Cherniavsky and summer 1913 remains a mystery. It is known that she was battling with Debussy and his publisher, Durand, for the completion and delivery of the music for her ballet, *Khamma*.

In July 1913 Allan took a twenty year lease on West Wing, a portion of a gracious Regency structure known as Holford House on the Outer Circle of Regent's Park. The elegant surroundings of West Wing with its large conservatory equipped with a huge mirror with great holding wings, Jacobean dining room, and period furniture attests to Allan's wealth at that time. Several accounts provide proof that Allan kept servants. Her secretary, Doris Langley Moore, recalled the pleasure of being served tea and biscuits by Allan's butler in the early 1920s.
In the summer of 1913 Allan was about to launch on an ambitious tour of the Far East with the Cherniavsky Trio. From an extant letter book located in the University of Los Angeles’s Research Library it appears that Leo and Allan began to make the elaborate arrangements until such details were taken over by the general manager, W. Angus MacLeod. The book begins on September 4, 1913 with a letter signed by both Allan and Leo Cherniavsky hiring Fred Mitchell as the electrician and baggage man for the tour. It ends with a letter from Manilla on February 23, 1914 from the general manager McLeod.

Allan’s participation in this extended tour was in jeopardy before she had even left London. When it became known that she intended to perform her dances in India an outcry arose in both the Anglo-Indian and British press. It was contended that a British woman performing in a theatre with Indians in the audience would lower the prestige of British womanhood and breed contempt amongst the Indian population. Allan fought her critics boldly in a spirited self-defense through a letter to the editor of The Daily Telegraph on the eve of her departure on November 24, 1913. She ended the letter "in circumstances like these it is hardly surprising that it is due to my reputation, and indeed to my self-respect, that I should carry out my programme as originally designed." While Allan was defiantly defending herself in the British press, her general tour manager was
cabling to the advance man, Howard Edie to stop all promotion. "Until further instructions-book no dates-stop all advertising. post no bills. Silence imperative." (Sept.19, 1913)11

Allan's determination prevailed and she sailed for India in early November accompanied once again by her friend Alice Lonnon. She spoke of her attitude to the bigotry of the British women in India.

I'm afraid you will think me very cynical; but how can I help being so? In Africa there was much the same fuss made over my performances—before they were seen. But when these sweet Christian women out there, who had been petitioning authorities of all kinds and colours to have a fellow creature condemned without a hearing, learned that I had weathered the storm and was being patronized by intellectual people, they flocked around me- for free seats and benefit matinees for the objects in which they were interested! I say again, I know my world too well- and I sometimes wish I didn't.

_Daily Chronicle_, Nov. 26, 1913

Allan performed in Bombay on November 24 and Reuters reported that she "had an enthusiastic reception from a large and representative gathering." On her first performance she sprained her ankle which necessitated the cancellation of all engagements until the beginning of January 1914. Injury and bad health plagued her throughout this arduous tour which took in India, Penag, Singapore, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, New Zealand and Australia. A letter from the tour director to the
advance man (the day after her injury) warned of her frailty:

Another point is that we must save Miss Allan all we can this tour as she is not very strong and you know what the climate is. She must not be rushed too much or worked too hard or she may break down.

November 25, 1913

Again in Sydney, Australia she tripped and injured herself.

Allan left Australia early in 1915 and sailed to California to visit her parents. While in Los Angeles in May/June, 1915 Allan starred in a silent film called *The Rugmaker's Daughter*. According to Schlundt (1962, p18) Ted Shawn had made the first dance film in 1914 entitled *Dance of the Ages* for the Thomas A. Edison Company. Shortly after Allan's film debut Universal Studios signed up Pavlova in July, 1915 for her only film, *The Dumb Girl of Portici*. The fact that Allan and Pavlova only appeared in one film each may indicate that these first silent film ventures using dancers were not as successful as the studios had anticipated. However these three dancers, Shawn, Allan and Pavlova were the forerunners of future generations of dancers to appear in Hollywood films.

Allan had been in the Far East when the First World War began in 1914. She spent 1915 and the beginning of 1916 in the United States. But the intrepid Allan crisscrossed the Atlantic Ocean in 1916 despite the danger of
German torpedoes. She left California and travelled to New York to begin arrangements for a second tour of North America. The British press in March 1916 announced that Allan was mortally ill in New York with appendicitis. She made a full recovery and was back at her London home on May 3, 1916. She told The Evening Standard on the day of her London return that her doctors had ordered her to "potter around for a month or two." She spent her time and energy in planning for the second North American trip. She spoke to the Dancing Times about the upcoming tour.

It is not quite decided as yet whether I shall dance in London or not. You see I have to sail back to America at the beginning of September to commence an important tour with a large symphony orchestra through the principal cities of the States, so I have not very much time.

_Dancing Times_ , July, 1916

Allan had grandiose ideas for her 1916-17 tour of North America. She had formed her own management company, Maud Allan Co. An advertisement in _The Musical Courier_ , August 24, 1916, announced that dates were available in October, November and April only. Besides her own arrangements, Allan's company was booking for The Cherniavsky Trio's North American tour. In 1916 the rumour of Allan's impending marriage to Leo Cherniavsky appeared in several newspapers. An article in the Toronto Star Weekly, September 30, 1916, stressed that every phase of the tour was under Allan's supervision. It was publicized that she would appear with her own forty piece orchestra. She would travel in her own private train car with a seventy foot baggage car for her scenery.
In July Allan hired the Swiss composer, Ernest Bloch, (b.1880-d.1959) to proceed to New York and make all the musical arrangements. Bloch travelled from Geneva to London and met with Allan on July 20. He agreed to continue on to New York without a signed contract or any legal guarantees. It appears that Allan planned to use him as an unpaid advance man. Bloch was responsible for assembling the musicians and orchestrating music. However he refused to attend to other details outlined by Allan such as buying the cheapest possible music stands.

Although Allan announced that she would finally be presenting Debussy's *Khamma* on this tour, it did not in fact occur. Instead she arrived in New York on September 14 with an entirely different dance, *Nair the Slave* with music by Enrico Belpassi. A discussion of this dance is included in 6.3.

The tour began in Albany, New York on September 28. Allan and her entourage then proceeded to engagements in Ottawa, Montreal and her birthplace, Toronto, before returning to New York. After a series of matinees at the Forty-fourth Street Theatre, the tour began a gruelling circuit of the eastern United States. By November, the tour had collapsed due to Allan's extravagant arrangements coupled with disappointing houses. She returned to New York and agreed to a two week stint at the
Palace Vaudeville house in order to earn enough money to pay her most immediate debts. She abandoned Bloch and the orchestra and recommenced her tour of western United States with a quartet of musicians. This second North American tour was a financial failure.

Allan's father died in April 1917 and she returned to Los Angeles (Cherniavsky 1991). She once more risked an Atlantic crossing and was back in London in the summer of 1917. She returned to a Britain demoralized by war. In the Fall she toured the provinces on a Moss Empire Tour visiting among other places Liverpool, Manchester and Glasgow.

From October 31 to November 17, 1917 she appeared twice daily at the newly built Georgian-style St Martin's Theatre under the management of Charles B. Cochran. This engagement was an artistic benchmark in her career. She was no longer sharing the stage with performing monkeys. Instead she was the featured artist in a two-hour programme assisted by The Little Symphony Orchestra. A London newspaper remarked on the changed circumstances.

There was something very saint-like about the St Martin's Theatre when Maud Allan was decorously welcomed back to London. Decorous, too, in the
extreme, are her dances and the string-of-bead days
t'o other side of Cambridge Circus seem far distant.

_The Daily Sketch_, November 2, 1917

Proof at this time of Allan's continuing success and acceptance as a serious dancer was her inclusion in a special Dancer's Matinee at the Alhambra on November 20, 1917 in aid of war veterans. Other participants included Phyllis Bedells, Lydia Kyasht, Madame Seraphine Astafieva and Lady Constance Stewart-Richardson. Although Allan accepted the engagement, she failed to appear due to illness.

The Spring of 1918 proved to be another benchmark in Allan's career — both artistically and personally. She appeared in her first theatrical role as Salomé in a production of Oscar Wilde's play. J.T. Grein, theatre producer and drama critic for _The Sunday Times_, who had been writing favourable reviews of Allan's dance performances since 1908, had chosen Salomé as the vehicle to revive his Independent Theatre. Although Wilde's play had been performed on the Continent, it had been banned for public performance by the British Lord Chamberlain. Therefore Allan appeared in a private subscription performance at London's Court Theatre on April 12. A London newspaper (unidentified) on April 13 described her speaking voice as "mellow and musical, and it did not lack strength in the tragic moments. As an actress, however, she is at present merely a brilliant amateur." She had choreographed a new Salomé dance to music by
Granville Bantock.

Following the announcement of the upcoming performance of *Salomé*, Noel Pemberton Billing, an Independent Member of Parliament and editor of a subscription circulation newsletter called *The Vigilante* printed an article (February 16, 1918) with the headline "Cult of the Clitoris" which amongst other accusations insinuated that Allan was a depraved lesbian. Even before staging the play Maud Allan and J.T. Grein charged Billing with criminal libel. The case first came up on April 6, 1918 when Billing was summoned on the charge of libelling Grein and Allan.

Billing was delighted as the trial gave him the excuse to publicize the existence of an alleged "Black Book" purportedly compiled by the Germans and listing the sexual perversions of prominent English men and women. Frustrated by Britain's battle casualty rates in the past four years of war, proponents of the "Black Book" theory suggested that Germany's military supremacy was the result of British strategy leaked by blackmailed British policy makers. There was supposedly a compilation of 47,000 names. *The Vigilante* had linked together Allan's performance with the "Black Book".

To be a member of Maud Allan's private performance in Oscar Wilde's *Salomé* one has to apply to a Miss Valetta of 9 Duke Street, Adelphi, London W.C. If Scotland Yard were to seize the list of these members I have no doubt they would secure the names of several thousand of the first 47,000.
Thus Allan and Grein, in instigating the libel suit, were unwitting pawns in Billing’s anti-German campaign. The trial began on May 29, 1918 and lasted six days. It overlapped with Allan’s nightly performances at the London Pavilion where her engagement ran from May 6 to June 1.

The trial proceedings featured prominently in London’s daily newspapers. Both Allan and Billings were colourful characters. *The Daily Express*, May 30, 1918 described the two combatants. Billing: "made a striking figure, as he stood erect at the dock-rail—a gaunt, dark-haired, athletic-looking man, bronzed and sharp-featured, wearing an eye-glass and speaking in deep, almost sepulchral tones." Allan: "a fascinating figure in the box. She is a tall, slender, delicately featured woman, and she speaks with a slight accent a suggestion of an Irish brogue. She wore a large picture hat and a dark open cloak revealing a low-necked blouse."

The trial was held before Mr Justice Darling and a jury at the Old Bailey and over the six days the focus switched from the issue of a criminal libel against Maud Allan to the sexual perversity of Oscar Wilde and anyone who defended his works. The taint of Wilde’s name alone was enough to sway the jury. But Billing exposed the skeleton in Allan’s closet. He introduced into the trial the fact that Maud Allan was the sister of the infamous murderer, Theodore Durrant. It was Billing’s contention that sexual perversity was hereditary. It is clear from the newspaper accounts
that Allan was completely unprepared for these revelations about her brother's past. When Billing confronted her with a green book containing a picture and account of her brother's trial, it took her several moments to regain her composure. All the years of careful coverup of her past disappeared in that one moment in the court. The jury found Billing not guilty of libel and Allan's name and character had been besmirched in the national press.

It is no wonder that Allan's health failed and she spent some time in 1919 in a nursing home. Busoni in a letter to his wife described a tea party at Allan's home at which one of the guests, George Bernard Shaw, made an humorous response to his hostess's tales of being in a nursing home (Busoni, 1938 p279). In the Fall of 1919, Allan's friend and mentor, Busoni, was appearing in a series of performances at Wigmore Hall. A railway strike was creating food shortages and he sought peace and companionship at West Wing. He wrote to his friend Philip Jarnach on Oct.5, 1919:

I have the good fortune to be living in the middle of Regent's Park, where Maud Allan has offered me the pleasure of her generous hospitality. But it is solitary and monotonous so far from the centre. The dawn is always charming, the view over the majestic trees, turned to gold by the autumn sun, is heart-warming - But the evenings are wretched; they vanish into dark silence during interminable hours; at such time there is an air of inactivity; just as if it were a play by Maeterlinck.

Busoni in Beaumont, 1987, p 292
Allan accompanied Busoni to various social occasions including a small dinner given after one of his recitals. In December Busoni and Allan went to Paris. He returned home to Switzerland and his family, while Allan attempted to secure an engagement with M. Carre, the director of the Opera Comique. So although Allan did not perform in London directly after the trial, she remained actively involved in both her career and social life.

Allan spent part of 1920 visiting her mother in California and in the summer toured in South America appearing in Chile, Brazil and Argentina. She returned to London in the late autumn of 1920.

In February 1921 Allan was back on the London stage giving a daily twenty minute "turn" at the Palladium. She was anxious to stress that she had been busy since her last London appearance in 1918.

I have not been idle since 1918. My dances and recitals have been splendidly received during a year's tour of the United States, the Argentine, Chili, [sic] and Brazil. In recent months I have been topping the bill at the principal music halls in the English provinces.

Daily Express, Feb.1, 1921

She was also engaged in 1921 to perform at London's Coliseum. The Coliseum, which had opened in 1904, staged musical spectacles and music hall acts selected for their refinement. Allan first danced there in
June/July, 1921. She had fierce competition for the dance audience. Diaghilev's Ballets Russes was at the Princes Theatre, Pavlova was at Queen's Hall and at the Coliseum, Allan was sharing the bill with the ballerina, Karsavina. Naturally the dance critics took the opportunity to make comparisons between the two dancers; one a Russian trained classical ballerina and the other a modern dancer. The Times, July 5, 1921 in an article entitled "Contrasts at the Coliseum" called Karsavina "the true comedian of ballet" while Allan was "the tragedian." Allan was back again at the Coliseum in October with new offerings including a Richard Strauss waltz from the opera The Rose Cavalier and a Spanish dance to the music of Granados. She kept many of her Coliseum dances in her programme during her tour of the British provinces in 1922.

During 1921, which proved to be a busy year, a series of newspaper memoirs by Allan entitled "How I Startled the World" was syndicated by International Features Services, Inc. It is my contention that this autobiographical account was a mixture of fact and fiction. It is discussed in detail in 1.4.

1923 was an eventful and stressful year in Allan's life. She began the year touring in the West of England. In March she took a one week engagement at the Alhambra, London as one of the "turns" in a gruelling three-times-a-day variety show. The Stage of March 22, 1923 discussed her
appearance. "She has lost none of her artistic charm—in spite of the fact that the life of a dancer is almost as short as that of a prize fighter." Allan was fifty years old. The troubled romantic relationship between Allan and the younger Leo Cherniavsky had been resumed. Once again they went on tour together. This time it was a short tour of the Mediterranean with engagements in Gibraltar, Egypt and Malta. Allan's secretary, Doris Langley Moore, had been sent ahead as an advance person. The opening night performance at the Kursaal Theatre in Cairo on May 3, 1923 was well attended but the subsequent Cairo nights attracted only a modest audience. The Malta performances came to an abrupt stop with the final breakup of the Cherniavsky/Allan romance. In her unpublished memoirs, Moore recalled the episode. "The attempt to revive the once passionate affair between Maud Allan and Leo was failing dismally, and I used to hear her crying at night, her bedroom being directly above mine." Allan left the group while the rest continued on to Rome for a holiday.

She was back at the Alhambra for the last week of September. Again in December she was at the Alhambra performing two new dances in the same programme which featured a short play by George Bernard Shaw. The newspapers reported that Allan had decided to appear in cabaret and was scheduled to begin a season at the Queen's Hall Roof on New Year's Eve. However this engagement was cancelled due to an emergency appendicitis operation on December 23, 1923.
It is not surprising that her health suffered. 1923 had seen her tour in Western England and the Mediterranean, appear three times in London with new dances, and suffer the emotional distress of the end of a long-term relationship. A pattern of ill-health after emotional trauma can be discerned. She suffered major leg injuries in 1908, during the 1913/14 Far East tour and spent time in a nursing home after the disastrous libel trial of 1918. She made a good recovery as London's *Sunday Express* April 20, 1924 reported sighting Maud Allan enjoying caviare in a London restaurant. She was once again on the Alhambra stage in early July 1924 with a new dance, *The Drums of Thebes*, inspired by desert dancers she had seen during her visit to Egypt.

On November 1, 1924 Allan told *The Daily Graphic* that she was hoping to revive her *Vision of Salomé* in the West End before Christmas. Although that plan did not work out, 1925 found her plotting an European come-back with the assistance of Doris Langley Moore. Aided by letters of introduction to the Paris aristocratic circles by an English diplomat friend of Allan's, Moore arranged for Allan to appear in Lyons and Brussells as well as at a charity performance in Paris. Moore says that Allan's Paris venture was a brave endeavour that brought few beneficial results. Allan did not appear on the Continent again.

Turning once more towards North America, November 10, 1925 found
Allan at New York's Metropolitan Opera involved in an adventurous project with the Stoney Plain Vocal Ensemble. The choir was described by the New York Times (November 11, 1925) "as the human instruments accompanying the well known American dancer."

Allan's life now became a restless crisscrossing of the Atlantic ocean between her West Wing London home and California. The highlight of her 1926-27 sojourn in California was her appearance at the Hollywood Bowl on August 26, 1926 accompanied by the complete Bowl Orchestra. The programme described her as a great artist and honoured guest. Shortly after appearing at San Francisco's Orpheum Theatre in January, 1927, she sailed back to London.

Mrs Durrant died in London in 1930. Allan's secretary/companion, Verna Aldrich, told The Sunday Express November 30, 1930 that "the long illness and death of her mother dealt her a crushing blow."

In June 1931, Allan was a witness at the London marriage of the American dance writer, La Meri (Russell Meriwether Hughes). The fiasco surrounding Allan's first dramatic role in Wilde's play Salomé, did not deter her from pursuing an alternative career as an actress. She was actively soliciting dramatic roles in an interview in The Referee,
March 25, 1923 in which she asked if there was any London managers in search of a leading lady. In the Spring of 1932 she appeared as the Abbess in a revival of Max Reinhardt's *The Miracle* at London's Lyceum theatre. In September 1934 she took the role of Carrie, a dancer in a travelling show, in a production of *The Barker* with the Manchester Repertory Company.

It was during the early 1930s that Allan's altered financial situation came to public attention. Although newspaper reports at the height of her success gave exaggerated reports of her income, it is safe to assume that Allan had been financially comfortable. According to bank records obtained from the archivist at the Midlands Bank, her financial woes had begun in the mid 1920s. An internal report in December 1922 stated that the average balance on her account that year had been £1000. However by 1925 her account had been overdrawn by £120. A report from her branch office to head office stated "This is the well known dancer, who has banked with us since 1908, and has at times had substantial sums to her credit." By January 1930 after attempts to recover debts, the bank closed her account.

Her money problems became public in June 1932 when she was summoned to Marylebone Police Court for failure to pay £65 in rates for paving, cleaning, lighting and repairs to West Wing. *The Daily Herald*, 
June 11, 1932 reported her solicitor's plea that she was unable to meet the demand at once. The magistrate ruled that she must immediately pay £10 and was given six months to pay the balance. Allan, who was appearing in The Miracle at the time, was photographed smiling and stylishly dressed in a fur-trimmed coat. It appears that Allan's live-in secretary, Verna Aldrich, increasingly shouldered the financial burden of West Wing. Extant letters between Allan and Aldrich in Felix Cherniavsky's possession show that by the end of the 1930s the annual rent was in arrears.

Newspaper reports increasingly dwelt on the derelict appearance of West Wing, Allan's lonely existence and inability to meet bills. However these stories were counterbalanced by Allan's largesse at inviting "slum children" to her garden every Saturday for free dance lessons. One year after her court appearance a newspaper picture featured her in an elegant hat surrounded by little children. The cutline read

Miss Maud Allen [sic] known for her Saolome [sic] dance in pre-war days, was hostess this week-end to fifty children from the slums at her home in Regent's Park. She is contemplating turning her home into a centre of the arts, especially ballet dancing, for which she will select promising material from the poorer classes.

Daily Express, June 12, 1933

It is likely that an uninformed reporter unwittingly used the term "ballet dancing" as a general description for the art form dance. It would have
been very surprising for Allan to focus on ballet classes since she had no training and had based her career on an anti-balletic stand.

The *Dancing Times* in February 1935 announced the opening of Miss Maud Allan's School of Dance. Unlike her Saturday morning classes, this was fee-paying school which would include all forms of theatrical dance in her curriculum. Each branch of dancing would be taught by a recognized teacher.

Special attention will be paid to the sister Arts of Music and Painting, which play such an important part in the Dance, and Miss Allan will make a very strong point of teaching her pupils how to cultivate a correct musical appreciation.

*Dancing Times*, Feb, 1935 p 609

But soon after the announcement of the establishment of the Maud Allan School of Dancing, Allan herself left England for the United States. The dance critic, John Martin, in the *New York Times* on September 8, 1935, reported that Allan was planning to give several dance recitals and also to lecture at various Women's Clubs on the subject of international peace. Before leaving England, she told the *London Star*, August 10, 1935 "the world must become more peace-conscious and less money-grubbing. That is the only way to prevent war."

Allan did not return to London for two and a half years. It appears that Verna Aldridge took over the responsibility for the dance classes. The
Daily Herald, September 12, 1938, reported that the school was being carried on by two women teachers and seventy children were getting free tuition three times a week "with tea and buns thrown in."\textsuperscript{20}

During Allan's absence from London, she made her last public dance appearance at California's Redlands Bowl in 1936. She also gave Master Classes at the University of California, Berkeley and at hired studio space in Los Angeles.

2.4 Post Dance Career 1937-1956

On her return visits to California, Allan relied on the hospitality of various friends including Leo Cherniavsky's sister, Munya, and her old school friend, Alice Lonnon. For a time she settled in Pasadena at the Frank Lloyd Wright designed home of Alice Millard. In January 1938 Allan and her friend Alice Millard were in a serious car accident. Allan, whose spinal column was broken, lay in a cast for several months. She suddenly appeared back in London near the end of November, 1938. The Daily Mail featured a curious article on Allan with the headline "Glamour Girl No. 1 Returns, No-one Knew Salomé is Hiding in London. Maud Allan has Broken Spine, But I'll Dance Again." The article was accompanied by a photograph of Allan at home at West Wing reclining on a couch with a rose brocade coverlet. She is quoted:

I won't tell you how I did it, which boat I came by or which port I entered—but I am here. All I can say is that it was only a few days ago. Really the journey has been so exhausting that I couldn't
Daily Mail, November 29, 1938

It remains a mystery why Allan felt a need for secrecy.

The final years of Allan's long life are a tale of struggle and poverty. She had the opportunity to reflect on past glories when she participated in a radio broadcast for the British Broadcasting Corporation on the history of the Palace Theatre. Less welcomed newspaper publicity reported Allan being sued once again by a furrier to recover £37.00. Allan wrote the court explaining that her income was small and uncertain. In 1923 a similar legal action had been made against her for an outstanding bill of £53 for the alteration of two fur coats.

Life in London became more and more bleak. A portion of Holford House suffered serious bomb damage. A reporter for the Sunday Chronicle, February 2, 1941, described Allan as living in three tiny rooms with her dog, Perky, as her only companion. She explained: "When the raids are on I just go down in the wine vault and enjoy the perfect illusion of safety." The same article reported that Allan had volunteered to drive an ambulance. Ultimately circumstances forced Allan to put her remaining pieces of furniture in storage and to return to California for the final time.
Allan endured fifteen more years in impoverished conditions. She spent the last year and a half of her life in a nursing home. She died on October 7, 1956 at the age of eighty-three. She was buried in the Valhalla Memorial Park Mortuary, North Hollywood, in a simple ceremony which she had arranged beforehand. True to her artistic vision, she requested that a service be held in the garden with an organ solo.

2.5 Summary

Allan lived a long and eventful life. She spent her first five years in Toronto, her adolescence in San Francisco, her twenties in pre-World War One Germany, her lengthy career years from 1903 to 1936 travelling extensively to all corners of the world and her last years in Los Angeles. She began in humble financial circumstances, at the height of her career lived in luxury and financial security and ended her years in impoverished conditions. She never married and had no known children. Her primary family was both the source of her strength and the cause of her greatest anguish. She experienced artistic recognition and later obscurity. She consorted with some of the leading artistic intellectuals of her time including her musical mentor Ferruccio Busoni. She persevered with her dance career for a span of over three decades.

It is hoped that a partial unveiling of Allan has occurred with this biographical study. Part of the difficulty is the complexity of Allan herself
and her wish to stay shrouded in mystery. The contextual background in the next two chapters provides aids to a greater understanding of both her influences and her motivation.
ENDNOTES

1. In an interview in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, London, March 31, 1908 "The Real Maud Allan. A Dressing Room Chat" it was reported: "She is a Canadian, as are both her parents, and was born in Toronto, but when she was six years old the family migrated to San Francisco, where her father, Dr William Allan, is a well-known oculist, and his wife practises the same branch of medicine."

2. Allan had changed her name to Maud Gwendolen Allan for her November 24, 1903 Vienna debut as a dancer. A publicity post-card for the 1905-06 season similarly listed her as Maud Gwendolen Allan. During 1906, for reasons unknown, Gwendolen was dropped and she continued with the stage name Maud Allan.

3. Isabella Hutchinson Durrant was born in Oakville, Ontario and apparently moved to Toronto shortly before her marriage to William Allan Durrant in 1870. She was eighteen at the time of her marriage. This information comes from the Durrant's marriage certificate obtained from the Ontario Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Affairs.

4. All the information concerning Cogswell College was gathered during a visit to the Cogswell College Archives, 6000 Stockton St, San Francisco. I am indebted to Herbert Childs, Librarian at Cogswell College for his cooperation in allowing me access to the archives and locating relevant materials including a syllabus of the course, the class history of the graduating class of 1891 and the graduation photographs of Maud and Theodore Durrant.

5. Theodore Durrant was arrested in San Francisco on April 14, 1895. His trial began on July 22 and a guilty verdict was found on September 24. The transcript of the trial itself was carried in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Accounts of the case are included in Dean W. Dickensheet (ed), *Great Crimes of San Francisco* (Ballantine Books, 1974), pp. 66-74 and chapters by Hildegarde Teilet "The Demon in the Belfry: The Case of Theodore Durrant: The Facts and Anthony Boucher "The Legends" in *San Francisco Murderers* (Bantam Books, 1948)pp. 65-104.

6. This reference to Bock is found in Cherniavsky's biography, *The Salomé Dancer* (1991). The information on the Bock/Allan relationship is contained in Allan's diaries and extant Bock letters to Allan in the private collection of Cherniavsky. Bock is significant for the reasons that he made a sculpture of Salome and the head in 1905/06. He also provided Allan with a small allowance during her German student years. Bock was one of several romantic interests in Allan's life.
8. A report in the *General-Anzeiger für Eberfeld-Barmen* November 2, 1905 discussed the up-coming performance on November 8 of Allan, the pianist Elsa Rompe and the violinist, Frances MacMillan. The article stated that the performance "will arouse special interest through the appearance of the dancer Miss Maud Gwendolen Allan." Rompe accompanied Allan on the piano as well as playing her own solos. The article also reported that Frances MacMillan had had an extraordinary success in Vienna, Brussels, Paris and London.

8. The class history also included a comment on Theo Durrant.

> William Henry Theodore Durant [sic]! He carries the whole alphabet with him, and it is unnecessary to add anything further, as the alphabet embraces everything that can possibly be said. I shall merely add—that Mr Durant is the Chesterfield of the class, and has won many friends by his graceful and genial manner.

Sturges, 1891, p 20

According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Chesterfieldian is relating to or a characteristic of the Fourth Earl of Chesterfield, a writer on manners and etiquette. Thus Sturges' rather ambiguous statement suggests that Theo Durrant was best known for his impeccable behaviour.

9. This album of photographs of Allan and friends in Africa is in the Allan ephemera, Collection 2038, at the Dept. of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.

10. Holford House, located on the northern boundary of the park, was built by Decimus Burton in 1832 for the wine merchant, James Holford. It was a palace with extensive grounds. Later it became the Regent's Park Baptist College which trained candidates for the ministry. When Allan took the lease on West Wing, the remainder of the house was still the Baptist Training College. Allan is quoted in the *Evening News* on July 9, 1913: "The students at the college, I seldom see, for the whole west side of the grounds belong to me. There are two spacious lawns, and if the weather is fine enough I should use one of them for dancing."

Cherniavsky (1991, p181) claims with no substantiating evidence that Margot Asquith paid the £600 yearly lease on West Wing until 1928. Cherniavsky is inaccurate in his date of Allan taking occupancy of West Wing. London addresses for Allan taken from extant letters and bank records indicate that she lived at a variety of addresses for the time period between her arrival in London in March 1908 and July 1913 when *The Evening News*, July 9, 1913 reported that she had taken a 20 year lease on West Wing.
11. According to Felix Cherniavsky quoting from a letter from the tour director to his wife - Feb.14, 1914 - letter book unavailable at Dance Collection, N.Y. the controversy was a publicity gimmick of the advance man, Howard Edie, which back-fired. "Last night Leo [Cherniavsky] told me that it was Howard Edie who started the anti-Maud Allan campaign in India-he found it absolutely essential to get hold of something to stir up interest as the Europeans had all seen her in Europe and the Indians had never heard of her. So he conspired with the Editors of two Bombay newspapers and they started writing letters of protest and answering them. It certainly came off, but she would never forgive Edie if she knew" (Dance Chronicle 8:1&2, 1985.p49).

13. Exhaustive research to date has failed to find an extant copy of the film. Although copyright records state that the Library of Congress holds 208 frames, these frames, made of deteriorating nitrate cellulose stock, disintegrated completely. The film was made by Bosworth Inc in association with the Oliver Morosco Photoplay Company. The script was by Mrs Julia Ivers, a novelist and magazine writer. It was directed by Oscar Aprél. The cast included Maud Allan, Forrest Stanley, Howard Davies, Herbert Stanberg, Jane Darwell. Laura Cushing, and Harrington Gibbs. It was released by Paramount, July 5, 1915. Shooting began in April 1915 under the title: The Turkish Rug. (Information from Motion Picture World, July 10, 1915) The plot evolved around the efforts of a Turkish rug-maker to marry his daughter, Demetra (Maud Allan) to a wealthy suitor, her objections and the effective interference of a visiting American, Robert Van Buren (Forrest Stanley) The action switches from Turkey to New York where the young American checks the scheme of his rival and marries Demetra. As well as acting, Allan danced three times during the film. According to the Los Angeles Times, July 11, 1915 the three dances included two in Allan's existing repertoire; Anitra's Dance from The Peer Gynt Suite, Mendelssohn's Spring Song plus a new dance to Beethoven's Moonlight Sonata.

14. Grein had been intrigued with Wilde's Salomé for many years and had first attempted to mount a production in 1903 when he asked Gordon Craig to direct it. Later when he saw Pavlova dance at the Palace Theatre he thought she would make the ideal Salomé. He eventually offered the role to Maud Allan.


16. In her unpublished autobiography, Moore admits to instigating a dirty-tricks publicity campaign similar to the one allegedly done by Howard Edie in the 1913/14 India tour. She wrote a bogus letter to the Egyptian Gazette questioning the propriety of a scantily-clad, bare-foot
dancer appearing in Cairo and then answered it with a protest against out-dated narrow-mindedness. She states that some authentic letters followed. It is a possibility that Leo Cherniavsky had a role in these publicity scams since he was involved in both tours.

Moore wrote a novel, *A Game of Snakes and Ladders* (London: Cassell and Company Ltd, 1955) based on her experiences in Egypt in 1923. The novel follows the lives of two young girls who arrive in Egypt with a theatrical company at the end of the First World War. I am indebted to Doris Langley Moore’s niece and executor, Camilla Hasse, for loaning me a copy of this book which is now out of print.

17. An unidentified London newspaper (March 11, 1916) reported that she had her appendix removed in New York in 1916. It is possible that the term appendicitis was a euphemism for another condition; perhaps of a gynaecological nature.

18. Allan’s attendance at the wedding is recorded in La Meri’s autobiography, (1977) A personally inscribed copy of La Meri’s 1932 book, *Dance as an Art Form*, is included in the Allan ephemera in the Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, University of California.

19. The June 1932 *Theatre World* includes a special supplement on *The Miracle* entitled "The Play of the Moment" (pp281-91). It includes a full cast list, a synopsis of the play and many photographs several of which include Allan. The cast included such notables as Tilly Losch, Diana Manners and the dancer, Leonide Massine. I am indebted to my colleague at the University of Surrey, Keith Cavers, for giving me a copy of this magazine.

20. In an interview in the *Sunday Referee*, May 1, 1938, Aldridge is quoted: "Seventy-five poor children from the slums of London are looking forward more than anyone else for the return of Miss Allan. For she is the fairy godmother who has taken them from the squalidness that is often their homes and for a few hours every week transplanted them to the seven acres of heaven in Regent’s Park, where they learn to dance and become fit in one of the enormous rooms where Royalty once walked." This claim was likely bravado since Aldridge was struggling to pay the bills on West Wing.

21. The programme was broadcast on February 28, 1939. The *Radio Times*, February 21, 1939 mentioned Allan in a promotional article. "Maud Allan has now sufficiently recovered from her motor accident to give her own view of those classical and other barefoot dances which stirred the pens of poets and critics alike to rapture." Unfortunately, the BBC Sound Archives
and the British National Sound Archives does not have an extant copy of the programme.

22. Cherniavsky gives the date as Oct 9, 1940 during one of the first air raids of the London blitz.

23. Moore (1978, p 15) wrote that Allan's executor, Leo Cherniavsky, settled the storage bill by allowing the goods to be sold at auction. "One set alone, her set of gilt drawing room chairs upholstered in petit point, fetched enough to cover the whole debt. The rest profited only the auctioneer and storage company."
3. ALLAN STRANDED IN GERMANY

3.1 Introduction
3.2 Berlin: Cultural, Political and Social Milieu
3.3 Early German expressionism
3.4 Busoni: His Aesthetic theories and influence on Allan
3.5 Summary

3.1 Introduction

Allan was twenty-two years old when she went to Germany in 1895 where she remained for thirteen years before leaving in 1908. As discussed in 2.2 shortly after her arrival in Berlin Allan's life was inexorably altered by the arrest of her brother for murder. The Durrant family's respectability was irrevocably lost. Allan's financial support from home disappeared as the family resources went towards legal expenses. During the years of the trial, appeals and execution from 1895 to 1898, Allan was stranded in Germany. Her family did not want her to return home and endure the shame. The pressure on Allan became even greater as her parents looked upon her to redeem the family name. For example, shortly after the execution, Mrs Durrant wrote to her daughter entreating her "to make a name for yourself if you wish to gladden our last days, for nothing else will make up for our loss but showing the world that you as well as he were ambitious" (Mrs Durrant quoted in Cherniavsky, 1991, p118). This was emotional blackmail. Whether it was a conscious decision, obedience to orders from home or simply stunned inertia, Allan closed the door on America and immersed herself in German life. She learned the German language. She studied music formally and after 1901 became involved in the artistic
circle surrounding the well known musician, Ferruccio Busoni. She was an active participant in the cultural life of Berlin. After 1903, she performed as a dancer and, while keeping Berlin as her home base, she travelled widely in Europe.

Several crucial questions arise from the study of Maud Allan's period in Germany. Firstly, it is necessary to determine if and to what extent she was influenced by the prevailing German culture. In 3.2 the cultural, political and social milieu of Berlin at the turn of the century is outlined and its significance for Maud Allan's subsequent career as an early modern choreographer and dancer is identified. Secondly in 3.3 the focus is more narrowly defined to Early German expressionism and its possible influences on Allan such as the choice of subject matter in her dances. 3.4 examines the role and influence of Busoni on Allan's career. Finally in the summarization in 3.5 it is proposed that the years Allan spent in Germany from 1895 to 1908 had a great significance in her artistic development.

3.2 Berlin: Cultural, Political and Social Milieu

Allan arrived in February 1895 in Europe's third largest city, Berlin, a boomtown full of new buildings and exciting vitality. Allan (1908, p 67) commented on "busy, up-to-date Berlin." As a foreigner, Allan certainly was not an oddity. Berlin had attracted immigrants at an unprecedented
rate. According to Pascal (1973) the population grew from 400,000 in 1850 to two million by 1910. This frontier atmosphere appealed to Americans and there was a large expatriate community living in Berlin. Even so, Allan's bold relocation by herself to a foreign country thousands of miles away from her close-knit family revealed her courage and determination to pursue an independent career. Upon her arrival she quickly began to take German language lessons. She proved to have an aptitude for languages as she explained,

A natural gift for languages and a well disciplined mind helped me along, and soon I, too, could chatter and joke and be serious in a language that grows in beauty the more you study and progress in it.

Allan, 1908 p50

Cultural historian Eksteins states that Berlin was created as Germany's capital by will and imagination rather than historical momentum. "Berlin was seen to represent the victory of spirit over conformity and tradition" (1989, p 75). He further emphasized that German culture itself was more attuned to experimentation and novelty and rebelled "against suffocating and stultifying norms against meaningless conventions, against insincerity"(1989,p86).

There was a two-tier cultural life in Berlin. One was the official conservative culture sanctioned by Kaiser Wilheim II and epitomised by the Royal Opera and Royal Theatre. Alongside this staid, traditional,
bourgeois culture, thrived a counter culture, reacting against the
Wilhelmine establishment.

Berlin was the theatre capital of Germany for both commercial cabaret
style theatres and experimental avantgarde style companies. Several new
Berlin theatres emerged to produce the challenging plays of D'Annuzio,
Hauptmann, Ibsen, Maeterlinck, Shaw, Strindberg, von Hofmannsthal
and Oscar Wilde. McFarlane in his essay on Berlin and the Rise of
Modernism states: "It was from the Berlin epicentre that the shock
tremors of Ibsenism began to spread out through Europe" (Bradbury &
McFarlane 1976, p 110). Max Reinhardt (b.1873-d.1943) founded the
Kleines Theatre in 1902 in Berlin. One of its first successes was Oscar
Wilde's play, Salomé.

Performed in flesh and blood it delighted the
Berlin audience. Wilde's moonlit fantasia, in
Germany, came into its own and enjoyed a phenomenal
run of two hundred performances.

Tuchman, 1981, p 374

In an interview with a London newspaper, Allan described her
impression after attending a Berlin performance of Reinhardt's
production of Salomé.

It was splendidly done, but there seemed something
lacking. There did not seem enough character in
Salome. Much as I admired the great actress 1 in the
title role, I could not help thinking that another
interpretation might be given. There and then I determined to try what I could do.

London Weekly Dispatch, March 15, 1908

It is not known if Allan was already familiar with Wilde's controversial play, *Salomé*, before seeing the Berlin production. However, she did study Wilde's play at some point.

Oscar Wilde is a writer I have studied—partly to obtain a real insight into the character of Salome, and partly because he more than anyone else understood this spirit I am trying to describe.

Allan in Cassells, May 16, 1908

She further endorsed the play's artistry in a newspaper interview in *The San Francisco Chronicle*, April 1910, describing the play "as a work of art and true art." It appears from her comments that the impact of the Berlin production was highly significant to her subsequent work even though she may have exaggerated its importance in retrospect a few years later. Allan's interpretation of Salomé is discussed in detail in 6.2 but it is relevant here to note at least one source of its inspiration.

A German youth counterculture embraced physical culture, dress reform and a freer sexuality as a protest against what was perceived as the prudery of middle class mores.

The youth movement, which flourished after the turn of the century, revelled in a "return to nature"
and celebrated a hardly licentious but certainly freer sexuality, which constituted part of its rebellion against an older generation thought to be caught up in repression and hypocrisy.

Eksteins, 1989, p 83

An appreciation of the human body with an emphasis on lack of taboos and social restrictions led to acceptance of the style of dancing practised by Duncan, St. Denis, Allan and other early modern dance protagonists. It is not a coincidence that all three dancers were welcomed by German audiences.

The German enthusiasm for the new, free kind of dance created by Mary Wigman and Isadora Duncan was related to the importance attached to unrestricted physical movement and natural grace.

Whitford, 1970, p 64

Allan's Salomé costume, which exposed a great deal of her body would have met with approval by advocates of liberalization. Berliners were quick to accept Isadora Duncan's performances. In 1903 she published her theories on dance in both German and English in which she described the dance of the future "whose body and soul have grown so harmoniously together that the natural language of that soul will become the movement of the body" (Duncan, 1903 p24-25). By 1904 Duncan had established a school in the Berlin suburb of Grunewald. It is highly unlikely that Allan was not influenced by Duncan, although she denied any connection. The
very fact that Allan was living in Berlin at the same time Duncan was performing and publishing her dance manifesto makes such a denial suspect. More substantive evidence comes from an exchange of letters between Allan and her mother which include ambiguous references to difficulties between Allan and Duncan. In a letter, December 31, 1904, Mrs Durrant asks her daughter "how Miss Duncan likes to have a rival or did she know that you were preparing to be her rival?" (Mrs Durrant quoted in Cherniavsky, 1991, p135). This certainly gives the impression that the two dancers were acquainted. In a later letter, March 26, 1904 Mrs Durrant wonders over Allan's equivocations about "troubles" with Duncan.

If it is that Miss Duncan has recognized who you are and is trying to injure you, let me know the truth, but it must be true, not hearsay, and I will give it to the press to show her up. I would pass it in just as you would write it, so be careful. Let it tell what she is doing or saying against your coming out in her work. On the other hand, if you are under obligation to her, and you are not keeping your word, you know best. We can not see her object in trying to injure you. No artist can expect to monopolize the world. Does she think the whole world belongs to her? Or does she think she has a patent on her work?

Mrs Durrant quoted in Cherniavsky, 1991, p136

This is a most intriguing and revealing statement. It shows connivance and duplicity in the character of Mrs Durrant. It suggests that Allan may have been beholden to Duncan in some manner and was possibly reneging on a commitment. On the other hand, Mrs Durrant poses a valid question concerning intellectual property. Duncan was a recognized source
of inspiration to a variety of dancers and choreographers such as Fokine and Nijinsky.

Shelton (1981 p 82) points out that Duncan was "the yardstick most often used by German critics in evaluating St. Denis' dances." St. Denis spent from 1906 to 1909 based in Europe and performed often in Germany. The Austrian poet, dramatist and key modernist, Hugo von Hofmannsthal (b.1874-d.1929), wrote enthusiastically about St. Denis' work. In 1906 he published an essay in Die Zeit in which he stated that St. Denis' dances conveyed the actual experience of life at "the single moment in which we are living." In describing St. Denis's German experiences, Shelton (1981, p 68) comments that St. Denis "realized that the Germans probed dance, as they did the other arts, for philosophical and spiritual insights."

This invigorating atmosphere inspired a generation of European early modern dancers. Both Rudolf von Laban (b.1879-d.1958) and Emile Jaques-Dalcroze (b.1865-d.1950) established schools of modern dance in 1910 in Munich and 1911 in Hellerau near Dresden respectively. The seminal 1920s German expressionist choreographer and dancer, Mary Wigman (b. 1886-d.1973) was a student at both schools. The Viennese choreographer and dancer, Grete Wiesenthal (b.1885-d.1970), although associated with traditional ballet and the waltz, collaborated with Reinhardt as a choreographer in 1908. Allan was on the cutting edge of
early modern theatre dance with her debut in 1903 and her subsequent
tours in Europe from 1904 to 1908. Perhaps one of the problems of placing
Allan in context with other western early modern theatre dancers is that
although she took her inspiration from her European experiences, she was
a North American. Unlike Duncan and St. Denis she did not bring her
dance from the new world but took her inspiration from both European
and American sources.

3.3 Early German Expressionism
As with a discussion of any of the cultural "isms", it is difficult to offer an
exact definition. In the broadest context, the term "expressionism" is used
to describe any work of art in which feeling is given greater prominence
than thought. Therefore dancers such as Allan or Duncan, are often
described as "expressionists". In the more narrow context, Expressionism
was first applied to art and described the group of European painters in the
late nineteenth and early twentieth century, who, "with the ecstatic use of
colour and emotive distortion of form" focussed on personal perception
"to project the artist's inner experiences - aggressive, mystical, anguished
or lyrical - onto the spectator" (Denvir, 1975, p 4). A precedent for
Expressionism had been the Decadents and Symbolists of the 1880s and
1890s who had explored and used drugs, alcohol, mysticism, religion and
magic as paths of creativity. Art historians credit a group of young Dresden
artists who called themselves "Die Brücke" as the first to articulate in a
1906 manifesto the expressionists' aims "to achieve freedom of life and action against the well established older forces." This fascination with the expression of the creator's "inner life" and rejection of the establishment soon transferred to other art forms such as literature, the theatre and music. Arnold Whittall, in a discussion of expressionist music (1980, vol 6: p333) describes "the essential subjectivism" of all the expressionist arts and the artist's intent to express himself as intensely and directly as possible without reliance on traditional accepted forms. The new dance as expounded by Duncan and Allan with its attempt to express emotion through movement and the rejection of balletic tradition shares certain common characteristics with other forms of early German expressionist arts.

Sexual themes in art and literature, involving an element of violence, were prevalent in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century. Willet suggests that there was a "manic depressive" quality to early German expressionism.

From Frank Wedekind’s Lulu plays, which celebrated the prostitute because she was a rebel, through Strauss’s Salome, who beheaded John the Baptist because he refused to satisfy her lust, to the repressed but obvious sexual undercurrent in Thomas Mann’s early stories, artists used sex to express their disillusionment with contemporary values and priorities and, even more, their belief in a vital and irrepressible energy.

Eksteins (1989) p 83
In Germany, the reactive and rebellious element of the Expressionist movement was more extreme as artists lashed out at the entrenched narrowmindedness of the German middle class and Wilhelmine institutions. McFarlane (1976, p 105) isolates the decade 1886-1896 as the vortex of Berlin modernism and the roots of early German expressionism.

With writers endlessly issuing manifestos, founding movements, forming coteries, establishing theatre groups, publishing periodicals, pronouncing, protesting, declaring, associating and disassociating, politicking, polemicizing, manoeuvring, enthusing and abusing, the city had generated an intense, cultural excitement.

Bradbury, 1976 p 105

World War One is the demarcation point between what is described as early German expressionism and German Expressionism. Furness (1973) states that German Expressionism is often erroneously described as a reaction to defeat in war.

This is an unsatisfactory definition, as it has been shown that anti-naturalistic devices, attacks against society, and rhapsodic, expressive forms of writing were found in Germany and elsewhere long before 1914.

Furness, 1973, p 47

A point of significance concerning the early German expressionists' philosophy was their enthusiasm for and interest in experimenting in a variety of art forms. Whitford describes German Expressionist artists as a versatile group generating a great cross-fertilization of ideas. He cites the
example of artist Paul Klee (b.1879-d.1940) who was proficient enough as a violinist to have considered a career as a concert performer. Furness (1973 p 15) makes the same observation "...many of the expressionists, rather like the German romantics a century before, had stressed the ultimate union of all the arts and perhaps with more success, had demonstrated this in their achievements." Furness cites the Austrian composer, Arnold Schoenberg (b. 1874-d.1951) who, like Klee, possessed talents both as a painter and a musician. In this context, Allan's transference from one performing art to another is more understandable.

3.4 Ferruccio Busoni: Modernist and Mentor

Allan focussed on music during her first five and half years in Berlin. She studied piano at the Berlin Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik where Joseph Joachim was director from the summer of 1895 until October 1897. She first registered in April 1895 and left in October 1897. She registered again in the summer of 1898 and finally left in October 1900. To date it is not known if Allan graduated from the course.4

It is significant that Allan's musical talent was sufficient to allow her to be a member of Ferruccio Busoni's 1901 master class in Weimar. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians describes Busoni as a German-Italian composer and pianist. Busoni was born in 1866 in Empoli, near Florence, into a musical family. His father was a virtuoso clarinetist
and his mother was an accomplished pianist. Busoni was a musical prodigy and travelled extensively as a child. He moved to Berlin in 1894 and was based there except for a period in Switzerland during the First World War. Throughout his career, he spent short periods of time teaching master classes; in Weimar in 1900-01, in Vienna in 1908 and during his final years at the Berlin Academy of Arts. One of his students in Berlin was Kurt Weill (b.1900-d.1950) who collaborated with the Expressionist playwright, Bertolt Brecht in writing *The Three Penny Opera*.

Busoni had been invited in 1900-01 to give advanced classes for pianists in Weimar carrying on the tradition of Franz Liszt. In July and August, 1901, Allan was one of a group of privileged students who studied with Busoni. It was a convivial and stimulating atmosphere.

The Tempelherrenhaus, a picturesque building in the park, was placed at his disposal as a studio. Built early in the nineteenth century to look like a ruined medieval chapter, it had been designed originally for a mausoleum and had later been converted into a sort of summer tea-house. The interior formed a large rectangular room with a flat painted ceiling; along the walls were holland-covered sofas alternating with enormous statues of The Muses. The long south wall consisted entirely of large windows opening down to the ground.

Dent, 1933, p126

As Stuckenschmidt reveals (1970,p35) the impecunious Allan was able to participate in this rarefied atmosphere as Busoni refused to accept
payment for private tuition. Mornings were devoted to study. On Tuesday and Friday afternoons the students gathered together for informal concerts. Often the students met at the Busoni's home where he and his wife, Gerda, treated them as part of their family. Allan wrote of Busoni,

To us he was something much more than a great master of his art. We really might have been his children and when our work was done we seemed to share quite naturally in his family life, with his wife, the dearest of women, and his two beautiful children.

Allan, 1908, p68

Allan's friendship with Busoni continued until his death in 1924.6 Busoni's friend and biographer, Dent (1933) credits the Busonis with discovering and encouraging Allan's talents as a dancer.7

One day in Berlin they cleared a space in his music-room; Gerda dressed her up in a costume improvised on the spur of the moment and she made her first experiments in interpretative dancing to Ferruccio's accompaniment at the pianoforte.

Dent, 1933, p128

On more than one occasion when he was in London to perform, Busoni stayed with Allan in her elegant Regency home. Often he remained for extended periods of time such as in the Fall of 1919 when he lived at West Wing for several weeks.

It is essential to examine and acknowledge the influence of her teacher and mentor, Busoni. Allan's classmate, Weigart, (1954 p 51) stated that her
time with Busoni at Weimar "was a turning point—the beginning of a new approach to music, art and life." Since Allan made the decision to switch from a career as a musician to that of a dancer shortly after her Weimar stay, it is possible she experienced a similar epiphany.

It is outside the scope of this thesis to discuss Busoni as pianist and composer. However in examining Busoni as a pedagogue, it is profitable to discuss his aesthetic theories of music. By all accounts Busoni was open-minded about music. Dr Paul Op de Coul, writing in a booklet to accompany a Philips recording of Busoni's piano works states, "the conviction that the new is not in contrast with the old, but that it completes it, form the music-aesthetical basis of the pluralistic style which characterized Busoni's work after his ideal opus 1" (p 12). Wirth, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, writes of Busoni's "ambivalent nature, striving to reconcile tradition with innovation" (1980, p 510). Sitsky (1986) refers to Busoni's musical "duality" - the German school for its solidity and the Latin tradition for melody. Sitsky also addresses the often made criticism of Busoni's apparent contradictions and ambivalence in his musical career.

Brought up in a strict tradition, he had to adapt himself to a totally new way of writing music, not because of fashion but from personal necessity and conviction: he became a sort of musical Janus, and hence the oft-heard criticism of his eclectic style.

This "pluralistic or eclectic style" has created problems in pinning a label to Busoni. However his endorsement of twentieth century trends in music and his own use of atonality in some of his later compositions gives validity to his description as a modernist. He also promoted modern works in his Berlin concerts.

These concerts included the world premieres of works by Bartok, Delius, Sibelius and Busoni himself, and the German premieres of pieces by Debussy, Faure, Franck and d'Indy, generally conducted by Busoni or the composers concerned.

Sadie ed., 1980, p509

It is therefore obvious that Allan would have been exposed and predisposed to the works of the modernists. Indeed, as discussed in greater detail in 5.21, Allan chose several of these modernist composers, such as Debussy, Sibelius, Rubinstein as arranged by d'Indy, for her dances. Busoni challenged his students to expand and experiment with music.

The greatest influence of Busoni as a teacher was in the universality of his way of broadening our horizon about musical opinion and taste. He wanted to free us from conventional average feelings.


Stuckenschmidt (1970,p201) stressed "there was not a single person who, once under the spell of this teacher, went away, unchanged or untouched."
As both a student and lifetime friend of Busoni, Allan could not help but have been greatly influenced by his musical convictions.

3.5 Summary

Almost immediately upon her arrival in Germany in 1895, Allan was cut adrift from family and country by her brother's crimes. Although she could have moved on to England or even returned to her birthplace in Canada, she chose to remain in Germany. She integrated into German society learning the language, registering as a music student, attending cultural events and, after 1901, becoming a member of Busoni's artistic circle. This broadminded circle of intellectuals would have considered the new form of dance as advocated by Isadora Duncan as an acceptable artistic endeavour. Busoni became a mentor to Allan at a time when she was a vulnerable young woman with a compelling mission to become a success. Perhaps he recognized that she would not succeed as a pianist but, with her attractive appearance and special musicality, Allan could become a success in this new art form. Duncan's example was clearly a factor in Allan's decision. The ambiguous comments in the quoted letters in 3.2 provide clues that Duncan and Allan were at least acquainted. However, the cultural ambiance in Berlin with its emphasis on novelty and experimentation could have been an equal impetus in Allan's decision.

It is inconceivable that Allan would not have been greatly influenced by
her thirteen years of living and working alone in Germany. It became her adopted country when the escape route back home was cut off by the family scandal. As discussed later in Part Two: Her Work it can be seen that aspects of early German expressionism, especially her choice of subject matter, are evident in some of her dances. She became associated with the cult of Salomé which enjoyed unprecedented success in Germany. Her association with Busoni exposed her to the new modernist music.

Allan arrived in Berlin in 1895 as a young aspiring pianist and left in 1908 as a professional early modern theatre dancer.
ENDNOTES

1. According to The Royal Opera programme notes for Salomé (8-13 June, 1992) the German actress was Gertrud Eysoldt.

2. This proved to be the case with Allan as well. For example, the Illustriertes Extrablatt, November 25, 1903 commenting on her debut, "Miss Duncan is not to remain without a rival," Berlin National Zeitung, April 4, 1906, "This graceful lady is obviously following on the achievements of Isadora Duncan," General-anzeiger für Eberfeld-Barmen, November 2, 1905, "In the opinion of many people Miss Allan exceeds Miss Duncan by far in her power of representation."

3. This article was translated by David Berger and reprinted in Dance Magazine, September 1968, p.37-38.

4. This information was provided by Dr Dietmar Schenk, archivist of the Hochschule der Kunste, Berlin in response to my query for details of Allan's student records. She was in a list which included the names of the students and their major subject. He added that the number of foreign students at the school was quite large at the time of Allan's attendance. He surmises that Allan must have been a fee-paying student since in the list of foreign students, there is no reference to a free place (Freistelle) for Allan.

5. Other students in the 1901 class included Egon Petri, Theodor Szanto, Frieda Kindler, Irene Schafsberg, Marthe de Voss, H.W. Draber, and Marga Weigert. The Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, holds a photograph of the 1901 Master Class. Allan is prominently placed directly behind the seated Busoni and his protege, Egon Petri. There are 25 people in the photo (excluding Busoni) and nearly half (11) of the class were women. Egon Petri (b.1881-d.1962) had studied the violin from an early age and was a member of his father's quartet from 1899-1901. In 1901 he decided to become a pianist and thus was in Busoni's master class. He was the joint editor with Busoni of Bach's keyboard music. He taught at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik (1921-26) and emigrated to the United States in 1939.

6. Cherniavsky (1990) suggests with little corroborating evidence that Busoni and Allan were at one time lovers. He cites a letter from Etienne Amyot (to Cherniavsky, June 22, 1988), a friend of both Allan and Gerda Busoni, in which he reports that Gerda Busoni had once given him the impression that she was aware of a liaison between her husband and Allan.
7. Dent does not give substantiating evidence for his claim. However in his preface he states "I hope I can safely say that there is no statement in this book for which I can not produce positive evidence". On this same page in the preface, Dent acknowledges indebtedness for information to several people including Maud Allan.
4. ALLAN IN EDWARDIAN LONDON

4.1 Introduction
4.2 London: Cultural, Social and Political Milieu
4.3 The Tradition of Dance in London Music Halls
4.4 Star Turn at The Palace Theatre
4.5 Allan's Contemporaries Dancing in London
4.6 Summary

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the contextual issues particular to Edwardian London in order to appreciate and understand some of the reasons why the Canadian born, American and European educated Allan found her greatest acceptance and success in England. 4.2 is a broad discussion of the then prevailing cultural, political and social conditions in London. The traditions and venues for dance in London prior to Allan's introduction at The Palace Theatre are studied in detail in 4.3. Focus in 4.4 then turns to Maud Allan herself as an Edwardian star and an examination of her significance as a music hall dancer. 4.5 is a composite account of other dancers and dance companies which appeared in London during Allan's tenure at the Palace Theatre. The chapter is completed with a summarization of the findings.

Many issues are raised and examined in this chapter. It explores why Allan was accepted, indeed, became the toast of London society. Was her success the result of a clever publicity campaign? This is a theory which has been presented by several writers ie. Hibbert (1916), Cheshire (1974) and Green (1986). 4.4 includes an examination of these assertions and proposes that
the evidence does not substantiate the claims. Who went to see Allan
dance? Was she considered by her audiences to be a serious artist or was
her attraction of a more prurient interest? Was she a passing fad who
went out of fashion as quickly as she had become the fashion? Was she
eclipsed by other events in the London dance world, in particular, the
decision of Russian ballerinas such as Pavlova and Karsavina to perform
as a "turn" in the London music halls and the arrival of The Ballets
Russes in the summer of 1911? Indeed, was Allan's artistic (and financial)
success an influence in the decision of the Russian dancers to appear in
the music hall venue? What was the significance of Allan's very
noticeable omission from the summer 1912 Royal Command Performance
for Music Hall Benevolent Fund?

4.2 London: Cultural, Political and Social Milieu

Edwardian England takes its name from the reign of Edward VII from 1901
to 1910. However, the Edwardian age is generally agreed to have spanned
the period from the death of Queen Victoria in 1901 to the beginning of
World War One in 1914. "Edwardian" was an expression coined to
proclaim the contrasts to the more repressive Victorian era. It was a time
of greater colour and extravagance as well as much cultural, political and
social upheaval. It was an environment which welcomed and embraced
the exotica of Maud Allan's dances. The 1908 Baedekers Guide described
London as "not only the largest, but one of the finest cities in the world."
There had been massive reconstruction of London's vibrant West End. The rapid growth of cheap public transportation allowed people greater accessibility to London. However, unemployment was at record levels in 1908 and social reforms were being demanded.

In June 1908 two massive suffrage marches took place in London. The Edwardian years witnessed the unprecedented phenomenon of a portion of British women involved in increasingly violent acts of civil disobedience. Ironically, Allan, who perfectly fitted the description of "New Woman" - well educated, travelled and who had studied unchaperoned in Europe, financially independent, unmarried - was unsympathetic to the English feminist movement. In Chapter Eleven, A Word About Women, in her autobiography (1908) she argued that women were not suitable for law or politics because they were easily swayed by their emotions. She ended her argument by saying, "This points to a genuine sex difference. Men care more for principles, women for persons" (1908, p.117). She suggested that her dancing made more of an impact on the quality of life than the suffragettes' militant struggle for representation.

As regards the question of votes for women, I believe that a woman can do more from an elevated position in the world of art, by bringing all that makes home beautiful into her husband's and children's lives, than she could by casting a dozen votes before the time is ready.

Allan, 1908, p 111.
Dress reform was directly tied in to the organized struggle for women's rights and arose from the same concerns, namely freeing women from all bonds including the health-imperilling dictates of fashion. Dancers such as Duncan, St. Denis and Allan, performing in loose-fitting tunics, epitomized the dress reform movement.

Maud Allan's classical dress was, to judge from her photographs, not particularly convincing, but it was nearer the ideals of the reformers than anything that could have been acceptable to audiences at the beginning of the 1880s.

Newton, 1974, p 164

Bax (1946) in his book exploring the ideals of feminine beauty begins his discussion of Allan's significance with the dubious claim that most women are exhibitionists. He comments on the stir Allan's Salomé costume made at the time of her London debut.

Nevertheless, her example made millions of young women less morbidly bashful, millions of young men less immaturely furtive; and in any future history of manners during our own century, Isadora Duncan and Maud Allan ought to be praised, though I do not suppose that their value will be recognized at all, for a courageous and overdue contribution towards cleanliness of mind.

Bax, 1946, p90

Intellectual and upper class women were attracted to Allan's dancing. Shortly after Allan's engagement at the Palace, in April 1908 Herbert Asquith became Prime Minister. Margot Asquith, wife of the prime
minister, and her friends adopted Allan as a kind of mascot. Diana Cooper, daughter of the 8th Duke of Rutland and later an actress, recounted Allan's impact on her social set.

Greatly daring, she had appeared in a wisp of chiffon and bare legs with pipes and cymbals. My mother, who despised the art of ballet exemplified by Adeline Genée and very second-rate dancers, was enthusiastic about this new Grecian form of movement. She sent us weekly to watch and learn.

Cooper, 1961, p77

The writer Katherine Mansfield, a member of the intellectually snobbish Bloomsbury set, was a fan and, in fact, found inspiration in Allan's dances. Mansfield, in a letter dated, September 28, 1908, summed up Allan "as everything that is passing, and coloured and to be enjoyed."¹

After seeing Maud Allen's [sic] dancing she told him of a "strange ambition" of hers; she wanted to write things that she could recite on a darkened stage in a very fine way: "to study tone effects in the voice — never rely on gesture—though gesture is another art and should be linked irrevocably to it." She would like to be "the Maud Allen [sic] of this Art," she said.

Alpers, 1980, p 90

But Allan's popularity spanned a wider audience than the emancipated woman and the aristocracy. A major contribution to Allan's success was the recent improvement in print technology. As discussed in 1.3 the
advent of privately printed postcards of theatrical and music hall personalities promoted "a star system". These were sold in the theatre lobby or at newsagents. Devotees would try to get their postcards autographed. A note in an unidentified London newspaper on July, 4, 1908 reported that Allan received hundreds of such requests a week and required a secretary to answer her mail. Allan demanded a half crown (2s 6d) for autographing her postcards and donated the profits to children's charities. Along with the postcards, weekly illustrated magazines began reproducing photographs of celebrities. For example, the July 11, 1908 issue of *The Illustrated London News* (p 45) featured a photograph of Allan performing in open air at the Veteran's Fete. Daily, The Palace Theatre was crowded with people wanting to see in the flesh the woman who was receiving so much press coverage.

4.3 The Tradition of Dance in London Music Halls

When Allan arrived in London in 1908 she performed at a music hall. There was a snobbish bias against music halls and vaudeville house performers, which were considered by some cultural arbiters, to be vulgar and of less artistic merit. Yet in Edwardian London, the music hall was the main performance venue for dance. Therefore it is necessary to set the scene for Allan's London success.
Traditionally there had been a clear distinction between British legitimate theatres and music halls. The Victorian music halls evolved from the custom of all-male song and supper rooms, pubs and travelling theatrical companies which performed under canvas at Fairs. During the 1850s and 1860s, the music hall business in London expanded more rapidly than the theatres. Music hall proprietors began to infringe upon the theatres’ legal monopoly on drama by presenting playlets and acting excerpts from ballets and operas. By the end of the 19th century, there was a liberalization of the law of theatrical performances and the large music halls began staging more and more extravaganzas. Eventually there was a blurring of the division between the legitimate theatre and the music or variety hall. Major music hall stars began to appear in Christmas pantomimes in Covent Garden Theatre and Drury Lane. Middle class audiences, which included women, became acquainted with the best of the music hall stars. These audiences began to attend performances at the music halls and demanded a more spectacular variety show. The newly-built music halls emulated the architecture of legitimate theatres. The practice of food and drink being consumed during the performance disappeared. The new West End Music Halls were respectable enough for women to attend without fearing the loss of their reputation.

From the 1880s ballet had become a major attraction at two London music halls, The Empire and The Alhambra. Indeed, at The Alhambra, ballet was
its main attraction; lavish narrative dances in several tableaux or scenes were regularly staged. Katti Lanner, (b.1829- d.1908) an Austrian dancer, choreographer and teacher, was the ballet mistress of The Empire from 1887 to 1897. She produced exciting large-scale extravaganzas with the corps de ballet often numbering more than one hundred dancers. Lanner produced two new ballets annually, with an average run of six months each. In 1897 The Empire engaged the Danish dancer, Adeline Genée (b.1878- d.1970) who enjoyed a ten year reign at this music hall.

Another popular form of dance at the music halls was precision dancing, presented by troupes of dancing girls. Most of the English dancers had been trained by John Tiller who had schools in Manchester, London and Paris. Known as Tiller girls, these troupes, which numbered between eight and ten, were sought after by the music halls. The most famous were The Palace Girls.

Somehow the modern comedic spirit appears to express itself best in short skirts, shapely legs and a jolly smile; and in their charm, neatness, agility, precision and enfantine gaiety the "Palace Girls" always seemed to focalise supremely well the spirit of "vaudeville" and to symbolize the attractions of music-hall modernity.

Perugini, 1935, p 263.

Music hall audiences were treated to other forms of theatrical dancing. For a time skirt dancing was the vogue. The best known skirt dancers, Kate Vaughan, Letty Lind, Alice Lethbridge and Sylvia Grey, had basic training
The Skirt Dance broadened the scope of dancing. In itself never a performance of very great artistic merit, it had all the value of a revolt. It broke down the dominion of a tradition which had become too narrow. It opened up new vistas. It contained the seeds for future movements. In particular it recalled the forgotten dances of antiquity. Though essentially modern, and notably so in its lapses into vulgarity, it nevertheless suggested new possibilities in the grace of flowing drapery, the value of line, the simplicity and naturalness that were characteristic of Greek dance.

Crawford-Flitch, 1912, p 72

Along with various forms of dancing, the music halls produced an entertainment which was called "living statuary" or "tableau vivant". "It had first been introduced to England in 1893 by the music hall entrepreneur Charles Morton, at the Palace Theatre, Cambridge Circus" (Edwardian Era, 1987 p 90). Familiar scenes from history and art were depicted by actors in tableaux or frozen into poses. In some of these tableaux of antiquity, the actors were dressed in flesh-coloured garments to evoke a sense of nudity. This "living statuary" would have predisposed audiences to accept the Grecian style tunics and bare feet of dancers such as Isadora Duncan and Maud Allan.

4.4 Star Turn at the Palace Theatre

The Palace Theatre began as The Royal English Opera House in 1891 under
the management of Richard D'Oyly Carte. It was built on an island site at the Cambridge Circus junction of the new Shaftesbury Avenue, bounded by Shaftesbury Avenue, Greek Street, Romilly Street and Cambridge Circus. Designed by T.E. Collcutt and G.H. Holloway, it was a three-tier house. 3 This first venture as an opera house quickly failed and it became a variety theatre in 1892 under the management of Sir Augustus Harris. It was renamed The Palace Theatre of Varieties. In 1893 Charles Morton, nicknamed "Father of the Halls", assumed management. Under Morton's direction, The Palace flourished.

The stalls, boxes and dress circle of The Palace flashed with jewels, gleamed with white shirts and shimmered with silks and satins, no such audience had ever before graced Music Hall. The Palace became, and continued to be until it changed its policy, the world's smartest Theatre of Varieties (it never called itself a Music Hall, that would not have done).

Macqueen-Pope, 1951, p 201.

In 1896, Charles Morton chose Alfred Butt (b.1878-d.1962), an accountant at Harrod's Store, to become his secretary.4 Butt progressed to assistant-manager in 1899 and finally the manager in 1904.

He kept up the standard presented and improved upon it. He knew that Music Hall, Variety, could not stand still but must always have novelty, new blood and new ideas, so his programmes at the Palace glittered with superb combinations of fixed popular favourites and welcome newcomers. He made the Palace smarter and smarter, yet it was also a family house. One could not smoke pipes there but few dared even to try; cigars were the thing and the best brands were sold at a special little bar entirely devoted to them. Champagne and whiskey were the drinks in demand. Full evening dress was
worn in the stalls and men-about-town thronged the little promenade at the back of them; no ladies were permitted to the preserve.

Macqueen-Pope, 1951, p 205.

It was Alfred Butt who engaged Maud Allan in March 1908 for his Palace Theatre. In a magazine interview in The Strand, May 1909 Butt stated that he first saw Allan dance in Paris, which would have presumably been during her Spring 1907 engagement at the Theatre des Varieties. He said that although he had been attracted by the grace and novelty of her dance, five English friends accompanying him were not convinced of her potential success in London.

I said that we had decided to engage her for the Palace, and they told me with absolute unanimity that in London she would be a failure. What did happen? Well, all London knows now. And she made many thousands of pounds for us in five months, and will be making more soon.

The Strand, May, 1909 p 518

Butt ensured Allan's respectability by arranging a preview matinee on Friday, March 6, 1908 attended by many luminaries including the Duke of Westminster, Lady Sassoon and Winston Churchill.

At this point it is necessary to examine the theory expounded in a variety of sources that Maud Allan's overwhelming success in London was the result of a clever publicity campaign. Henry George Hibbert (b.1862-d.1924), a London drama critic for several publications including The Sunday
Chronicle and The Era, in his book (1916) maintained that Allan’s London success was directly attributable to a publicity campaign mounted by Alfred Butt and Augustus Moore.5

Moore’s part was the preparation of a pamphlet, insidiously circulated—and forming the basis of nine-tenths of the newspaper notices next day. Some critics ingenuously adopted its style and sentiment as their own. Some modestly placed inverted commas to choice extracts. Some interpolated a word or two of deprecation. But in one form or another Moore’s work insinuated itself to every breakfast table in London next morning.


To date a copy of the pamphlet has not been located, but excerpts were published in several London publications.6 One London newspaper extracted three passages from the pamphlet describing her eyes, feet and her Vision of Salomé dance.

The velvety pupils are set in opalescent clear blue-white. They are eyes as frank as a child’s, they are eyes that glow with sombre fires of passion, they are eyes that caress with love and flash with hate. These "windows of the soul" betoken high intellectuality. In their clear depths is the knowledge of the world, of men, and Art.

Maud Allan attracted poets, musicians, and the millions, of France, Germany, and Spain by her grace and beauty, but the student and the artist worship at her shapely naked feet as being the breathing impersonation of refined thought and deified womanhood.

Her naked feet, slender and arched, beat a sensual measure. The pink pearls slip amorously about her throat and bosom as she moves, while the long strands of jewels that float from the belt about her waist float languorously apart from the
sheen of her smooth hips...The desire that flames from her eyes and bursts in hot gusts from her scarlet mouth infect the very air with the madness of passion. Swaying like a white witch, with yearning arms and hands that plead, Maud Allan is such a delicious embodiment of lust that she might win forgiveness for the sins for such wonderful flesh. As Herod catches fire, so Salomé dances even as a Baccante, twisting her body like a silver snake eager for its prey, panting with hot passion, the fire of her eyes scorching like a living furnace.

*Truth*, March 18, 1908

An examination of nine newspaper reviews on March 7, 1908 does not substantiate Hibbert’s claim that the reviewers relied on unattributed quotes from the publicity material. Most of the reviews used a quite restrained descriptive style in contrast to the lurid prose of the pamphlet. Indeed *The Daily News* reviewer, E.A.Baughan, who described Allan as an extraordinary artist, severely criticized the pamphlet.

> It is a pity that a dancer who does such beautiful work should be heralded by an absurd pamphlet, which claims ridiculous things for her in the language of American picturesque reporting. To read those lurid sentences one would imagine that Miss Maud Allan’s dancing is intended to appeal to a low sensuousness, and to draw a public by sheer audacity.

*The Daily News*, March 7, 1908

Likewise, *The Pall Mall Gazette* ”regretted that so much extravagant writing should have been circulated in connection with the appearance of Miss Maud Allan.” The writer felt the pamphlet had the effect of making Allan look ”ridiculous” rather than enhance ”a very genuine talent.” In a
1920 newspaper article Hibbert reiterated his claim that Allan's success was the direct result of publicity.

Actually the Palace is a monument to the keen business instinct of Alfred Butt who came there as assistant to Morton, with experience chiefly in accountancy, and made his first coup in artistry with Maud Allan. With what daring ingenuity, with what Machiavellian skill she was managed!

Hibbert in *The Observer, July 7, 1920*

Hibbert's assertion has been unquestioningly repeated by others. Cheshire,(1974) endorsed the notion that Augustus Moore's clever manipulation of the press was responsible for Allan's London success. A compilation of reminiscences of London music halls included this comment from Frederick Willis.

Here Maud Allen [sic] took the town by storm, but her fame was short-lived. Her Salomé Dance was a really good joke to those who knew how this hitherto unknown young woman was rocketed to stardom by the power of advertisement.

Green, 1986, p 181.

As indicated earlier, to date, no one had questioned this assertion that Allan's English success was directly attributable to a skilful publicity campaign. It becomes clear by a study of the March 7, 1908 newspaper reviews that Hibbert's statements are not supported by the contemporary evidence available. Furthermore, subsequent authors have repeated his assertions uncritically and without reference to the facts. Rather than plagiarizing a publicity handout, the London critics wrote independent
and diverse reviews of Allan's preview performance. Several of them condemned the sensationalistic publicity pamphlet. It is obvious that Alfred Butt issued the pamphlet to publicize his new discovery, but it is also clear that the critics were not taken in by it.

Allan's first public performance occurred on Monday March 9, 1908. During the next eight months she performed daily with extra matinees on Wednesday where she had the opportunity for a longer programme of dances. In her nightly appearances, she was only one of several "turns". For example on May 2, 1908 she was given twenty-five minutes between "the Juggling McBans" and "Prince Arthur and his sailor boy, Jim." In August she shared billing with "Professor Macart's troupe of comedian and athletic monkeys." After her initial successful run she appeared twice more for extended seasons in 1909 and 1911.

There was ambiguity and perhaps duplicity in Butt's promotion of Allan. On the one hand he was careful to establish the propriety and artistic merit of her performance by presenting her in special matinees to the arbiters of taste. On the other hand, he had allowed the distribution of the lurid pamphlet before her first appearance in London. As well he selected Allan as the main attraction for matinees for male only audiences of visiting naval officers and crews. On May 27, 1908 for the naval personnel of the French cruiser "Leon Gambetta" and again on March 17, 1909 for the
Russian squadron the special programmes featured only photographs of Allan and at least one presented her in the Salomé costume.

4.5 Allan's Contemporaries Dancing in London

Both The Empire and The Alhambra music halls had included ballets in their programmes since 1884. After Allan's initial appearance at The Palace in the spring of 1908, these music halls suddenly had a serious rival for the dance audience. The Alhambra reacted quickly to Allan's popularity with a parody called "Sal'Oh-My" performed by La Belle Leonora, which first appeared at the beginning of April 1908 and enjoyed an extended engagement.

Last night the directors of the Alhambra presented an amusing divertissement in which Miss Allan and her "Salomé" dance are taken off with some fun. This "musical etcetera" opened with a manager of a variety theatre at his wit's end for a new sensation. Conventional dances are introduced and sent about their business with contumely. Then a case arrives from Egypt, and within the case is a mummy who, divested of her wrappings, is discovered to be "La Belle Leonore." The lady, very beautiful indeed, imitates Miss Allan with some successes. The culminating scene in which a gigantic head follows "Sal'oh-my" round the stage and each of "eight maudlin Salami girls" has a head to play with, is not a bad satire of a ridiculous feature of Miss Allan's dance.

*The Daily News*, April 1, 1908

At another music hall, The Queens, a Miss Phyllis Dare and a chorus of little girls, all dressed in replicas of Allan's Salomé costume, presented their own parody. *The Sketch*, June 24, 1908 included a photograph of
Miss Dare, dressed in a short Greek-style tunic, long socks and heeled shoes, with four little girls described as "miniature Salomés" "dressed in a chic ventilation" and printed the words of a song.

The latest Society Fashion  
Is the dance just now on the stage;  
For she poses with infinite passion,  
And her hands, worked with art, are the rage.

She is dressed in a chic ventilation,  
Quite the thing for our tropical May,  
She gets many a smart invitation,  
And they're most of them framed in this way-

Hullo, there, Miss Allan,  
How well you have gone  
Won't you come and bite,  
And perhaps dance tonight?

*The Sketch*, June 24, 1908.

These parodies are noteworthy for several reasons. They are illustrative of the attention Allan was attracting at The Palace Theatre. In no way was Allan a unique target for this particular form of British humour. Parody and satirical cartoons are indigenous forms of wit. However it is possible that this legacy of ridicule has played a part in the relegation of Allan to a minor and inconsequential role in the history of British early modern theatre dance. Other cultures, notably North American, may have missed the subtlety of this peculiar form of British culture and misconstrued good natured parody for contempt of Allan's performances. It appears that Allan herself did not object to such parodies.
Adeline Genée, the ballerina star at The Empire from 1897 to 1907, appeared at The Palace's Fifteenth Anniversary programme on December, 10, 1907 according to the programme held at The Palace Archives. If Genée had accepted The Palace Theatre's offer to perform there in July 1908 upon her return from North America, Allan's career may have been short lived. According to Guest (1958) in his biography of Adeline Genée, The Palace Theatre approached her at the end of 1907. When Genée made it clear that she intended to return to the Empire Theatre, The Palace threatened an injunction maintaining that Genée had a binding agreement. The American impresario, Marc Klaw, acted on Genée's behalf to resolve the dispute. Klaw attended a performance by Maud Allan and then sought out Alfred Butt. When Butt confirmed that Allan was playing to capacity audiences every night, Klaw countered that Genée was obviously not required. The injunction was dropped, Genée returned to the Empire with a revival of *Coppélia* and Allan continued to perform at the Palace.8

It is not known if Allan was aware of this situation. However she certainly was aware of the dancer, Genée, and her popularity at The Empire. She commented on her regret at Genée's absence from London during the Spring of 1908.

I have heard so much of her grace, her comedy, her neatness, her agility, and charm, that I am on the tiptoe of expectation for the return of this great artist to whom you have also opened your arms. From her photographs her comeliness
and grace are quite apparent. As a dancer she has no rivals; and such art as I have can never put her pretty nose out of joint. Our personalities and our arts are quite distinct, and I shall be proud if they are thought equal.

Allan interviewed in *The Daily Mail*, April 16, 1908

It must be left to conjecture whether Allan was sincere in her admiration or being utterly disingenuous. What is important is the fact that Allan publicly acknowledged the distinction between ballet and her form of dance and considered them to be of equal status.

Before Maud Allan made her appearance on the London music hall scene in 1908 other early modern dancers had performed in London. Loie Fuller (b.1862- d.1928) brought her unique dances to London. Elizabeth Kendall has described Fuller's style as "skirt dances glorified by her own lighting inventions and silk manipulations" (1976, p56).

Ruth St. Denis first appeared in London at the Aldwych Theatre in a series of matinees on July 5, 10 & 12, 1906 performing *Radha, Incense* and *The Cobras*. St. Denis' biographer, Shelton, states that the Aldwych performances were not a success.

Though the London Times critic found her performance of Radha "a new and strange experience-dancing that was charged with meaning," the box office told a gloomier story. The first matinee audience numbered only about
100 in a 1,100-seat theatre, and the receipts amounted to a paltry twenty-eight pounds.


According to Schlundt (1962) St. Denis also appeared in London at La Scala Theatre in October and November, 1908. Shelton relates that the London press' persistence in comparing St. Denis to Allan angered her. St. Denis responded with a letter to the editor.

The expression of thought by means of rhythmic movement constitutes the foundation of dancing and is infinite in its application. Therefore the notion of one person working out a composition based on the laws of plastic harmony being a rival of another doing the same thing through the avenue of her own individuality is, if I may say so, absurd.

St. Denis in *The Daily Express*, September 30, 190

The dance historian, Mark Edward Perugini, recalled first seeing Isadora Duncan on February 22, 1900 at the Lyceum Theatre in a performance of *A Midsummer Night Dream*. She had revived her role as the First Fairy.

She had but lately arrived from America, and was fired with enthusiasm which found free expression in her dance as a wood-nymph in a Shakespearian production which I still remember as one of the most beautiful I have seen.

Perugini, 1935, p 265.

He also recorded Duncan performing shortly after at St George's Hall in a special matinee entitled *The Happier Age of Gold*. One of the items on her programme had been Mendelssohn's *Spring Song*. In March, 1900
Duncan presented a series of three recitals at the New Gallery on London's Regent St. Duncan spurned the venue of music halls in preference to private recitals attended by intellectuals and socialites.

During the summer of 1908, while Allan was still drawing the crowds at The Palace Theatre, Isadora Duncan appeared in London. On July 6, Duncan began a short season at The Duke of York Theatre in a three hour programme dancing both solos and with her young students. It was inevitable that the critics would draw comparisons between Duncan and Allan. Whereas The Illustrated London News, July 11, 1908 warned "that the styles of the two dancers do not lend themselves to comparisons that are profitable", The Sunday Times critic, J.T.Grein, contrasted Allan's "youth and intuition" with Duncan "the consummate mistress of technique". The Pelican, discussing Duncan's repertoire reported that she did not include a Salomé dance. "She leaves that sort of thing to her many imitators who have sprung up of late years" (July 8, 1908).

A significant point made by more than one writer was the suggestion that Allan's greater popularity with the general public had created a more receptive environment for other bare-foot dancers. Max Beerbolm, commented in The Saturday Review, "Miss Duncan, in fact, has become through Miss Allan a marketable commodity." (July 4, 1908) The Tatler, reporting on Duncan stated, "In London, now that the success of her
disciple, Miss Maud Allan, has paved the way” (July 15, 1908).

It should be noted that while Duncan persisted in her rejection of the music hall as a performance venue this was not the case with several Russian ballerinas. In 1909, Lydia Kyasht first performed at The Empire Theatre and Tamara Karsavina accepted an engagement at London’s Coliseum. On May 19, 1910 Karsavina and her troupe of dancers returned to The Coliseum while another Russian ballerina, Olga Preobrajenska, premiered at London’s Hippodrome.9

After Allan’s unprecedented success as a dancer at the Palace Theatre, Alfred Butt began to seek out other dance stars. Anna Pavlova began a sixteen week contract at the Palace on April 18, 1910 with her partner Mikhail Mordkin and a small company of Russian Imperial dancers. She had a similar undertaking to Allan, appearing nightly in a forty-minute programme as well as at extended Wednesday afternoon matinees. For the next three years Pavlova returned to the Palace Theatre for a summer season.

Even before Pavlova’s initial appearance at the Palace, the press began to explore a possible rivalry between Allan, the modern dancer and Pavlova, the ballerina. Pavlova was asked her impressions of Allan.

She is very highly thought of abroad, and I find much to admire in her art. One of the finest things
she does is the Hall of the Mountain King by Grieg. But do I like her as much as Isadora? No, I don't. She is not quite so graceful, and you can feel that she doesn't put much of this into her work—here Mlle. Pavlova placed her hand on her heart. But still she is very talented.

What do you think of her Salomé dance? At this Mlle. Pavlova made a comically wry face and whispered, "No." There were to be no discussions of that sort for her.

Musical America, March 5, 1910

From Pavlova's first appearance, the London newspapers commented on her excellent dance training and professionalism.

For some past time there are been a rage for stage dancing at the London music halls, and the Palace has produced some of the best of the dancing. But nothing that has been done before, not the barefoot dancing, not the writhing Apache dancing, nor the violent waltzing has been so good in quality as this.

Morning Post, April 20, 1910

The Morning Post is clearly referring to Allan as "the barefoot dancer" and acknowledges that her performances are amongst "the best" in London. However Allan's lack of formal balletic technique is seen as a liability rather than an alternative form of theatre dance.

The Ballets Russes first appeared in London in summer 1911. It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide an in-depth analysis of the
influence of The Ballets Russes on the British dance scene. However it is essential to recognize that the introduction of Russian dancers, both at the music halls and The Ballets Russes at Covent Garden made a fundamental impact on the career of Maud Allan. When Allan first arrived in London in March 1908 she had little competition. As discussed earlier in this section, other early modern theatre dancers such as Duncan, Fuller and St. Denis made limited appearances in London. The Empire and Alhambra were the only venues presenting ballets. But with the arrival of The Ballets Russes and other Russian dancers in the music halls, Allan suddenly had to compete for her audience. She was no longer the unique attraction of the London dance scene.

The Royal Performance for the Music Hall Benevolent Fund was held on Monday, July 1, 1912 at the Palace Theatre in the presence of King George. Many of the star turns who had shared the stage in the past with Allan, including Little Tich and The Palace Girls, were amongst the twenty-five acts. Pavlova, assisted by Novikoff and members of Imperial Russian Ballet, was a main attraction. Allan was conspicuous by her absence. The Sketch in a special Royal Performance supplement discussed the rationale for the selection of variety artists in the Royal Command Performance.

As explained by Mr Alfred Butt, however the object was to arrange a programme that should be representative of every branch of variety entertainment, and it was impossible to include more than one or two exponents of each branch. Consequently, some names had to be omitted, because their department was already sufficiently represented, although
they may have been more famous than some of those in other departments that were included.

*The Sketch*, July 3, 1908, p 5.

In the selection of dancers Pavlova had taken precedence over Allan. However in the Souvenir programme for the Royal Performance in the forward written by Malcolm Watson, a reference was made to Allan along with Anna Pavlova and Adeline Genée as distinguished performers to have appeared on the London variety stage.

**4.6 Summary**

The case can be made that Allan was the victim of her own popularity. Her spectacular success at The Palace 1908 and again in 1909 and 1911 proved that solo dancers could draw in audiences. Allan's triumph spurred other music halls and The Palace itself to seek out dancers to include in the nightly programme. As has been described in 4.5 Allan was soon confronted with a plethora of competition. Her simple dance arrangements to serious music with a minimum of scenery were competing with the opulent costumes and dramatic scenarios of ballet. Allan's commissioning of Debussy in 1910 to create a score for her proposed Egyptian dance and Edmund Dulac to design the sets and costumes (discussed in detail later in 6.3) indicates that she was acutely aware of her dilemma.
1. This quotation comes from Mansfield's biographer, Alper (1980) from a letter she wrote to Garnet Trowell after seeing Allan perform at The Palace Theatre.

2. This information came from Guest's (1958) biography of Genée and Perugini's (1935) discussion of ballet at The Alhambra and The Empire Theatres.

3. In 1908, the year of Allan's record run at The Palace, the amphitheatre was reconstructed without the closure of the theatre. According to The Builder, October 10, 1908 p 379-80, the refurbished Palace Theatre of Varieties was one of the safest and most comfortable theatres in London. The rebuilt Amphitheatre was reopened to the public on September 21, 1908. It was one large open tier formed on an even rake, all the chairs were "tip-ups", the access to seats was easy and the sighting was good allowing every seat a view of the whole stage. The first circle had also had improvements made while the upper part of the house and the ceiling had been redecorated. The stalls and Royal circle had recently been enlarged and reseated as well as several improvements to the backstage facilities. All this work had been done during Allan's tenure at The Palace. It is possible that Allan's unprecedented success at The Palace may have been part of the impetus to make such improvements. According to the managing director, Butt, in The Strand, May 1909, Allan was his most profitable engagement.

4. According to Who Was Who in the Theatre 1912-1976 (1978) Butt was subsequently managing director of Gaiety Theatre, Empire Theatre and Adelphi Theatre. He was the head of a large provincial circuit which he disposed of in 1919. In 1921 Butt left The Palace Theatre and took control of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane. He was knighted in 1918 for his wartime services as the Director of Rationing at the Ministry of Food. He was the Conservative MP for Balham & Tooting from 1922 to 1936.

Moore (1978) stated that Allan had romantic liaisons with a number of men including "a leading impresario." In a letter from Moore to me, April 17, 1980, she reiterated that Allan had several longstanding relationships and named Butt as the impresario she had referred to in the February, 1978 article in Books and Bookmen. She did not provide any evidence to corroborate her claim.

5. To date little is known of Augustus Moore. Finck in his chapter "Thirty Years at the Palace Theatre" stated, "The brother of the great author George Moore, "Gus" Moore, did some very clever publicity over Maud Allan (1937 p 53).
6. Another pamphlet promoting a dancer Stasia Napierkowska, who performed at The Palace in November 1911 was found at The Palace Theatre Archives. This pamphlet entitled "Stasia Napierkowska, The Wonder Creature" is written in the same provocative and sensationalistic style. For example in describing her performance in *Danse du Feu* the pamphlet states, "So Stasia Napierkowska shows us the girl bending over the pyre in an ecstasy of passion. The gathering fire glows on her radiant face, the supple body writhes in rhythmic movement with the music."

7. Reviews were found in the Saturday March 7, 1908 issues of *The Daily Chronicle* p5, *The Morning Advertiser* p2, *The Morning Post* p9, *The Daily News* p4, *The Daily Mail* p3, *The Daily Graphic* p9, *The Daily Telegraph* p13, *The Pall Mall Gazette* p8. *The Sunday Times*, March 8, 1908, p4. *The Pelican*, March 11, 1908 p6 included a short comment on her special matinee on March 6 and quoted excerpts from the pamphlet. "According to the pamphlet which was freely distributed last week, the young lady is "perfectly made," also "her skin is satin smooth, crossed only by the pale tracery of delicate veins that lace the ivory of her round bosom and slowly waving arms. Her lovely face has the small pointed nose with sensitive nostrils, while her mouth is full-lipped and ripe as a pomegranate fruit, and as passionate in its ardent curves as that of Venus herself."

8. This information comes from Guest (1958) and is based on the personal reminiscences of Genée as told to Guest.


PART TWO: HER WORK

CHAPTER FIVE: “TURNING BIG THEMES INTO MOVEMENT”
A Discussion of Allan’s Choreographic and Performance Styles

5.1 Introduction
5.2 Choreographic Style
5.21 Aural Elements
5.22 Subject Matter and Treatment
5.23 Visual Setting
5.24 Dance Movement
5.241 Movement Captured: Spring Song
5.3 Performance Style
5.4 Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

Allan herself described her dance method as "turning big themes into movement." (1908 p77) Her essential purpose and motivation as a dancer was to visualize the music she knew intimately through her years of training as a pianist. This goal was recognized from the inception of her professional dance career. An unidentified witness to her first performance in Vienna wrote, “It became apparent that the fundamental idea behind the performance of this slim and graceful lady was to give shape to the fantasies that are aroused by music, to make these fantasies come true by means of her young body” (Illustrierte Wiener Extrablatt, November 25, 1903).

What has been unclear to date is just what movement Allan selected and performed on stage. This chapter studies Allan’s complete dance oeuvre with an investigation of her choreographic and performance styles. By
means of examining primary and secondary sources and the compilation of a choreochronicle (see Appendix II), a picture of her complete dance repertoire has been built. The perpetuation of Allan’s reputation as “the Salome dancer” has hitherto stood unchallenged. Through a cross-referencing of programmes and reviews, to date, 53 original dances have been documented; not a large repertoire, but certainly more than the single dance, *Vision of Salomé*, which, in the Allan iconography, has so dominated that it is generally regarded as her only work. Only after such an examination of Allan’s work, is it possible to make informed statements about her work and role in the history of early modern theatre dance.

5.2 Choreographic Style

This section focusses on four elements: aural, subject matter and treatment, visual setting and dance movement. The discussion of aural elements examines the effects of Allan’s considerable knowledge and experience with serious classical music and her motivation to visualize the music. The study of subject matter and treatment explores the themes Allan used in her dances and examines whether or not she was limited to variations of the *Salomé* theme. The visual setting section investigates her use of stage dressings and costumes. The examination of dance movement is a first attempt to determine if Allan had a unique dance vocabulary. In the absence of any live record of Allan’s dances such as
film or reconstruction, the discovery of a set of seven photographs which capture Allan on fast time-exposure film provides a unique opportunity to make observations on Allan's dance movement.

5.21 Aural Elements

Allan's training as a professional pianist and her great musicality play an essential role in an understanding of Allan the dancer. As proven in 2.2 Allan had a first class musical education and musicality was her outstanding characteristic as a dancer. Indeed, her primary motive as a dancer was to interpret the music itself. "To set my own interpretation upon the meaning of a master and to convey that meaning to the accompaniment of the music was what I longed to do." (1908, p.66) She expressed her mission in even more detail in a newspaper interview during her first weeks in London, 1908.

What one usually only vaguely feels when listening to beautiful music, I am trying through movement and mimicry, to express clearly and deeply--the thought which seems to hover on the wings of the melody. I am trying in my work to convey to you the relationships of the arts by having taken two of quite distinct nature--the plastic and music--and forming them into one deep and highly expressive art in which the boundaries of neither one nor the other can more be found. My great ambition is that my audiences will forget it is a body whose movements they see: I want them to feel rather the finely shaded vibration of a soul.

The Daily Mail, April 16, 1908

In a majority of her dances she took her inspiration from the music itself.
Of the 53 known works in her repertoire, 48 used the music title as the dance title indicating that the music played a predominant role. In numerous press interviews Allan emphasized the significance of the music. She explained that she first absorbed the music and then took her ideas phrase by phrase.

I do not always know when I go on the stage whether I shall be able to dance as I want to. But after one or two movements, when I feel the music, I know just what is going to happen.

My long study of music helps me a great deal. I understand things that would not otherwise be easy.

Allan in The London Weekly Dispatch, March 15, 1908

She stressed that the inspiration came directly from the music.

Many who have watched me time after time have asked me why I can never dance to the same measure twice in exactly the same manner—I cannot answer, I only know that as the music calls, so every muscular fibre that responds to the beating of my heart responds to that particular voice, and the tone becomes movement.

Allan, 1908, p10

Chopin was her most frequent choice of composer and she set nine dances to his music. Most of these works were introduced in the early stages of her career from 1903 to 1911. Chopin’s Funeral March remained in her repertoire for the duration of her career. She first performed it at her debut concert in Vienna in 1903 and it continued in her repertoire into the 1930s. This sombre dance interpretation of grief with Allan shrouded completely
in black was popular with both the critics and the dancer herself. In an interview in *The Dancing Times* in July 1916 she stated, “Personally I always felt that I was at my best in Chopin’s *Marche Funèbre*.” Obviously she continued to feel confident about her abilities in this dance as it remained in her repertoire until the end of her performing career. (see illustrations, page 127)

Grieg was a favoured composer in the 1909 to 1911 period of her career. As with several other composers selected by Allan, Grieg was open to new modernist trends in music and boldly experimented with dissonance. In February 1909 she introduced *Peer Gynt*, Op. 46, into her new programme at London's Palace Theatre. She would perform either the complete work consisting of the four separate dances, *Morning Song*, *Death of Ase*, *Anitra’s Dance*, and *Hall of the Mountain King* or only one or two from *Peer Gynt* along with other short dances in her repertoire. *Peer Gynt* was consistently in her repertoire from 1909 to 1911, in her Far East tour 1913/14, revived in 1918 and again in 1920-21. In 1911 she introduced two more Grieg works, *Little Birds* (Lyric Pieces, Book 3, Op. 43) and *Tone Poem in C sharp Minor*, (Poetic Tone Poems, Op 3). Although Grieg's music was popular in late Victorian and Edwardian times, Allan was one of the first modern dance choreographers and performers to recognize its potential for dance. Duncan choreographed one dance to Grieg's *Norwegian Dance* in 1908 (Layson, 1987)."
Maud Allan - poses from Funeral March
Rotary Photo: Series 4946 H & G
Allan’s first programme performed on November 24, 1903 in Vienna included Mendelssohn’s *Spring Song*, Beethoven’s *Adagio from the Sonata in C sharp minor* (also known as *The Moonlight Sonata*), Bach’s *Gavotte and Musset* (from *The English Suite*), Schumann’s *Reveries*, Schubert’s *Ave Maria*, Rubinstein’s *Valse Caprice* and Chopin’s *Waltz in A minor*, *Mazurka in G sharp minor* and *Mazurka in F sharp minor*. When Allan made her British premiere at London’s Palace Theatre of Varieties on March 9, 1908, she presented the same programme of dances she had been performing in Europe for the previous five years.

During Allan’s first extended appearance at The Palace, it was announced that she would be presenting new works. In July, 1908 she introduced four ballet selections from Tchaikovsky’s *Nutcracker Suite*: *The Arabian Dance, The Reed Dance, Waltz of the Flowers* and *Dance of the Sugar Plum Fairy*. She dropped these Tchaikovsky selections after 1909 but revived *The Arabian Dance* briefly for her April 1923 engagement at London’s Alhambra Theatre. In 1926 she performed Tchaikovsky’s *Pathetique Symphony* at the Hollywood Bowl. This last symphony composed by Tchaikovsky shortly before his suicide has been described as his most pessimistic with expressive extremes and a mixture of anguish, brooding and sorrow. As discussed in 5.22 one of Allan’s strong subject matter preferences dealt with grief, death and tragedy.
In Allan's return to London's Palace Theatre on February 10, 1911 she included new dances to the music of Sibelius, *Dryad*, Grieg, *The Birds* and *Poetic Tone Picture*, Debussy, *Danse sacree et profane*, Schubert, *Moment Musicale in F minor*, (see illustration, page 130) as well as two waltzes from Chopin and Brahms.

At Allan's 1917 season at London's St Martin's Theatre she included new dances to music by Sibelius, *Valse Triste* and Rouget de Lisle, *The Marseillaise*.

As Allan's career became a series of short appearances at a number of London music halls from 1918 to 1925, she continued to choreograph new works to serious music. Most of these dances were not sustained in her repertoire. In a May 1918 programme at the London Pavilion, she included dances to music by Offenbach, *Barcarolle (Tales of Hoffman, Opus 52, No.6)* and two Russian modernist composers Rebikow, *Marche* and Schutt, *A ma bien aimee*. In February 1921 Allan returned to the London stage at The Palladium and introduced *Four Egyptian Dances* to music by Luigini. This ballet music was closely associated with a dance first performed by Pavlova only five years earlier. In June/July, 1921 she was engaged at The Coliseum and presented another ballet selection, *The Circassian Dance* from Delibes' *La Source*. In October she performed a minuet from Massenet's comic opera *Manon*. In the same programme
Maud Allan - poses from Moment Musical
Rotary Photo: Series 11767 D & E
she danced an impressionistic narrative interpretation to Rachmaninoff's *Prelude* which she repeated in 1923 and 1927. She returned to the Coliseum in October 1921 and offered two new works; the waltz from Richard Strauss' *Rose Cavalier* and a Spanish dance to music by Granados. In 1923 she appeared at London's Alhambra and again she selected music from Massenet; *Marche and Air de Ballet* from *Scenes Pittoresque*. She added Glazunov's *Grand Valse* to her March programme.

It is known from programmes and newspaper reviews that during her performances Allan was accompanied sometimes by a full orchestra, sometimes by a trio and sometimes by a single pianist. The tempo of the music would to some extent be dictated by the amount of control Allan had over the musicians. Her years of training as a pianist gave her a unique musical expertise to discuss musical issues such as tempo and interpretation with the conductor. The literature indicates that sometimes she was able to give instructions to the orchestra. During a rehearsal at Glasgow's Alhambra Theatre in April 1911, she commented on the orchestra's rendition of Johann Strauss' *Blue Danube*.

That's very good; but I would like just a li'l more expression. A teeny-weeny bit slower, maybe—very pianissimo at the beginning and then broadening out.

Allan quoted in *The Evening Citizen*, April 25, 1911

Numerous reviewers emphasized the close relationship between the
music and her dances. The Times Literary Supplement, March 26, 1908 described her as “music made visible,” The London Chronicle, March 7, 1908, commented, “She actually dances music.” There was an immediacy to the observations made by Crawford Flitch in his book Modern Dancing and Dancers published in 1912. In particular he was impressed with Allan’s musicality.

One of the most felicitous of her accomplishments is her ability to pass with the music from the major to minor key, or vice-versa. When a phrase occurs first in one key and then in the other, it is repeated in her dancing with just that modification of aspect and accent which expresses the change of mood. Some of the movements in Grieg’s first Peer Gynt Suite gave her admirable scope for this beautiful art of transposition.

Her translation of music has not seldom that rare quality of translations of being finer than the original, and there are not a few who, when they hear again, unaccompanied, the music which her dancing has ennobled, will be conscious of a sense of incompleteness and loss.

Crawford-Flitch, 1912, p117.

She translates the music into steps which to the eye are the exact equivalent of the notes which reach the ear. It would be possible to imagine the stage as a vast keyboard from which the notes should actually be called forth by skilful feet; and for the first time it would be easy for a deaf person to realize what the composer meant by his unheard strains. It is a joyous experience to see Miss Allan dance a phrase that appears first in major than in minor, for she makes the one phrase of her dance repeat the other, yet with the fitting aspect that must have been in the musician’s mind.

The London Times, February 13, 1909, p 13

Allan’s choice of music is as problematic and conflicting as most other aspects of her life and career. While in some instances she opted for
Rubinstein's Melody in F., Op.3 she also selected several pieces by contemporary modernists such as Grieg, Debussy and the Russians Schutt and Rebikow. Although she eschewed ballet as a dance form, she often favoured ballet music including selections from Tchaikovsky's The Nutcracker Suite, Luigini's Egyptian Suite as well as dance music in operas such as Massenet's Manon or Offenbach's The Tales of Hoffman. Many of her choices are piano solos and possibly some are works she had studied as a music student.

5.22 Subject Matter and Treatment

As described by Adshead (1988, p. 77) subject matter refers to what the dance is 'about'. A close examination of the subject matter of Allan's total repertoire gives grounds for proposing that Allan's dances can be categorized according to one of six types; 1. interpretation of the music, 2. orientalism, 3. slave or dancing girl, 4. grief, death or tragedy, 5. nymph/fairy, 6. ethnic dances other than oriental.

As observed in 5.21 a majority of Allan's dances can be described as an interpretation of the music itself. Allan would take the music or the composer's intention as indicated by the title and attempt to express it by movement. For example in Spring Song the over-all subject matter is spring, while in Chopin's Funeral March, the subject matter is grief. With Allan's most favoured composer, Chopin, she was attempting to visualize by movement the music itself. She tried to explain her motivation in
programme notes accompanying her dance to Chopin’s *Mazurka, B. Flat, Op.7*

...it suggests feelings of wonder, of mystery and of inscrutable things, suggestions of which the art of the dance can intensify and can bring to our eyes an appeal equal to that made by the music to our ears.

Programme and Analytical Notes for Miss Maud Allan (Tour Direction - Messrs. Baring Bros.)

Orientalism, best exemplified by *The Vision of Salomé*, but also the subject matter of other dances such as *Four Egyptian Dances* and the thwarted *Khamma*, was another dominant choice of subject matter. The third choice, slave or dancing girl, such as *Anitra’s Dance* or *Nair the Slave*, tended to overlap with orientalism. A fourth choice, grief, death and tragedy was the narrative theme of several of Allan’s dances including *Funeral Marche, Valse Trieste* and Rachmanninov’s *Prelude*. A fifth choice was nymph/fairy such as *Blue Danube* in which she portrays a nymph rising from the water to join the land children. The sixth was ethnic dances other than oriental. There were only a few in this sixth category such as her Spanish dances to Granados in 1917 and her *Gypsy Revel* to Brahms in 1923.

While two of the subject matter choices, slave/dancing girl and orientalism support Allan’s image as a “Salomé dancer”, the other four choices illustrate that she had a much broader scope of subject matter.
Throughout her choreographic life, she created new dances based on the same six categories of subject matter. For example one of her earliest dances *Funeral March* debuted in 1903 had the obvious subject matter of death and grief. She chose the same theme for two dances, *Am Meer* and *Valse Trieste* in her 1917 programme at London’s St. Martin’s Theatre.

The majority of Allan’s dances were impressionistic interpretations of the music. She would take her cue on interpretation from the mood created by the music itself. A programme for Allan’s 1911 Southern Africa trip provides some valuable insights into the interrelationships between the music and Allan’s treatment of dances. In describing Grieg’s *Poetic Tone Poem* the programme explains “there is no doubt as to their poetic basis, and the picture that is intended to be conveyed is clear in its import.” However this picture escaped The London Times reviewer who described it as “free from all story” and “presented in a purely musical way” (February 11, 1911).

### 5.23 Visual Setting

With the exception of Allan’s costume for *Vision of Salomé*, which was often the focal point of a review, it has been more difficult to piece together information concerning her costumes and stage settings. A careful reading of reviews has nevertheless yielded information. As well, the black and white postcards provide useful visual data on a small
selection of her dances. In the earlier stages of her dance career, her costumes tended to be quite simple. For example, in *Spring Song* (discussed in detail in 5.241 Movement Captured: Spring Song) she wore a short pink and grey tunic of chiffon with flowers in her hair, at her shoulder and waist. In a startling contrast she was completely shrouded and hooded in yards of black muslin fabric for *Funeral March* which was often on the same programme as *Spring Song*. It is not clear how Allan managed costume changes during her short programmes at The Palace Theatre. For example at her special March 6, 1908 programme she presented *Spring Song* followed by *Funeral March*.

She came slowly to the footlights, while the orchestra played the Spring Song of Mendelssohn, and angularity disappeared in grace.

...When it ended the orchestra, after a pause, played the opening bars of Chopin's "Marche Funebre" and Miss Allan, mournfully arranged in black veiling, in place of the filmy transparencies and unbound hair of spring, danced to the Funeral March.

*The Daily Graphic*, March 7, 1908

It is quite likely that Allan, in a frantic costume change offstage during "the pause", wrapped the disguising black fabric quickly over the *Spring Song* costume, and after removing the flowers, simply tied her hair back.

She simplified costume changes in her 1908 four dances to Tchaikovsky's *The Nutcracker* by wearing a plain white costume to which she added embellishments such as flowers or a red sash and cape.
Although most photographs show her barefoot, Allan, in her autobiography, refers to wearing sandals on occasion. “The Melpomene in the old museum, Berlin, furnished the model for the sandals that I subsequently wore in some of my religious numbers - numbers that are more suited to a small rather than a large public audience.” (1908, p.79) It is unclear what religious “numbers” she is referring to since my choreochronicle does not reveal other dances with a religious theme. She did, however, muse on the possibility of using other Old Testament stories as the basis for dances.

Think of the story of Miriam, after the Israelites had crossed the parted waves of the Red Sea in their flight from Egypt; the book of Esther also suggests many things.

Allan in unidentified London newspaper, October 15, 1908

It appears that Allan's costumes became more elaborate over the years. For example in 1923 Allan revived her Arab Dance and substituted the plain white costume with one of rose pink, purple, yellow and apple green chiffon. It is likely that this was partially due to the competition from the elaborate and wildly colourful costumes of the Ballets Russes. For example, in Allan's 1911 work to Debussy's Danse Sacree et Profane, the curtain opened to Allan bathed in deep purple light in a costume of delicate veils of rich purple. The lighting changed to red for Danse Profane. In the same 1911 programme in her dance Dryad, her costume was russet red. Her choice of the dramatic colours, red and purple, could be
regarded as an attempt to copy the success of the Russian ballet costumes. In her earlier costumes, Allan tended to favour the Romantic delicate pastel colours and the purity of white. Perhaps in the later stages of Allan's career, the greater emphasis on costume was an attempt to deflect attention from her age and waning physical abilities. It must be kept in mind that Allan was in her fifties by the time of her 1920s London appearances.

It is evident that in the earlier stages of her career, Allan designed and made her own simple costumes. She provided a very useful description of the preparation of her first stage costumes.

I used butter-cloth for the dresses that I designed and made myself, if "made" be the right word for what was really an arrangement of draperies and clasps and girdles, with an eye to soft folds and undulating lines. Very exquisite folds may be obtained by damping the material, rolling it up tightly and keeping it thus for some while.

Allan, 1908, p 79

Butter-cloth or butter muslin is a thin, loosely woven cloth, which was probably inexpensive at the time, and easy to manipulate. Allan's description of how she discovered a method to produce an effective costume bares an uncanny similarity to the description Irma Duncan gave of the method taught by Isadora Duncan.

To achieve the same pleated effect observed on Greek statuary, we started out by sprinkling the tunics with water.
Two girls then got hold of the ends, folding one tiny pleat upon the other, and then gave the whole thing a twist, held together by a ribbon. This had to be repeated after each performance, so the tunics would be proper shape for the next one. With so many tunics involved, it was a laborious and patience-demanding process. Isadora herself had taught us this trick.

Duncan, 1966, p189

Although to date there is no substantive proof, it is quite likely that during Duncan’s Berlin school years, Allan was either taught this costume trick by Duncan or observed the effect by attending performances by Duncan and her students. This is further evidence of a closer relationship with Duncan than Allan was ever willing to admit.

To date only two references to costume designers have been discovered. Allan commissioned Edmund Dulac (b.1882-d.1953) to design costumes and sets for her thwarted production of the ballet *Khamma*. A more detailed discussion of the significance of Allan’s commission to Dulac is included in 6.3 *Khamma (1910): The Dance Never Danced*.

Allan first performed *Four Egyptian Dances* in February at London’s Palladium theatre. *The Dancing Times* described her costumes and sets in some detail and she was complimented on “her considerable distinction in decor” (March 1921).
Miss Allan's costume in the first dance was a silver sheath over grey, and light was obtained by a basket of flowers, and by the contrast of her black wig with the costume. In the second dance the silver garment was cast aside, the only relief from the sombre grey of the filmy costume being provided by the green hair band which was worn. In the third and fourth dances a wide green sash with gold ornament made a vivid contrast with the quiet grey.

*The Dancing Times*, March 1921

Photographs in *The Daily Mail*, February 18, 1921 and *The Daily Sketch*, February 19, 1921 show Allan with a long dark wig, strong dark eyebrows and the above described costume. A programme for her June 20, 1921 appearance at the London Coliseum which included *Four Egyptian Dances* credit W. Clarkson (b.1861-d.1934) for her costumes. Willie Clarkson, wigmaker and costumier, with his premises on Wardour Street, rented out costumes to London's theatres and music halls for over sixty years.

As well as her costumes, Allan's stage sets became more elaborate over the years. In her early dance career she used a simple and austere green back curtain. Reviewers frequently commented on the impact of the lightly clad Allan slipping out from behind the green curtain. Often the only other stage ornamentation was potted palms placed at the edge of the stage. In a 1917 newspaper interview she criticized elaborate stagings.

All this lavish scenery, bizarre costumes, and other accessories tend to distract attention from what should be the main effect, the dancing itself. I have always held the view that only the simplest of backgrounds should be used for
really artistic dancing.

unidentified London newspaper, September 1917

She rapidly betrayed her own convictions at her October 1917 programme at St. Martin's theatre. *The Referee*, November 4, 1917 described that in *Indian Love Tale* she danced before a stage property statue of Budda with incense burning before it. She gradually began to make more use of stage sets and lighting effects.

The four dances from the “Ballet Egyptian” which formed part one, were given before a sky blue back curtain, the sky itself being indicated by bars of slightly paler blue and yellow, running perpendicular to the line of the footlights. In the foreground above was a band of orange, supported by fairly narrow side curtains of a deeper orange merging into crimson. This setting was maintained throughout the four dances, and it cannot but be acknowledged that it was very pleasing to the eye. Two tall iron braziers on either side of the stage burned smokily.

*The Dancing Times*, March 1921

It may have been the decision of the various music halls in which Allan appeared in the 1920s to provide more elaborate sets and costumes to enhance Allan’s performances.

5.24 Dance Movement

The lack of extant records of Allan’s dances in the form of films, notation scores, testimony of students or reconstructions challenges any discussion
of her movement vocabulary. However by extracting all references to movement from reviews, Allan's own statements on movement plus visual information from photographs, it is possible to discover certain discernable and consistent qualities to Allan's movement.

A predominant observation made by many reviewers was Allan's use of "poses" or "plastique." Allan herself uses the term "plastic poser" in an explanation of her vision of the art of dance.

The art of dancing, as understood by the great masses, is a series of regular rhythmical movements requiring a certain music; not so in my work. In that the movements of the plastic poser are inspired by the music. This form of dancing, together with the art of mimicry, gives to the eye a translation in plastic of what the composer wishes to convey to his hearers.

Allan in The Daily Mail, April 16, 1908

A case in point was her interpretation of "Death of Ase" in Grieg's Peer Gynt. Allan's use of poses was discussed extensively. For example, The Times February 13, 1909 noted the study of mournful poses; the Toronto Mail and Empire, October 6, 1916 stated that she paused in eloquent and beautiful attitudes; Crawford Flitch wrote, "It was a study of mournful poses, inspired by a grief which lives too deep and too still to explore in tumultuous and exciting gesture" (1912, p 115). Referring to Allan's Spanish Dances to music by Granados, The Dancing Times, November 1921 stated that the dances "appeared to consist of a series of plastic poses."
The Russian ballet critic, Svetlov described her as a proponent of plastique poses rather than a dancer.

There are a number of plastically trained movements of the arms, which produce a somewhat strange and beautiful effect of a kaleidoscopically changed picture.

*Birzhevie vedomosti*, November 23, 1909

Along with her use of poses, there was a mimetic element to Allan's dances. It was not the conventions of mime from classical ballet but conventions derived from her study of the Delsarte system. Francois Delsarte (b.1811-d.1871) developed a system of codification of human gestures. Allan, like her fellow western early modern theatre dancers, Duncan and St. Denis, was familiar with the Delsarte system. She acknowledged Delsarte in the discussion of her preparation to become a dancer.

Francois Delsarte's theories teach us that every fibre, every vigorous impulse, every muscle, and every feeling should have its existence so well defined that at any moment it can actually assert itself. His teaching rests on the inseparability of body and spirit, which, united through interchange of effects, results in harmonious existence.

Allan, 1908, p65

The mimetic element to Allan's work was frequently discussed by reviewers. A German newspaper review emphasized this mimetic quality in her dance to Schubert's *Ave Maria.*
Miss Allan, however, danced in mime, in the garb of a penitent, wringing her hands, sighing deeply, raising her eyes to heaven.

*Munich Neueste Nachrichten*, April 20, 1907.

Reviews also made reference to her use of facial expressions to convey meaning. In particular Allan made use of facial expression to convey grief. In her dance to Chopin's *Funeral March*, Morgan Powell (1929, p 234) referred to her quivering lips, face tense with anguish and drooping head. *The Daily News*, March 20, 1923 in reviewing her dance to Rachmaninov's *Prelude* commented on "her skill in facial expression" which conveyed terror, horror, despair and physical pain. However in her dance interpretation to de Lisle's *Marseillaise*, her use of facial expression was not regarded as successful by more than one newspaper reviewer. *The Referee*, November 4, 1917 stated that she created moods of horror, fury, pride and grief "almost entirely by facial play" and "facial play of this kind neither is nor need be Miss Allan's strong point." *The Observer* concurred.

The *Marseillaise* is a fiery piece of passionate mime. But we are not sure that even in this form of dancing, facial expression is not better omitted; and Miss Allan's facial expression has a violence which her posturing cleverly avoids.

*The Observer*, November 4, 1917

It is clear from the quotations cited above that Allan's dance movement
vocabulary relied heavily on both mimetic gesture and facial expressions to communicate emotions and meanings to her audience. It appears that although this gesticulation created a certain impact on her audience, it was not altogether successful. This use of facial expressions was a convention dispensed with by later modern dance pioneers.

However Allan did not confine herself to stationary poses and attitudes with a predominant use of facial expression. Allan took advantage of the stage space waltzing, skipping, marching and running, always taking her inspiration from the tempi of the music. The dynamic of her dances corresponded to the dynamics of the music itself. For example in her interpretation of Mendelssohn’s *Spring Song* she was light and dreamlike, wafting and floating. In contrast to Grieg’s “Hall of the Mountain King” from *Peer Gynt*, she was wild and whirling in gradually accelerating movements.

In general from a careful examination of the visual material available, it is clear that Allan favoured verticality with her feet firmly under her. She is rarely off-centre and her torso is not the involved body part. This is a fundamental difference to Isadora Duncan’s primary principle in which all movement originates from the centre of the body. Duncan placed the centre and initiation of movement in the upper torso with the source of inspiration coming from the solar plexus which she described as between
inspiration coming from the solar plexus which she described as between
consequence of placing the centre and initiation of movement in the
upper half of the body is that it gives Duncan’s choreography a
characteristic mobility of the chest and back.”

Rather, with Allan the movement is centred on the hands and arms. This
could possibly be a legacy of the many years Allan trained as a pianist
where the emphasis for expression came from the fingertips on the
keyboard. The New Age, April 11, 1908, reviewing her performance at
London’s Palace Theatre commented, “Maud Allan’s dances are a series of
rhythmically modulated postures in which the arms play almost more
part than the rest of the body.” She had developed a rippling effect with
her arms which she often used. As discussed in more detail in 6.2 Allan’s
Vision of Salomé best illustrates this arm movement technique.
However, she made use of this arm movement in several other dances.
For example, the Munich Neueste Nachrichten, April 25, 1907 in a
discussion of her dances to Chopin and Mendelssohn stated “It is her
outline which is crucial; and her best forms derive from her arms and
hands.” Commenting on her debut in London, The New Age, April 11,
1908 observed, “Maud Allan’s dances are a series of rhythmically
modulated postures in which the arms play almost more part than the rest
of the body.” In her dance to Sibelius Dyrad, an unidentified review from
a running brook and Beerbolm commenting on her *Valse Caprice*, "the undulations of the outstretched arms, the wrists wavering to the fingertips, create a very pretty effect". Critics on both sides of the Atlantic agreed on Allan’s unique use of her arms and hands.

The most wonderful feature of her performance is her hands. These with her wrists, seem to be vivified with a being distinct from her own. Her fingers curl and twist and wave, weaving harmonies as if jointless or rather as if articulated with melodies; her feet and toes have something of this same gift, but her hands have a faculty of expression that in other times would have been termed supernatural.

*Los Angeles Examiner, April 12, 1910*

If her hands and arms were her forte, it appears from the reviews and photographs that she was less successful with her leg movements which were often compared unfavourably with balletic style. Both Allan and Duncan were often criticized by writers with a strong bias towards the more understood conventions of ballet as lacking proper training.

Svetlov, an avid balletomane, found her legs unattractive and stressed that this was a serious problem for a barefoot dancer.

Thus certain disgraceful displacements of the soles of the feet, which recurs at the time of certain turns, shows the true lack of schooling of the dancer and constitutes a very serious fault in the little page which is her plastique work.

*Svetlov, 1912, p82*

What Svetlov failed to acknowledge was the fact that Allan had
intentionally rejected the conventions of balletic movement and, rather, had opted for the use of more natural, everyday basic movements.

It is evident that Allan's dance movement vocabulary was not clearly defined. She was more concerned with interpreting the music than in creating movement. In an interview with a London newspaper, Allan gave some valuable insights into the relationship of the music and the movement. She said that she took her inspiration from pictures or music. If it was the music, she took her inspiration phrase by phrase. She kept the tune in her head as she practised in front of the mirror.

I draw a rough diagram of my track on the stage. These diagrams serve as my notes. I can remember any of my dances, no matter how long since I performed them, by glancing at these notes.

The London Weekly Dispatch, March 15, 1908

Although she created a rudimentary choreography for each dance, she explained that she trusted to inspiration of the moment for the details. It would have been extremely helpful for an analysis of Allan's dance movement if these annotations had survived and were available to dance scholars.

5.241 Movement Captured: Spring Song

The discussion thus far concerning Allan's dance movement has been based on static visual materials and the observations of her
contemporaries. A set of seven amateur photographs of Allan in motion provides a rare opportunity to examine in more detail her dance movement. (see illustrations pp. 150-51) My discovery of these photographs, which capture a much greater spontaneity than the static studio poses, provides the source material for the following discussion. A close examination of the photographs reveals the shadow of the photographer himself in the foreground of the pictures. It is clearly a male photographer, wearing a hat, and not using a tripod and hood to capture the images. The fact that he has managed to capture himself as well as Allan suggests that he was likely an amateur.

The background trees with the V-shaped opening is helpful in indicating a spatial pattern to the dance. In photo 2, Allan has moved significantly to her right. In the subsequent photos 5,6,7 she gradually moves left again until she is once more in centre of the V-shape of the trees in the background. This leads me to infer that she is actually moving through space and not merely doing separate poses. This unique set of photographs using a faster time exposure actually captures Allan in motion and allow a greater depth of observation.

What evidence is there that these photographs capture Allan's *Spring Song*? One of the amateur photographs shows Allan in the same position as in a formal photographic study entitled Mendelssohn's *Spring*
Maud Allan in Spring Song
Photos in order as placed in album
album in Dept. of Special Collections (#2038) at University of California, Los Angeles
Maud Allan in Spring Song
Song. (see illustration p 153 ) She is facing front, lightly lifted on one foot while the other is slightly behind and bent at the knee with the foot loose. Her torso is quite centred, while her head is characteristically tilted slightly to the left. Her torso and arms are open with one arm above her head and the other wide open at her side. There is greater spontaneity in the informal photograph and a greater sense of lightness and flight. This similarity of pose not only identifies the dance, it also provides a further piece of evidence that Allan's dances were choreographed and not simply spontaneous performances. In addition, among the photographs is a pose in which she appears to be miming a shepherd playing a flute. (Photo 5). She is in profile with her arms placed as if holding a flute to her mouth. She is vertical and centred on the back foot with the front foot slightly raised with the toes just touching the ground. A London reviewer, writing of Spring Song, noted "she was now a shepherd piping" (Daily Chronicle, March 7, 1908).

Spring Song to Mendelssohn's popular, romantic music, Op. 62, Fruhlingslied, Songs without Words, was featured in Allan's repertoire from her debut performance in 1903 until 1916 with a brief revival again in her 1923 Egyptian tour. In The Dancing Times of July, 1916 Allan, reminiscing on her London debut, selected Spring Song as her most popular dance and attributed its popularity to Mendelssohn's music. This, however, was Allan's only dance to music by Mendelssohn. Duncan had
(1) Rotary Photo: Series 4946, J

(2) Special Collection #2038, University of California

Formal (1) and Informal (2) photo of Maud Allan in Spring Song
introduced a dance in 1898 known as "La Primavera" to the same music.

Mendelssohn's music appealed to Victorian English tastes. Allan took her subject matter, that of a joyous pastoral narrative, from the music itself. In an interview for a London newspaper which provides many insightful comments on her dancing, Allan described Spring Song.

Take Mendelssohn's Spring Song for example, which I give on Monday. There one gets the joyousness of spring, butterflies flitting from flower to flower, girls picking posies and so on. All this I try to show by motion.

Allan in The London Weekly Dispatch, March 15, 1908

In this short dance, just over two minutes in length, Allan moved briskly around the stage responding to the rhythm of the music. She may have changed the opening of the dance if reviewers' descriptions are accurate. The Illustriertes Weiner Extrablatt, November 25, 1903, in describing her debut performance observed that she "skipped in, flowers in her hair."

Describing her first performance in London, The Daily Graphic, March 7, 1908 said "she comes slowly to the footlights while the orchestra played Mendelssohn's Spring Song."

Critics were inspired by her dance to write long, eloquent descriptions focussing primarily on the aesthetic qualities, but also describing Allan's movements around the stage. Taking her cues from the music, Allan's movements were quick, light and she made greater use of the stage space skipping forwards and backwards.
Your next dream is to the familiar, rather too familiar tune of Mendelssohn's "Spring Song," the dream-figure flitting hither and thither-allegretto grazioso-in pursuit of an imaginary butterfly. This is of course no time for languorous melancholy; the girl's movements are brisk and rapid; she makes little rushes backwards and forwards or, like "Camilla skimming the plain." Now she is on tip-toe with arms outstretched, now swiftly bending to the ground, now "settling" for a moment like the butterfly she pursues-in short, gives you the quintessence of the papilionaceous.

_The Times Literary Supplement_, March 26, 1908, p102.

_The Daily Chronicle_ described the mimetic elements of Allan's brief dance.

With a spray of flowers at her shoulder, she was now a shepherd piping, now gathering blossoms from trees or picking those at her feet-all, too, in the due measure of a delicious tripping dance that was like a fairy hornpipe, and with a bright-eyed smile that no stage trick could produce.

_The Daily Chronicle_, March 7, 1908

This smile can be seen in the series of photographs which show a lithe, tall, joyous Allan looking much younger than a woman in her late thirties. Unlike some of the other early modern dancers, such as Loie Fuller and Isadora Duncan, Allan remained slim throughout her dancing career, probably enhancing her youthful appearance.

The costumes differ between the formal studio photographs and the
amateur pictures. In the formal studies, she is wearing a sleeveless, V-necked Grecian style tunic, belted at the waist and again below the hips. Perhaps the lower belting served the same purpose as that of some of Duncan's costumes as a device to keep the costume from rising above the hips when the legs were raised. In the formal studies, she is wearing flowers in her hair, at her shoulder and waist. As discussed earlier in 5.23 newspaper reports confirm that her costume was made of pink and grey chiffon. In the informal photographs she is wearing a longer, layered garment which has been wrapped around her and belted only at the waist. The material has been gathered in such a way as to provide a type of sleeve which drops from her shoulder. The costume is not adorned with flowers and her hair is in a simple style pulled back and fastened at the neck. Both costumes allowed for the freedom of movement required by the dance.

An examination of the seven photographs can only give hints or indications of the patterns of Allan's movements. There is a clear mimetic element which is evident in many of Allan's dances. There is almost a frieze like quality in photo 6 in which she appears to be the shepherd playing a flute. She makes strong use of her arms and hands for mimetic gesture. The hand gestures often appear quite balletic with a graceful elegance. Her gaze seems to be related to her intent such as focussing on imaginary objects such as flowers and butterflies.
There is no way of confirming if the sequence of photos in the album reflects the sequence of the movement in the dance itself. What is quite evident is that there is much movement which has been captured by the photographer. With the exception of photo 6 which captures her in a static pose, the other six show a light, delicate, but direct use of energy and a clear sense of where she is travelling in space. There is no sense of heaviness or strength in her movements. She appears to place her emphasis on her upper torso sometimes with an off-centre quality. For example in photo 5 she is skipping with a discernable twist in the upper torso against a vertical lower body. As well, there is an openness in the torso with her arms open to the side or raised above her head in a V-shape. Her head is often tilted slightly to the left and her neck is arched and expressive. As always with Allan, the arms and hands are light, delicate and graceful.

Along with the seven amateur photographs, a number of studio portraits identified as *Spring Song* provide an opportunity to make further observations on Allan’s dance movement. The sense of abandonment is lacking in the more formal studies although there is still a sense of lightness and delicacy. In the studio portraits her body is more stiffly held, more pulled to the ground with no real sense of movement. An examination of the formal (1) and informal (2) study of Allan capturing an identical moment in the dance (see illustration p. 153) illustrates this
point well. In the informal photo (2), she is more open with a wide torso and a sense of rising. Her gaze is more intimate and it appears that she is directing her eyes at the photographer. In the formal studio study, her torso is not so wide, the sense of rising is less (understandable as she would have had to hold the pose for a much greater length of time) and the gaze is upward. That sense of a living, dancing woman found in the informal photographs is missing from the formal poses.

5.3 Performance Style

This section examine’s Allan’s performance style which relates to the qualities unique to Allan, including her physique, her individual movement preferences and the specific qualities of her performance. Layson observed that “Duncan and her early modern dance contemporaries were predominantly solo artists who gained their impact in performance by projecting themselves as much as the dance” (1986, p.120). This study of her performance style attempts to establish just what Allan was “projecting.” The examination of Allan’s dance movement style has revealed that it was not the predominant quality. Therefore there must have been other qualities to Allan’s performance that so entranced her audiences.

From a study of the studio and newspaper photographs available, she appears to have had a sturdy body; sloped shoulders, big breasted with
strong legs and thighs and quite large, narrow feet. There was a sense of softness or slackness to her body which would have appealed greatly to her audiences' aesthetics of female beauty. In several of the Salomé photographs, a discernable roll of fat around the midriff can be seen. In her autobiography, she stated, "I felt that a healthy, sound, well-toned instrument was the first great necessity for the carrying out of this great work" (1908, p.63). Clearly "well-toned" at the turn of the 20th century carried a different connotation to that of the 1990s.

She had large, expressive eyes and healthy, wavy hair, which appears to have changed colour from the blond of her youth to a darker shade in her adult years. In many of her dances, for example Spring Song and Funeral March, she wore her hair loose and flowing over her shoulders; while in street clothes, she wore it in a complicated coiffured style.

As discussed in detail in 5.24 Dance Movement, Allan's hands and arms were extremely expressive and consistently remarked upon by reviewers. One British postcard (Rotary 11406A) entitled "Miss Maud Allan, Quivering Arms and Finger Tips" featured separate pictures of her arms and hands. She had extremely long slender fingers. Knowing Allan's intent to visualize the music, it is understandable that Allan would place her emphasis on her arms and hands. For all the years of training as a classical pianist, her focus of attention had been her fingertips and the
sounds she could elicit from her manipulation of the keyboard.

Allan, like other pioneers of early modern dance, performed in loose fitting body revealing costumes with bare feet and limbs. She was a mature woman in her thirties when she debued as a dancer and continued to dance into her sixties. To date, I have no documented information on her height and weight. Her physique did not appear to change discernably over the years. Unlike some of the other western early modern theatre dancers, photographic evidence indicates that she did not appear to put much weight on in later years.

As with so many performers of her generation, she systematically deducted years from her age and the press of the time never queried her statements. Indeed, she duped both the press and public who found her girlish qualities most appealing. For example, The Pall Mall Gazette, March 31, 1908 in an article with the ironic title, "The Real Maud Allan" noted, "She is ordinary, in the fine sense that any well-bred girl in her early twenties is ordinary," and described her "youthful physique," "face lit up with the light of youth" and "full of girlish elation." At the time of the interview, Allan was thirty-five, considered to be middle-aged by Edwardian society. When Allan was fifty years of age, the Referee, March 25, 1923, commenting on her appearances at London's Alhambra described her as "amazingly young and lithesome" while the Daily News, March 20,
1923 described her as “a young coquettish thing (looking incredibly full of youth).”

It was evident that she had great stamina as a performer. As discussed in 2.3 Performing Years 1903-1936 at London’s Palace Theatre in 1908, 1909 and 1911 she performed a twenty minute turn daily with frequent additional afternoon matinees featuring an extended programme. During her first engagement at the Palace in 1908 she appeared daily from March to late October until a leg injury caused her to stop. During her 1917 appearances at London’s St. Martin’s Theatre, she appeared twice daily in a two hour programme performing seven dances which included several shorter selections as well as a longer narrative dance entitled Indian Love Tale. At the age of fifty-three, she appeared at The Hollywood Bowl on August 20, 1926 presenting Blue Danube and Tchaikovsky’s Pathetique Symphony. The programme notes do not indicate if Allan danced the Pathetique Symphony in its entirety which is approximately forty-six minutes in duration. As well Allan toured extensively throughout her career appearing nightly in different venues. This is not to suggest that Allan was unique in her arduous touring schedules. Other dancers such as Isadora Duncan and especially Pavlova crisscrossed the world under gruelling conditions. As noted in 2.3, although Allan appeared to be physically strong, a pattern of ill-health after emotional trauma can be discerned. The fact that Allan continued to perform well into her sixties
in lengthy programmes attests to considerable vigour and fortitude. It is likely that her interpretation of dances, which were sustained in her repertoire, may have altered as her abilities and strength waned.

In the discussion of Allan’s dance movement in 5.24, it was shown that although Allan’s costumes were provocative for the times, her movement vocabulary was constrained, reserved, naive, girlish and above all else described as “ladylike.” She carried herself vertically, with little exaggerated use of her legs and certainly little risk taking. She preferred small, slow gestures of the legs and feet with no high kicks or arabesques. Obviously her movement vocabulary and performance style contributed to the publics’ and critics’ perception of Allan as an acceptable performer for polite company. The English reviewers of her London debut were quick to confirm the propriety and legitimacy of her dances. “Her costumes are scanty, her feet are bare, but everything is appropriate, dignified and beautiful,” (Daily Express, March 7, 1908), “It will, perhaps, be fair to the public to say that her dance as Salomé is daring; it would be very unfair to Miss Allan not to add that, like her performance, it is absolutely free of offence” (The Times, March 10, 1908), “Truth to tell, the most charming thing of all about Miss Allan’s dancing is its natural girlishness, it utter lack of any sensual appeal” (London Chronicle, March 7, 1908).
Max Beerbolm dwelt on the subject of the seemliness of Allan’s performance after observing her for the first time in July, 1908.

Propriety and impropriety are not things that can be determined according to the quantity or quality of clothing. The gauge is a subtler one than that, depending on physical shape, movement, gesture and so on. I can imagine cases in which it would be very difficult to decide whether propriety were violated or not. Miss Allan’s is, quite obviously, to any normal spectator, no such case;

Beerbolm (1970, p.381)

It is a possibility that Allan toned down her performance of Vision of Salomé for her London and North American audiences. As will be discussed in greater detail in 6.221 visual evidence from two sets of postcards, one photographed in Prague and the other in London, indicates that the European performances may have had more of the atmosphere of early German expressionism with the gruesome use of the prop head of John the Baptist and more exaggerated dramatic gestures. This is yet another of the several paradoxical issues concerning Maud Allan. While her costumes and often her subject matter were daring and innovative for the time, her performance style projected propriety and conventionality. Indeed, Allan would have been pleased with The Times description of her performance being “free of offence.”

The evidence demonstrates that Allan was able to project the two predominant qualities of youthfulness and ladylike propriety throughout
her performance career. Even in her fifties and sixties, she could evoke a mood of girlish seemliness. As will be discussed in greater detail in 7.

Conclusion: Her Place, Role Model in British Western Early Modern Theatre Dance it is my contention that the key to understanding Allan’s significance and place in the western early modern theatre dance is inextricably linked with her performance style.

5.4 Conclusion

This first original study of Allan’s choreographic and performance styles provides the material to make substantive observations in several crucial areas. Firstly, the creation of the choreochronicle dispels the perceived perception of Allan as limited to performing a Salomé dance. She choreographed at least 53 dances over a three-decade career. The notion of Allan having a continually evolving dance repertoire has been established for the first time. However her output was limited compared to other early modern western theatre dancers such as Duncan who choreographed 160 solos as well as 54 works which included her pupils (Layson, 1987).

Allan was unique amongst her contemporaries for her specialized knowledge of music and exquisite musicality. Most of the dances in her repertoire were impressionistic visualizations of the music. Her choice of classical music was eclectic and disparate ranging from popular romantic to contemporary modernist composers. It has been shown that her subject matter tended to fall into six distinctive categories and she explored these
same themes throughout her choreographic career. While most of her
dance treatments were impressionistic, her narrative dances tended to
attract more attention. In the earlier stage of her dance career she effected
simple costumes and sets which became more elaborate in the later stage.

Her dance vocabulary seems to have been not well defined with the critics
responding more to the aesthetic qualities of her work rather than to the
movement itself. She appears to have had a rather limited movement
vocabulary encompassing plastique poses, mimetic elements including the
use of facial expressions, an individualistic technique for her arms and
hands, a weaker technique for her legs and a strong preference for
verticality and groundedness. It appears that she had a rudimentary
choreographic notation system and blocked out the basic patterns of her
dances.

While Allan's choreographic style did not appear to have outstanding,
unique features, there is greater significance to her performance style with
its characteristics of propriety and ladylikeness even when presenting such
a provocative subject matter as Salomé. It was this aura of respectability
and acceptability which is essential to understanding Allan's significance
and place in western early modern theatre dance.

At this point it is possible to test published statements on Allan's
repertoire against the information culled from this study of Allan’s choreographic and performance styles. 1.4 which reviews the literature includes reference to two other Allan choreochronicles. McDonagh (1976, p.29) states that Allan tended to select “recognized and attractive music.” It can be seen that although some of Allan’s musical choices conformed with McDonagh’s statement, other choices such as the works of the Russian moderns Schutt and Rebikow do not comply with this observation. The Biographical Dictionary of Dance (1982, p.15) states that Allan performed visualizations of music without “pseudoethnic or national overtones in most of her choices.” This is proven inaccurate as Allan’s choice of subject matter frequently included Oriental and other ethnic type dances.
ENDNOTES


2. This revival did not receive the unanimous positive critical response given to her 1908 performances. For example *The Morning Advertiser* July 23, 1908 stated “she made her most artistic success in the Arabian dancer.” *The Daily News*, March 20, 1923 described the dance as “a series of dreamy movements in which the lights and the colours of her dress combined to be unkind to her.”

3. Alexandre Luigini, composer of numerous ballets, created Ballet Egyptian in 1875. Pavlova’s ballet master, Ivan Clustine (b.1862-d.1941) choreographed an one-act ballet to Luigini’s music. There are two conflicting dates on Pavlova’s first performance of the dance. It was either in Cincinnati in 1916 or in South America in 1917. It is not known if Allan was aware of Pavlova’s dance to Luigini’s music. It is possible that Allan had taken her inspiration from hearing Luigini’s Egyptian Ballet played by the Little Symphony Orchestra in 1917 at the St Martin’s Theatre as an interlude between Allan’s dances.

4. A review of an Isadora Duncan performance in the Netherlands describes her costume to a dance to music by Shubert. J.H. Rossing, reviewing Duncan’s performance in *Nieuws van der Dag*, April 9, 1906 described her as “dressed in rose petals with a garland of roses on her head, she danced in a roseate light, with rose-flushed cheeks. The rose dance seemed to be gold dust and sunbeam.” This quotation is taken from Lillian Loewenthal’s article “Isadora Duncan in the Netherlands,” *Dance Chronicle* 3 (3) 1979-80. p.227-53. The similarity of Allan’s costume with the flowers in her hair and choice of the colour pink leads to the conclusion that she most likely had copied it from the Duncan costume.
6. TWO KEY WORKS IN ALLAN'S DANCE CAREER

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6.1 Introduction

This chapter studies in greater detail two key works in Allan's dance oeuvre. The term key usually refers to seminal works or ones that epitomize a distinct period in a choreographer's development. In this chapter the word key is used to refer to works which had a major impact in shaping Allan's dance career. They have been selected on the basis that one, The Vision of Salomé, established Allan's reputation and the other, Khamma, impeded her career at a most crucial moment. These works shared similarities. They were longer than her usual dance interpretations to classical music. Both dances had a narrative treatment based on a biblical or literary source and an Oriental theme. She used collaborators to help create the scenario. In each case she commissioned original music. Both works had more elaborate costumes, sets and props than her more
usual visualizations of music. Allan herself described each of these works as "chef d'oeuvre."

The Vision of Salomé is the dance most often identified with Allan. However as has been shown in Chapter 5, it was only one of 53 dances in Allan's repertoire. It is representative of the earlier stage of her dance career. After the 1910 American tour Allan rarely performed it and, in fact, wanted to shed the association as the Salomé dancer. The Salomé craze which Allan had unwittingly spawned produced numerous vulgar dance imitators and Allan wished to disassociate herself from the phenomenon. Khamma may be considered a questionable choice since Allan never performed it. However it, too, played an extremely significant role in her career. Allan planned Khamma as the successor to Vision of Salomé. Her thwarted attempts to mount this dance had a detrimental impact on her career. An examination of the Khamma episode provides evidence that Allan was a forerunner in commissioning Claude Debussy for dance music. Allan's annotated proof copy of the piano reduction with her pencilled comments is the only extant written example of her choreographic methods. For all these reasons, Khamma, the dance never danced, played a significant role in Allan's life and career and therefore must be examined in detail.
6.2 Vision of Salome (1906): Allan's Signature Dance

6.21 History of the Dance

Allan first performed Vision of Salomé on December 28, 1906 at the Carl Theatre in Vienna. It was consistently in her dance programmes from its debut to the end of her 1910 North American tour. After that date she performed it infrequently during her 1913/14 Far East tour and for a brief period in New York in November 1916. A significant fact is that Vision of Salomé, considered to be Allan's key signature dance by contemporary critics and later dance historians, was her "chef d'oeuvre" for only a four year period.

As discussed earlier in 3.3 Early German Expressionism the story of Salomé with its intimations of incest and intrigue was a topic of fascination and inspiration for a variety of artists in Europe. Both Maud Allan and Richard Strauss credited Max Reinhardt's 1902 Berlin production of Oscar Wilde's play, Salomé, as the inspiration for their own interpretations of the Salomé story. In turn, Wilde had been motivated by the paintings of the French symbolist, Gustave Moreau (b. 1826-d. 1898) who had also been the inspiration for Flaubert's short story Hérodisias (1877) and Massenet's opera Hérodiade (1881). The first performance of Wilde's Salomé was in Paris at the Théâtre de L'Oeuvre on February 11, 1896. The Lord Chamberlain forbade the first proposed British performance with Sarah Bernhardt in the lead role in 1892. It was
eventually privately produced in May 1905 by The New Stage Club at London’s Bijou Theatre. The play enjoyed great popularity in Germany. Richard Strauss’s opera was completed in June 1905 and first performed in Dresden in December 1905.

Allan was not the first to choreograph a Salomé dance. Loie Fuller took the role of Salomé in a 1895 pantomime at the Comedie Parisienne and again in 1907 at Paris’s Theatre des Arts in a ballet entitled "La Tragedie de Salomé, d’apres un Poeme de Robert d’Humieres." In Russia the Imperial censors had banned Ida Rubinstein’s 1908 attempt to produce Wilde's play, Salomé, with her Dance of the Seven Veils. However Rubinstein did perform the Dance of the Seven Veils which Fokine had choreographed in a single performance and remounted this production in Paris in 1912. If Allan’s Salomé dance is placed in a chronological context with other dances using the same theme, it can be proved that she was one of the first Western early modern theatre dancers to take the Salomé story as her subject matter. It can be argued that it was more a coincidence of choice based on the current fascination with Orientalism and Wilde’s play than a case of Allan imitating others. Richard Strauss was not accused of imitation for creating the opera Salomé in 1905.

Allan presaged other early modern theatre dancers’ use of the Bible as inspiration for the subject matter for dances. According to Manor (1980
p16) Fuller performed Miriam's dance in 1911, while St. Denis in 1919 portrayed both Esther in *Dancer at the Court of King Ahasuerus* and Miriam in *Miriam, Sister of Moses*. Later generations of modern dance choreographers including Martha Graham, Jose Limon, Glen Tetly, Anna Sokolow, Serge Lifar to name only a few, took their inspiration from Biblical stories.

Allan's dance, with its Oriental setting enhanced by original Arabian style music, was a narrative interpretation of the Biblical story of Salomé and the head of John the Baptist. *The Neues Weiner Journal*, December 29, 1906 reporting on her debut stated that "the whole performance lasts about a quarter of an hour." It consisted of two separate dances—*The Dance of Salomé* followed by *Vision of Salomé*. In the first dance she enacts the biblical story, while the second dance is her interpretation of Salomé's state of mind after the beheading. Allan devoted Chapter 12 of her autobiography (1908 pp.. 120-128) to a lengthy explanation of her interpretation of the Salomé story. She characterized her Salomé as a pliant, virginal fourteen-year-old Oriental princess. She conveys the sexual tension between Herod and Salomé and the venomous hatred of the mother towards John the Baptist. The second dance is a dream or trance in which Salomé experiences a chaotic mixture of emotions, reliving the horror of the banquet scene and the sight of John the Baptist's head, then seeking pardon and finally recognizing the wickedness of her
act and her lost redemption.

During the years Allan performed *Vision of Salomé* both the public and critics were polarized in their reaction. It was either accepted and praised or reviled as a depraved exhibition. As discussed in greater detail in 2.3 she was banned from performing the dance in Munich in 1907 and in Manchester in 1908. It must be kept in mind that the choice of Salomé was extremely provocative since the trial of Oscar Wilde had occurred in London only thirteen years earlier and presentation of the play, *Salomé*, had been prohibited by the Lord Chamberlain. The London reviewers were divided. *The London Times* stated,

> There is no extravagance or sensationalism about Miss Allan's dancing: even when crouching over the head of her victim, caressing it or shrinking from it in horror, she subordinated every gesture and attitude to the condition of her art.

*The London Times*, March 10, 1908.

However, a reviewer in the *Labour Leader* described the dance as "beyond doubt, diabolic."

Through it all she essays the gamut of the baser feelings. In the "Vision of Salomé" there is nothing redeeming, nothing that purges, nothing that lifts the thoughts above and beyond the beauties of the body. It is the incarnation of the bestial of Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley.

*Labour Leader*, June 26, 1908

Allan addressed her critics, describing Wilde's play as "a work of true art"
and attempting to explain her interpretation of Salomé's behaviour after John the Baptist's beheading.

She makes offers of atonement by sacrifice. These are not received and she becomes remorseful, repentant. The kiss is offered as the supreme persuasion to be given the understanding of his strange and awe-inspiring influence. Thereupon ensues her complete emotional collapse from the sudden comprehension of his divine power and the consequent enormity of the crime. I most distinctly do not feel the remotest touch of an amorous instinct, a sex perversion, any fierceness or passion.

San Francisco Chronicle, April 1910

The popularity of Allan's Salomé eventually had a detrimental effect on her career and caused her to disassociate herself with this dance. As discussed earlier in 4.5 Allan's London success quickly lead to other music halls presenting parodies of Allan's dance such as The Alhambra's Sal'Oh-My. A more negative result came from the United States where a variety of imitators performed Salomé dances on vaudeville stages. The American entertainer, Gertrude Hoffman gained success as a mimic and perhaps her greatest achievement was her imitation of Allan's Salomé. After travelling to London to study Allan's performance, Hoffman in an unabashed manner, returned to replicate the dance at the Paradise Roof Garden in New York in July, 1908. It was billed in Variety, July 11, 1908 as "a faithful copy of Maud Allan's 'A Vision of Salomé' performed frequently in London." Hoffman admitted it was audience rather than artistic appeal that motivated her.
Why do I do the Maud Allan version and not my own? Well, for several reasons. One is I admire her work very much. She gives her own interpretation; to her's, I've added Wilde's. I have also studied and read every Salome that I could lay my hands on. I have a lot of Beardsley poses, you noticed? And I can tell you this—I know the Salome I give isn't altogether perfect. I believe I could create one that is. But when you are playing in vaudeville houses you have to take into consideration every person who pays for a seat, and you want to make a hit for the last one.

Hoffman in *The Morning Telegraph*, August 19, 1908

As well, the Ziegfeld Follies featured Mlle. Dazié as Salomé. Mlle Dazié (her real name was Daisy Peterkin) opened a school for Salomé dancers and according to Kendall (1979, p75) by the summer of 1908 approximately 150 Salomé dancers were being sent out on a monthly basis into the American vaudeville circuits. For a period between 1908–10, the United States was swept by a Salomé craze. This failure to differentiate between Allan's motivations for choosing Salomé as subject matter and the commercial, sensationalistic motives of her imitators has lead to the continuing misunderstanding of her role in the history of Western early modern theatre dance.

6.22 Choreographic Aspects

6.22.1 Dance Movement

Description of the dance movement itself is lacking in nearly all the reviews. Again as was the case with many of her other dances discussed in 5.24, much of the movement description focussed on Allan's use of her
arms and hands. Several reviewers used the term "snakelike" in reference to her arms and emphasized the constant movement of her hands.

Her round white arms play in all their joints, seem to become more and more flexible, describe passionate and excited lines, move like waves round her front and back, then again flow away from her body, always in motion, never awkward, showing most delightful harmony in every single detail of her movements.

*Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, December 29, 1906

The static studio portraits provide some clues to the type of movement used by Allan. She posed in pseudo-oriental stance often with her arms held stiffly down and her hands pointing outwards. She adopted certain motifs or conventions to evoke a mood of orientalism. Often her head is held in two-dimensional profile as seen on ancient friezes. Her wrists were often held in a broken position as seen in two photographs illustrating the same movement from a frontal and back position in which her fingertips meet at the crown of her head (See illustration, p.177). This use of pseudo-oriental movements was accepted by the audience of the time and was especially prevalent in the movement vocabulary of Ruth St. Denis.

Reviewers tended to focus on the costume and Allan's manipulation of the stage prop head of John the Baptist. As discussed in 5.24 Allan often relied on mimetic gestures. She sank onto her knees, picked up the head
Maud Allan - poses from Vision of Salome
Rotary Photo: Series 4946 R,A&M
(either actual or imaginary) danced around it and eventually sank into a final swoon on the floor. It appears from the reviews and sets of postcards that over the years she toned down her actions with the head itself. The set of postcards from Atelier Grunberger, Prague, depicting scenes from *Vision of Salomé* demonstrate a much greater emphasis and exploitation of the uncannily realistic head of John the Baptist. Of the ten Prague postcards of *Vision of Salome* discovered to date, six show Allan engaging with the prop head in a variety of poses. In three she is on her knees before the head; caressing it, staring in fascination and recoiling from it. In a standing position she is seen grasping it by the hair while in another she holds it out in front of her at eye level. Reviewing her debut performance, the *Neues Weiner Journal*, December 29, 1906 described the head as "a terrible wax skull. She pulls it up on her knees, kisses it and dances around it." It is evident that during her Continental European performances from 1906 to 1908, she performed a more sensationalistic interpretation than in her later London performances between 1908 to 1910.

In the English Rotary Photographer series 4946 only two of the eleven postcards feature the head. In later performances in England and North America the prop head disappeared altogether and she simply mimed the action.
Carl van Vechten compared her performances in Paris in 1907, London in 1908 and New York in 1910.

It is true that in Paris she had caressed the severed head of John the Baptist. Yesterday the head itself was left to the imagination, but none of the caressing was.

January 30, 1910

Allan herself addressed the issue of the use of an actual stage prop head.

Personally I prefer to present this tragedy without the accompaniment of the head. Whenever I perform it in a small room before a limited and intellectual audience I always dispense with the head. People who are acquainted with the Bible story can realize the tragedy as I interpret it.

But the whole circumstances are different when I appear before a crowded theatre audience. Many of the people have but an indifferent view of me; they cannot see my features clear enough to discern the feelings that are there expressed; they are not so well acquainted with the story—in short without the introduction of the head they fail to realize the significance of the gestures with which I interpret the scene. They cannot see them clearly enough.

*Weekly Dispatch*, March 15, 1908

It is interesting to note that Allan differentiated between an intellectual audience and the variety theatre audience. Although she justified that the prop head was necessary to allow the people in large variety theatres to see her gestures, a more likely reason was the management’s desire to attract attention.
6.222 Aural Elements

Allan collaborated with the Belgian music critic, Marcel Remy, to create the dance. The music was a pastiche of old Oriental melodies which Remy had discovered by research. The Neues Weiner Journal, December 29, 1906 described the music as "old Arabic music strangely mixed with Hebrew melodies." Many reviewers and subsequent dance writers have erroneously attributed the music to Richard Strauss. For example, Crawford Flitch (1912 p 115) refers to the disquieting effect "from the weird Oriental strains of Strauss's music." Bedells (1954 p 29) remembered "Her Salomé to Strauss's music caused a great sensation." Shelton (1981 p 76) states, "Richard Strauss had just completed his operatic version and dancers from Maud Allan to Mata Hari used the music to plan their own Salomé dances." The obituary in Dance News, November, 1956 stated that Allan made her debut in Vienna in Vision of Salomé to Richard Strauss's music. It is significant that in Vision of Salomé she did not take the music itself as the inspiration and subject matter of the dance. As previously described in 5.21 the majority of her dances had tended to be visualization of the music itself. This key work was a notable exception to her normal practice.

6.223 Visual Setting

The costume, with its halter top made of jewels and strings of pearls and the transparent skirt, was extremely provocative for its time. To date, no
reference to a costume designer has been found. There may have also been some alteration to the costume over the years. The Neues Weiner Journal, December 29, 1906 described her white, naked upper torso covered with strings of pearls set with rhinestones and "from the waist floats a brown robe, interwoven with gold, through which one sees the naked legs." The Times Literary Supplement, March 26, 1908 described the jewels on her neck and bosom and "a tunic of black gauze." What is evident, particularly from the Atelier Grunberger series of postcards, was the transparency of the skirt.

As discussed earlier in 5.3 on her performance style, Allan was concerned with propriety and throughout her career she challenged her critics over the issue of her Salomé costume. For example, shortly after her arrival in London in the Spring of 1908, she was defending herself.

A number of people write to tell me that I am degrading my sex. They seem to believe that morality is a question of the quantity of clothing one wears. But surely it is quite possible to be immoral in even seven overcoats.

Allan in The Pelican, June 24, 1908

In an interview many years later with The Daily Mail, November 29, 1938 reflecting back on the controversy of her Salomé costume, she commented, "How one little thing sticks in the public mind. Do you know, that costume today would take me the North Pole and back and keep me warm and cosy." Surely she was, at the least, being disingenuous about the issue. Her persistent refusal to admit that her Salomé costume
challenged her society's mores contributes to the confusion surrounding Allan. Her seeming endorsement of German expressionism in her Salomé costume contrasted dramatically with her conventional off-stage attire.

The set also appears to have altered somewhat between the initial performances in Vienna and the London performances. A review in the *Illustriertes Wiener Extrablatt*, December 29, 1906 describes Allan as walking in from behind the scene of a temple. Several London reviewers in 1908 refer to Allan first appearing at the top of the palace stairs before descending to begin her dance.

6.23 Summary

Allan's *Vision of Salomé* was, without question, a pivotal issue in her career. It both brought her to the public's attention and then haunted her for the rest of her professional dance career. In the chronological context of Salomé dances created by other western early modern theatre dancers, Allan was one of the first choreographers to take this Biblical story as her subject matter.

6.3 Khamma: (1910) The Dance Never Danced

The following discussion provides an account of Allan's thwarted attempt to produce a replacement "chef-oeuvre", and examines the ramifications
of this failure. It examines the discovery of Allan's annotated piano score of *Khamma* as well as the significance of her commission of Edmund Dulac for the costumes and stage design.

### 6.31 History of the Dance

In September 1910 Allan commissioned Claude Debussy (b.1862-d.1918) to compose the score for a ballet based on a scenario written by her and William Leonard Courtney (b.1850-d.1928), the drama critic and literary editor of *The Daily Telegraph.* Courtney was an admirer of Allan and had written articles attempting to explain her art to the public.

But one of the main characteristics of Miss Allan's movements is that they are interpretative for those who have the gift of insight and imagination. The poetry of Spring is one of her dances. The Agony of Remorse is in "The Vision of Salomé." The whole pagan theory of death is revealed in her "Marche Funebre." But the thoughts are not insisted on. They are merely floating suggestions, hints, innuendoes to those who have eyes to see and brains to understand.

Courtney (unidentified pamphlet, n.d.)

Along with his collaborative role in aiding Allan to write the scenario of *Khamma*, Courtney, an established dramatist and writer, is significant for his public endorsement of her as a serious artist.

Chimenes (1978) and Orledge (1982) provide excellent detailed accounts of the conflict between Allan and Debussy over the contract to deliver the
completed score for *Khamma*. The original September 1910 contract stipulated that if Allan delivered the scenario to Debussy by November 6, 1910, he was to send her a completed score by the end of February 1911.\(^3\)

Debussy, who had signed this contract without the knowledge of his agent, Durand, failed to deliver the score on time. Overwhelming evidence proves that Allan's difficulties with Debussy over his failure to deliver a score on an agreed upon time was not unique to her situation. Grove (1980, p296) remarks that "Debussy's career was littered with abandoned dramatic projects." Allan's situation was made more complicated by the fact that Debussy had breached the exclusive rights with his agent, Durand, by signing a contract with Allan without his knowledge. Orledge (1982) has documented how Debussy contemplated many projects and completed few.

...Debussy was self-indulgent, self-centred, impulsive and indolent. His multiplicity of interests and jackdaw mind, which operated on so many levels, did not favour concentration on a single project for any length of time, which made completion unlikely. The grass must always have seemed greener in a new project, and the attraction of planning and assessing its theatrical potential must have often tempted him away from the problems of the matter in hand.

Orledge, 1982, p 300

During the period 1909-1914, Debussy missed the deadline for his first Diaghilev commission, *Masques et bergamasques* and The Alhambra's commission of *Le palais du silence*. He completed *Jeux* and *Le martyre de*
Saint Sebastian albeit delivering the scores at the last possible moment. Debussy signed a contract for fifty-five minutes of incidental theatrical music for D'Annunzio's *Le martyre de Saint Sebastian* to showcase the Russian dancer, Ida Rubinstein in December, 1910 with the music to be delivered by the end of February 1911. Along with Debussy's other commitments, it would have been virtually impossible for the composer to fulfil both Allan's and D'Annunzio's February 1911 deadlines. Orledge is doubtful if Debussy composed any of *Khamma* in 1911. However a letter from Debussy to Robert Godet, dated February 6, 1911 shows that he made an attempt to begin the score before abandoning it for *Le martyre de Saint Sebastian*.

Back in Paris, I got down to a ballet for a Miss Maud Allan, as English as you please. To make up for that, the ballet's Egyptian; the plot would fit into a baby's hand, typically devoid of interest. Plots of another kind have pushed me into writing it, as well as reasons of domestic economy. It was precisely at that moment that Gabriele d'Annunzio arrived with *Le martyre de Saint Sebastien*, for which I've agreed to write incidental music.

Debussy in Lesure, 1987, p 235

In early summer 1912 Allan was sent a proof copy of the piano reduction. Allan found the length unsatisfactory and demanded that the score be expanded from twenty to thirty-five minutes. In a letter dated July 16, 1912 Debussy wrote to Allan,

I can only reiterate what I said in my previous letter about the music of Khamma. It is impossible that you be permitted to
arrange this music to suit your own taste.

Thus I composed it
Thus it shall remain.

Debussy in Lesure, 1987, p259

She also complained that her original scenario had called for six or seven dances. Debussy's score had only three dances. A major problem with the original contract had been the lack of specific details including an agreed upon length of the score and the size of the orchestra. Debussy refused to comply with any of her demands and was unable to complete the full orchestration of the score. Debussy's agent, Durand, who was now cognizant of his client's difficulties, offered to repay Allan her initial 10,000 francs provided they could keep the world rights to the music. Durand suggested that Allan could commission new music by another composer for her dance. The matter went to arbitration in 1913, but Allan left the matter unresolved when she went off on her two year tour of the Far East.

In the summer of 1916 the issue was resurrected when Allan announced that she would mount *Khamma* for her North American tour. She demanded that Debussy make two new orchestra scores; one for large orchestra and one for small orchestra. Although Debussy refused to comply with Allan's demands, he did agree that Ernest Bloch could alter the score to accommodate a smaller orchestra. From Allan's letters to both
Debussy and Durand during July and August, 1916, it is apparent that she was extremely anxious. She wrote to Durand on August 7, 1916,

Will you be kind enough to let me hear from you as soon as possible. I do not want Mr Bloch to do this work if there is any chance of Mr Debussy finishing it. It seems to me as though I were never going to be able to give Khamma as it should be given, even though I am spending a large sum for beautiful scenery and stage production.

Chimenes (1978) p28

Allan was forced to abandon her plans for mounting Khamma and at the last moment substituted Nair the Slave. In December, 1919, Allan’s musical mentor and teacher, Busoni, attempted to lengthen Khamma. In a letter to Philip Jarnach he wrote,

I made the use of my free time yesterday to do my friend Maud the favour of looking through an unpublished score of Debussy’s, which he constructed, prepared, tailored and compiled at Maud’s commission. Maud needed more freedom of motion (ie time) than the composition permitted, and I took it upon myself to edit the work.

Busoni in Beaumont, 1987, p301

In the early 1920s Allan approached the director of Paris’ Opera-Comique with the proposal to mount Khamma. Nothing came of this suggestion. In 1923, Allan and Percy Pitt, artistic director of the British National Opera Company, were in correspondence about the possibility of Khamma being performed in the 1924 London season, but it also ended in failure.
It was clearly Allan's intention that Khamma was to be the replacement for her *Vision of Salomé*. She wrote a letter to Durand on August 6, 1912 describing *Khamma* as her "chef d'oeuvre". Allan was embroiled in the struggle with Debussy for a six year period. She had originally expected delivery of the score at the end of February 1911. Stories in the London press in November 1910 anticipated Allan's return to The Palace with a new dance to original music by Debussy. When she did reappear at The Palace between February 11 and the first week of April, 1911, she included a dance to Debussy's *Sacree et Profane*. From extant correspondence from Allan to Debussy and his agent, Durand, it is evident that she was greatly distressed by Debussy's failure to deliver a satisfactory score. In a letter to Debussy on September 5, 1912, Allan wrote,

> I cannot believe that you realize the great loss and anxiety you are causing me or you certainly would not persist in it! Believe me dear Mr Debussy, Khamma needs alterations, and I ask you again to realize this now and not cause further delay and possible trouble but agree to get to it at once. It really is so unfair and I am being prevented from booking dates for its production!

Chimenes, 1978, p21

Allan had planned to present *Khamma* at The Palace Theatre as the wording of the original contract gave her the rights in England to perform only at London's Palace Theatre. To date, there is little information on The Palace Theatre manager, Butt's involvement in the affair. In a letter to Durand 12/2/13, Allan referred to Butt's delayed return to London and
thus her inability to consult with him about her ballet plans. In another letter from Allan to Durand 26/7/16 she refers to Butt having written to Durand. However it was Allan herself, who signed the contract with Debussy and wrote the cheques.

It is obvious that Allan was in a crisis situation in 1912-13. When she recognized that she had reached a stalemate with Debussy, she began to search around for another dance scenario. Busoni made an attempt to sketch out a new dance scenario for Allan. There is evidence from a remark made by Busoni's biographer, Dent (1933 p 201) that in March 1913 Allan was in a depressed state of mind over the failure to mount Khamma.

6.32 Choreographic Aspects

6.321 Dance Movement

Allan and Courtney's ballet scenario was originally called Isis. The story is an adaptation from Gaston Maspero's Contes populaires de l'Egypte ancienne entitled "La fille du prince de Bakhtan et esprit possesser." The action takes place in the inner temple of the ancient Egyptian sun god Amun-Ra on an overcast late afternoon. Besieging hordes surround the city as the high priest prays to the stone god for deliverance. No answer is forthcoming, but the high priest has an intuition that the dancer Khamma may hold the secret of victory. In scene 2 Khamma enters, veiled. She wishes to escape from the present troubles. As moonlight floods the temple, she prostrates herself before Amun-Ra and performs three dances to persuade him to deliver his people from the invaders. When the hands of the
statue begin to move, she performs an ecstatic fourth dance of
delirious joy, at the climax of which she falls dead to the
ground, accompanied by a flash of lightning and a
thunderclap. In scene 3 the high priest and the now
victorious worshippers of Amun-Ra approach the temple at
dawn. The gates are open to reveal the prostrate body of
Khamma: when they realize that she has died to save them,
they curtail their celebrations as the high priest blesses
Khamma’s corpse.

Orledge, 1982, p132

*Khamma* was Allan’s first attempt to include other dancers. To date, she
had always been a soloist. *Khamma* provided roles for the high priest of
Amun-Ra, the dancer, Khamma, and a crowd of besieged Egyptians.

Since Allan’s initial success at The Palace in 1908, the Ballets Russes had
experienced sensational success with its 1909 and 1910 Paris seasons.
Although the company did not appear in London until 1911, its European
successes would not have escaped the attention of Allan and The Palace’s
manager, Butt. One of the biggest sensations of the 1909 summer Paris
season had been *Cleopatre* with a cast which included Nijinsky, Pavlova
and Rubinstein. The audiences had loved the erotic and tragic story and
the exotic sets and costumes of Leon Bakst. The rich and often jarring
colour combinations of Bakst quickly became the fashion both on and off
stage. There are some similarities in the plot structure of *Khamma* and
*Cleopatre* besides the obvious Egyptian locale. In both ballets, dawn breaks
to find a dead body lying tragically in the temple; in *Cleopatre* it is the
body of the male lover, Amoun, while in *Khamma*, it is the body of the female dancer. However there are as many dissimilarities. It may not have been a case of imitation but rather Allan’s astute recognition of contemporary fads. An interest in Egyptology was pervasive in both England and Europe at that time.

Allan’s annotated first proof of the 1912 piano reduction of *Khamma* is extremely valuable for the insights it provides into her preparation for a dance. It is significant that Allan could work from a musical score. Orledge suggests that fingering notations on page fourteen of the proof were probably made by Allan as she tried through this section herself on the piano. She made comments about the music itself. For example, at the end of Scene 1, she wrote in the margin "not enough for stage action."

*Khamma* does not enter until Scene II. The first proof score itself has some directions concerning the actions of Khamma. For example at the opening of Scene II, it is printed "Khamma restee seule, chere a s’enfuir." (Khamma is alone, looking around for a means of escape) which leads to *La Peur de Khamma*. On page 14 the printed instructions stated "Khamma se relevee et elle comment les danses destinees a sauver la patrie." Allan has crossed out the printed instruction "Khamma se relevee." According to Orledge in the printed piano reduction put on sale in 1916, more stage directions had been added.
Allan did not appear to have a systematic notation scheme and simply wrote her instructions in words at the appropriate place in the music. Her pencilled-in choreographic instructions are mainly restricted to the three dances in Scene II leading to Khamma's eventual death. Some of the notes refer to staging; i.e. "turn face god", "toward god further downstage", "middle of stage". Others refer to actual movement such as "up and down", "arms symmetrical", "position", "prepare". Some refer to gestures such as "hands under chin", "right profile", while others deal with the use of props and costumes such as "unveil right facing statue", "unclasp robe" or "throw robe at feet of God".

6.322 Aural Elements

The music, Khamma, does not deserve the obscurity it has today. Although Debussy abandoned the orchestration of this piece, he was not displeased with his work. He would not agree to expand the piece as he felt it was proportionally perfect. Although it is outside the parameters of this thesis to analyze the musical significance of Khamma, it is important to stress that without Allan's commission this piece of music would not exist.

6.323 Visual Setting

Allan not only recognized the potential of commissioning Debussy to
compose original dance music. She was the first to commission the renowned book illustrator, Edmund Dulac (b.1882-d.1953) to create sets and costumes for *Khamma*. Dulac's biographer, White (1976) states that he received Allan's commission in 1912. Dulac was associated with Oriental themes by virtue of his 20 book plates illustrating Hodder and Stoughton's 1909 gift edition of *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*. Dulac was impressed and influenced by the work of the Russian costume and set designer Bakst. After Allan's commission Dulac received other theatrical projects. In Autumn 1915 Thomas Beecham asked Dulac to create sets and costumes for a production of Bach's *Phoebus and Pan* for the newly formed Beecham Opera Company. This production premiered in May 1916. Beecham's successful production with Dulac's elaborate sets and costumes might well have exacerbated Allan's sense of frustration over her failure to mount *Khamma*. Dulac continued to create theatrical designs during his lifetime. From White's (1976) chronology it is clear that Allan was the first to recognize the potential of Dulac as a stage designer.

Allan loaned Dulac's designs from *Khamma* for an exhibition of his works organized by Martin Birnbaum, a partner in the New York art dealers firm, Scott and Fowles, in November 1916. In Allan's letter to Percy Pitt, April 2, 1923, she stated that she had Dulac's stage set model and costume designs. To date these set and costume designs have not been located.
6.33 Summary

A significant factor to be examined is the chronological time frame of Allan's commission for an original Debussy dance score in context with other dance works commissioned from Debussy. Although in July 1909 Diaghilev commissioned Debussy to compose the score for a proposed three act ballet set in 18th Century Italy, the music was never written. The first original Debussy music used by the Ballet Russes was *Jeux* which premiered in Paris in May 1913. Diaghilev had commissioned the score in July, 1912. D'Annunzio's commission in December 1910 for incidental music for his play, *Le martyre de Saint Sebastian* premiered in Paris in May 1911. Therefore, Allan's commission in September 1910 and scheduled Spring 1911 premiere of *Khamma* would have predated these productions. Indeed, Debussy's failure to deliver her commission at the same time as he produced works for other dancers would have only added to her distress. Allan had been in the forefront in recognizing the potential of using Debussy as a composer for original dance music. This is further evidence of her musical knowledge and recognition of contemporary artistic trends.

Allan was also in the forefront in using existing music by Debussy. She danced to *Danse Sacree et Profane* (composed in 1904) in February, 1911. Nijinsky premiered his controversial dance to Debussy's *L'apres-midi d'un faune* (composed in 1894) in May 1912. Loie Fuller and partner,
Fernard Ochre, danced to *Nocturne* (composed in 1899) in May 1913. London's Alhambra Theatre used *Printemps* (composed in 1886) in its revue "Printemps-Not Likely!" in May 1914 after Debussy's failure to deliver his commissioned score. According to Layson's (1987) choreochronicle, Duncan never used Debussy music. Shelton (1981) p 148 states that St Denis did not use composers such as Schubert or Debussy until the arrival of Louis Horst in the early 1920s. Therefore it can clearly be seen that Allan independently chose Debussy's music for her dances. She selected existing music and commissioned an original score from Debussy before other contemporary dancers.

Allan's unexplained inertia and absence from the London stage in 1912 can be interpreted differently with an understanding of her struggle with Debussy. She may have been eclipsed by the popularity of Diaghilev's Ballet Russes and Russian dancers such as Pavlova appearing at London Music Halls. On the other hand, if Allan had managed to mount *Khamma* in 1911, with original music by Debussy and sets and costumes by Dulac, her destiny may have been altered. There is no way of knowing if *Khamma* would have been a critical or popular success. Allan herself recognized the need for a new signature dance to replace *Vision of Salomé*. She met with only frustration and failure in her attempts to produce a new key dance.
6.4 Conclusion

This empirical study of two key dances in Allan's repertoire is essential for a deeper understanding of her career. The background information on each of these dances has been provided. As in Chapter Five choreographic aspects, including several components of the dance; namely aural, visual and dance movement, have been examined. In the case of Khamma although the dance was never performed, the annotated piano score gives the dance scholar insights into her choreographic process and illustrates her close connection with music.

The Vision of Salomé established Allan's reputation. It has been shown that Allan's artistic intent in presenting this dance differed profoundly from the intent of her many imitators. However Allan has taken on the identity of "the Salomé dancer" which to date has largely stood unchallenged.

The study of Khamma has uncovered much new information. Here is a further opportunity to examine the issue of Allan as innovator or imitator. Allan's commissioning of Debussy for the music and Dulac for the sets and costumes illustrates her ability to make independent artistic decisions. If Khamma had been mounted as scheduled in the Spring of 1911, her production would have superseded by two years the Ballets Russes' Jeux with original music by Debussy. The fact that Allan's
ambitious dance was not mounted does not detract from her intent. As well it has been proven that she was one of the first early modern dancers to chose existing music by Debussy. It has been established with the example of *Khamma* that Allan was certainly not an imitator but rather a pioneer.
1. This information is taken from Michel (1946 p 18) and from Fuller (1913). In the 1907 Salomé the music was composed by Florent Schmitt.

2. According to Who Was Who in Theatre 1912-1976 (1978, p342-43) Courtney was a dramatist, journalist and literary reviewer. He had written numerous works on ethics and metaphysics and several plays including Undine played by Mrs Patrick Moore at London's Criterion Theatre in 1906. A collection of his plays entitled Dramas and Diversions was published in 1908.

3. Allan agreed to pay Debussy 20,000 Francs: 10,000 Francs on signature of contract, 5000 when score delivered and a final 5000 after the fourteenth performance. Allan wrote Debussy a cheque for 10,000 Francs on October 15, 1910, (£395.17.7) and another on April 16, 1913 for £200.00, (equivalent to 500 Francs) This would have been the second instalment to be paid when the score had been delivered. Needless to say, Allan was never in a position to pay the third instalment. According to Orledge (1982 p 162) a contract between Debussy and Diaghilev for Jeux, signed in June 1912 was for 10,000 Francs; half the fee paid by Allan for Khamma. According to Orledge (1980 p 191) Debussy signed a contract with London's Alhambra Theatre November 27, 1913 for 25,000 Francs for Le Palais du silence: 10,000 on signature, 10,000 on delivery of the scores and 5000 on the first performance. In total Debussy actually received 35,000 Francs for these three contracts although he only fulfilled his contractual obligations to Diaghilev. Both Allan's and The Alhambra's commissioned works were not performed by the original contractors. For a full account of Debussy's dealings with The Alhambra Theatre, see Orledge (1982) Chapter 8 "The Alhambra Theatre: No-ja-li or Le palais du silence and Printemps (1913-14)."

4. Charles Koechlin did five-sixths of the orchestration work between December 1912 and the end of January, 1913.

5. To date no information has been uncovered to explain Allan's choice of Nair the Slave as a replacement for Khamma. There are many questions still to be answered. Where did Allan get the idea for the scenario and the music? Did she adapt the Dulac sets and costumes for Khamma? Was the cost of mounting Nair the Slave a factor in the failure of Allan's 1916 North American tour? An extant programme for Nair the Slave has yet to be found. The story was taken from the Italian novelist, Pietro Boldrini and the music was by Enrico Belpassi, a conductor in Rome.

It told the story of the bringing of a white slave to the tent of an
Oriental prince, who adored her beauty at first sight, but the eyes of the white slave and the prince’s younger brother had met and the younger man could no longer find pleasure in the songs of the other slave girls. At last the white slave crept to him from the room of the prince, who followed to find her in his brother’s arms. As the men struggled, the white slave stabbed her master, but the young man saved her from the wrath of the servants and the tableau shows them passing together into the Oriental night.

Mail and Empire, October 6, 1916

It included a cast of six including a male principal, Stafford Pemberton. The reviews of Nair the Slave emphasized the sets and costumes rather than the dance itself. The set was a great opulent pavilion with the desert visible beyond the open flaps. An unidentified review described it as "play dance" lasting nearly an hour with Allan taking the prominent role. The other cast members appear to have taken minor roles and did little actual dance.

6. Three letters from Maud Allan to Percy Pitt, artistic director of the British National Opera Company, are located in the British Library, Egerton 3304, no.14, 15 & 16. I thank Professor Robert Orledge, Music Department, University of Liverpool for bringing these letters to my attention.

7. The Daily Express, November 22, 1910 reported, "Debussy, the famous French composer, is writing special music, to which Miss Maud Allan will dance." On November 23, 1910, The Daily Graphic quoted The Palace’s manager, Butt, as saying Debussy had written some special numbers for Allan and although a contract had not yet been signed, he anticipated that Allan would be performing these dances at The Palace.

8. The Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin, holds 3 copies of the scenario entitled "Tanz vom Leben und Tod" in the Busoni collection. He described his scenario in a letter to his wife dated March 6, 1913.

The story of a girl is told in pictures with the very good title of "The Dance of Life and Death." A music-hall is seen on the stage with a scene in the style of a Beardsley picture; a dancing hall in Paris; a dance with barrel-organ in the streets of London; and the end (in my manner) is mystical; in a church, in front of a remarkable altar; on it is a group of figures with the cross in the middle; right and left, the figures of Death and the Angel of Resurrection. There is a dance of Death and much else. It could be very good, lovely and true; at the same time, it is made of stuff that lasts. But --- (All kinds of dances take place; beginning with a sort of game of tennis), which is
danced, a gypsy dance, pantomime, Grande Valse, and cancan, street dance (on the parapet of a bridge), religious dance, and the dance of death.

Busoni (1938, p220)

9. To date the scenario by Allan and Courtney has not been located. According to Chimenes (1978) a nine page French manuscript in Debussy's handwriting is held at Paris' Bibliotheque Nationale, Res. Th b.126.

10. For further information on background history of this ancient Egyptian tale, refer to Orledge (1982) p 132.

11. Orledge made this observation in a letter to me (February 13, 1992) after his examination of Allan's annotated first proof of *Khamma* which I had sent to him.

12. The first concert version of *Khamma* was performed at the Concerts Colonne, in Paris on November 15, 1924. The first dance version was performed at the Opera-Comique on March 26, 1947. The choreographer was Jean-Jacques Etcheverry. The music was recorded by The French National Radio Orchestra in 1974 and is available on EMI/Angel recording 'Debussy: Complete Orchestral Music, Album 5. It is also included in the complete works of Debussy recorded by the Finnish Radio Symphony orchestra, Virgin Classic 540182 CD.

13. This letter is located in the British Library, Egerton 3304. no. 14. It is possible that preliminary sketches may be amongst Dulac's papers which have been disbursed to many libraries in England and the United States.

14. For an account of this ballet and Debussy's reaction, see Orledge (1982) p 157.
7. CONCLUSION: HER PLACE
    Role model in British Western Early Modern Theatre Dance

As emphasized throughout this thesis, in the general dance history literature the role of Maud Allan in the development of western early modern theatre dance has not been recognized. She is frequently characterized as an imitator and most often compared unfavourably with Isadora Duncan or, to a lesser extent, with Ruth St. Denis. That brief footnote reference often describes her as "the Salomé dancer." She is rarely credited with bringing any innovation to her form of dance. It is the tacit understanding in dance history literature that Allan was a second-rate performer or artistically inferior to other early pioneers of modern dance.

This current largely negative perception of Allan is perplexing since readings of contemporary descriptions of her performances present a much more positive image. It is the hypothesis of this thesis that Allan has been misunderstood, misrepresented and under-rated as a pioneer with a significant role in the formation of western early modern theatre dance. Her role as a choreographic innovator may have been minor, but her function as a proselytiser for modern dance in Britain has hitherto not been addressed.

An examination of the literature as described in 1.4 revealed a plethora of inaccuracies and wrong information pertaining to Allan's career which
have been uncritically accepted and repeated in discussions of her role in early modern dance. The encyclopedia entries are riddled with misinformation. A truly shocking example is the reference to Allan in Wyman's book *Dance Canada* which states, "Born in Toronto in 1883, Allan trained in San Francisco and Europe, and made her dancing debut in Vienna when she was 20, performing the *Vision of Salomé*, to the Richard Strauss score." (1989, pp 58-59). She was born in 1873 thus making her thirty years of age at the time of her debut which was not with *The Vision of Salomé*. This dance was first performed in 1906 to music by Marcel Remy and not Richard Strauss. Even the information concerning Allan training in San Francisco and Europe fails to state that she was studying the piano and not dance. Yet this influential history of Canadian dance is a major source material for Canadian dance history students.

Among the many inaccuracies in The *Biographical Dictionary of Dance* (Cohen-Stratyner ed. 1982) is this judgemental unsubstantiated comment on her Salomé dance. "Created in 1908 [sic] for performance in London, according to current research, her *Salomé* brought her fame as an erotic dancer, not an interpreter of culture". Allan's entry in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Ballet* has less inaccuracies, but it still manages to give the wrong birth date of 1880, and attributes *The Vision of Salomé* as her debut dance. However it clarifies that it was not to the music of Strauss, "as often stated", but rather by Marcel Remy (1982, p9). Therefore anyone with the curiosity to consult an encyclopedia to get a thumbnail sketch on the
career of Allan finds inaccuracies and value loaded judgements. Also discussed in section 1.4 of this thesis were many examples in recent dance history literature of gross inaccuracies as well as uncritical acceptance of Allan's supposed negative image.

As well as revealing misinformation, 1.4 also examines the issue of biased and judgemental attitudes of some contemporary critics and fellow dancers. Several people such as the dance critic Svetlov or the ballet dancer, Bedells, had a strong preference for ballet dancing and faulted Allan for her lack of technique. Other early modern dance pioneers such as St. Denis or Duncan may have resented Allan for her greater popularity with audiences. Both St. Denis and Duncan maligned Allan as an imitator. For example St. Denis suggested that Allan had taken Duncan's Greek rhythms and her arm movements. Thus the first chapter of this thesis is entitled The Facts and The Fiction since so much of the published information to date on Allan is not factual.

Therefore my methodology centred around discovering as much as possible about both her life and work in order to test the statements published in the dance history literature. Existing statements concerning Allan have been examined to evaluate their validity and discover if my research corroborates their claims of Allan's reputation as a second rate imitator without valid artistic integrity. It certainly is not the intent of this
thesis to save or redeem the reputation of Allan, but rather to examine objectively the rationale for her placement in the history of early modern dance.

If much of the existing material on Allan is inaccurate, it was incumbent upon me to attempt to establish a more accurate biographical account.

Chapter 2. Salomé's Unveiling: Allan's Life and Appendix I: Chronology provide a starting point for an examination of her life. There are still a number of question marks such as the missing months in 1912 when Allan, seemingly at the height of her career, disappeared from the professional stage. It is tempting to conjecture about this mysterious time. It is known that she was in battle with Debussy over the completion of her commissioned score for her intended new dance, *Khamma*. She had met Leo Cherniavsky, a romantic interest, at the end of 1911. My research uncovered that they began to organize a tour of the Far East together in 1913 and so it is likely that they were involved during that period in 1912. She took a twenty year lease on West Wing, the palatial house in Regent’s Park in July, 1913 and yet left for a two year absence just months later in November 1913. This decision to lease a large impressive home and the publicity attendant with the signing of the lease may be yet another clue to Allan’s character. In 1912 Pavlova had purchased Ivy House, North End Road, Hampstead, which had once been the home of the British painter Turner. According to Beaumont "On the completion of various
alterations, Pavlova celebrated her entering into possession by holding on June 13th, a grand house-warming, at which the elite of society was present” (1932, p 17). The next year Allan was interviewed in her new home telling the reporter “There are two spacious lawns and if the weather was fine enough I should use one of them for dancing.” This article in London’s *Evening News* (July 9, 1913) also described her new home. “The front door opens into a conservatory and beyond is a Jacobean dining room. The hall is hung with 14th Century Italian tapestry.” In light of the fact that Pavlova had seemingly usurped Allan’s star standing at The Palace Theatre, perhaps her conspicuous leasing of an impressive address in Regents Park was a desperate move to validate her role and success as a dancer.

The chapters 3. *Allan Stranded in Germany 1895–1907* and 4. *Allan in Edwardian London* provide a more detailed contextual background on key periods in her life. An essential new issue discussed in the thesis is the influence of early German expressionism on Allan’s work. Her dance, with its attempt to express strong emotions through movement and the rejection of balletic tradition, shares certain common characteristics with other forms of early German expressionist arts. Her choice of Salomé as subject matter is further evidence of her shared interest with fellow artists to explore the darker sides of sexuality. Another point of significance concerning the German expressionists’ philosophy was their enthusiasm
and interest in experimenting in a variety of art forms. In this context, Allan's previously unexplained transference from classical pianist to dancer is more understandable.

An integral component to this thesis is the study of Allan's choreographic and performance style and the first original compilation of a choreochronicle (Appendix II). The image of Allan as limited to "the Salomé dancer" has been disproved. She choreographed new dances continually over her three decade dancing career. The notion of Allan having an evolving dance repertoire has been documented for the first time. It must certainly be acknowledged that her choreographic output was limited compared to other early pioneers of modern dance such as Duncan or St. Denis. The study of her choreographic style also demonstrates her uniqueness amongst her contemporary modern dancers for her specialized knowledge of music and her particular motive of "turning big themes into movement." Her essential purpose as a dancer was to visualize the music she knew so intimately through her many years of training as a classical pianist.

As discussed in detail in Part Two: Her Work it is my contention that Allan's strength lay not in her movement style but rather in her performance style. While her choreographic style did not appear to have strong distinctive features, her performance style projected the
characteristics of propriety and 'ladylikeness'. It was this aura of respectability and acceptability even while performing a dance as controversial as *The Vision of Salomé* which is essential to an understanding of Allan's role in western early modern theatre dance.

It would be perverse and unscholarly not to acknowledge the influence of Duncan on the development of Allan as a dancer. By 1904 Duncan had established a school in the Berlin suburb of Grunewald. Earlier in 1903, she had published her theories of dance in both German and English in which she described the dance of the future "whose body and soul will become the movement of the body" (1903, pp. 24-25). It is clearly evident that Allan was inspired by Duncan's manifesto and performances. However, Allan is labelled the imitator of Duncan. This raises the issue of intellectual property. Duncan was an acknowledged and recognized source of inspiration to a variety of dancers, choreographers and theatre directors such as Vaslav Nijinsky, Mikhail Fokine and Gordon Craig. While it is obvious that Allan was aware, albeit not publically acknowledging this awareness, of Duncan's work and philosophy of dance, is it not conceivable that Duncan was one of the many sources of inspiration which together formed the dance ideas of Maud Allan? It is likely that her musical mentor, Busoni, and the stimulating and challenging ideas of early German expressionism would have had an equal influence on Allan's evolution into a dancer.
Indeed, Allan’s dance repertoire with its strong emphasis and identification on serious classical music may have, in turn, exerted an influence on other modern dance pioneers. The dance historian Elizabeth Kendall goes so far as to postulate that Allan’s musical choices may have influenced Duncan’s own musical selections. She suggests that Duncan may have been “pushed towards using classical music by the example of another American [sic] girl, Maud Allan” (1979, p 67).

A comparison of Allan’s choreochronicle with those of other dancers provides conclusive evidence that she did not have a pattern of consistently taking the ideas from the successful repertoire of her contemporaries. Again this is not to deny that she appears to have copied on several occasions. For example, her debut choice of *Spring Song* (1903) to Mendelssohn’s popular music was an obvious borrowing from Duncan. As discussed in 5.241 Movement Captured: *Spring Song* Duncan had introduced a dance in 1898 known as *La Primavera* to the same music. The similarity of Allan’s costume of a Grecian tunic in a shade of pink with flowers in her hair to descriptions of Duncan’s costume leads to the conclusion that she most likely had copied it. Another flagrant example was Allan’s opportunistic choice of *Marseillaise* at St.Martin’s Theatre, London in October 1917. According to Layson’s choreochronicle A (1987), Duncan introduced a dance to Rouget de Lisle’s music in 1908 and performed it frequently to patriotic audiences during the early years of
World War One. On the other hand, Duncan introduced her *Moonlight Sonata* the year after Allan first choreographed a dance to Beethoven’s evocative music at her debut performance in 1903. Duncan introduced *Funeral March* to Chopin’s *Sonata in B minor* in 1913, ten years after Allan’s debut of a dance to the same music. While *Funeral March* is associated with Allan from the inception of her dance career, it is identified with the middle period of Duncan’s career. Does this prove that Allan and Duncan were blatantly copying from each other? I would suggest that both these pioneers of modern dance had their own musical preferences. For example, Duncan chose Gluck and Wagner while Allan selected Grieg and Debussy. At times, their musical choices overlapped.

However, Allan’s unique advantage of an in-depth knowledge of classical music and her continuing association with Busoni made her more adventurous and experimental in her musical selections than her contemporaries. In later programmes, she introduced short dances to relatively obscure modernists such as the Russian, Rebikow. While Duncan’s musical selections had to rely on first hearing works in concerts and later listening to records or engaging pianists to find and play possible music, Allan remained intimately connected with music. One of the values of the discovery of Allan’s annotated *Khamma* score is the insight it provides into her choreographic process. She actually conceptualized the movement as she read the musical score.
As demonstrated in Part One: Her Life Allan’s life experiences and background differed greatly from other North American pioneers of modern dance such as Duncan and St. Denis. Although she was North American by birth, she spent her formative young adult years immersed in European culture. More specifically, she trained as a serious classical pianist and had a much deeper musical foundation than any of her contemporary modern dancers. When her education, experiences and the cultural, political and social contexts for her developmental years are taken into consideration, she cannot so easily be written off as a mere imitator.

The issue of Allan as a second-rate artist has also been challenged by my research. There has been the repetitive contention in the literature concerning Allan that her British success was essentially the result of a carefully orchestrated and manipulative publicity campaign. Several sources maintained that a titillating publicity pamphlet was replicated by most of the London newspapers in their reviews of her debut performance. As discussed in detail in 4.4 Allan: Star Turn at the Palace Theatre this assertion has been disproved by research. A careful examination of nine London newspaper reviews on March 7, 1908 reveals that the writers did not rely on or reproduce large segments of the publicity material. In fact they all found this material to be offensive and condemned the sensationalism of the pamphlet. Yet this theory of Allan’s
London success being the result of a clever publicity campaign has been unquestionably accepted. Peggie discussing the next generation of British modern dancers perpetuates this perception. "As far as audiences were concerned, they would only come to see the new and unusual, if it had been promoted well in advance and in a sensational manner, as the dancing of Maud Allen [sic] had been a few years earlier" (1989, p.43).

Yet there has to be an underlying reason for the perception of Allan as an inferior talent to her contemporary pioneers of modern dance. Why was Allan perceived by some critics of her time and many dance historians as a music hall vulgarian while she considered herself to be a serious artist? This is the crux of the issue — Allan's own artistic intent contrasted to her critics' and audiences' perceptions of her performances. Although she may have sincerely believed in the integrity of her art, her choice of subject matter and costume, especially in The Vision of Salomé, may have been the unintentional cause of the misunderstanding of her serious intent. If she deliberately chose to titillate her audience with dark sexual overtones and glimpses of naked flesh, then the accepted view of Allan would be accurate. But if she was an advocate of early German expressionism and a believer in dress reform and freer attitudes, then she has been misunderstood. Allan's personal life adds to this paradox. Unlike Duncan, who as a proponent of dress reform, wore free-flowing street clothing, Allan presented herself off-stage as the epitome of conventional
Edwardian style with dresses nipped in tightly at the waist and huge overblown hats. Allan's endorsement of early German expressionism in her artistic life, while at the same time clinging to conventionalities in her personal life, adds to the confusion and presents perplexing ambiguities.

Any discussion of audience's perceptions in the context of Allan's performances must acknowledge the 'male gaze' theory of representation which, simply put, offers a subject/object model of the performer/spectator relationship. The spectator, traditionally male, is in a position of power while the performer, in this case Allan, is placed in a passive role. No doubt there was a strong element of sexualization by many of the male spectators who had come to expect a suggestive or coquettish display from Victorian music hall dancers. However, this male gaze theory becomes problematic as the majority of Allan's audience were female. A more significant factor is that nearly all the critics at the time were male. Carter's thesis (1993) 'Winged and Shivering': Images of Dancers in the Alhambra and Empire Ballets 1884–1915 provides an excellent companion piece to this thesis and from a feminist model examines the issue of the perceived questionable status of women professional dancers.

Ann Daly in "Dance History and the Feminist Theory: Reconsidering Isadora Duncan and the Male Gaze" (1992) discusses the works of a variety
of scholars who have developed more complex models going from a two-dimensional to a three-dimensional model. In her essay, Daly postulates that “Duncan’s choreography offered her spectators a new kind of meaning and demanded from them a new way of seeing” (1992, p241). She suggests that her performance was “a kinaesthetic experience in which the spectators actively participated” (p.255). It can be argued that this “new way of seeing” can be applied to Allan’s dances as well.

Who were Allan’s audiences? The best documented information describes her audience at London’s Palace Theatre where she drew packed houses at every performance. The London Weekly Dispatch, March 15, 1908 reported that “it has become a fashionable craze to see her dance.” The article gave an impressive list of those who had already attended her performances which included several society notables, members of parliament and, on one particular night, a wedding party including six bridesmaids and the best man. Along with the society crowd, Allan attracted intellectuals such as the writer Katherine Mansfield and G.B. Shaw. As discussed in 1.4 Review of Literature Perugini noted that “admirers, particularly feminine devotees, flocked to the Palace Theatre to see Miss Maud Allan dance” (1935, p262).

Allan’s popular success and her choice of performance venue certainly has some bearing on her reputation. Dance historians have emphasized that
Duncan refused to perform in the popular British music halls or North American vaudeville theatres and would only consider legitimate theatres and concert halls or private salons. Allan, on the other hand, performed in a variety of venues. The Russian ballerina, Anna Pavlova, also appeared regularly on the music hall stage and yet her reputation as a serious artist has not been questioned. Indeed, it is my contention that Allan's acceptance by middle class and mainly female audiences at London's Palace Theatre sanctioned other dancers to accept engagements at music halls. Duncan's insistence on differentiating between legitimate and popular theatres perpetuated that distinction between high and low art. History has deemed that Duncan's art was "high" while Allan's was "low." In this argument Allan's greater audience popularity at music halls simply supports the 'snob theory' that she appealed to 'the great unwashed masses' while Duncan brought culture to those with the aesthetic sensitivity to appreciate it.

As discussed in 4.4 Allan: Star Turn at the Palace Theatre, after her unprecedented success in 1908, other London music halls were quick to react to Allan's popularity. Many presented parodies such as the Alhambra's "Sal' Oh-My." In no way was Allan the unique target for this particular form of British humour. Parody and satirical cartoons are indigenous and sophisticated forms of wit. However, other cultures, notably North American, may have missed the subtlety of this peculiar
form of British culture and misconstrued good-natured parody for contempt of Allan’s performances.

It has been documented in 6.2 Vision of Salomé (1906): Allan’s Signature Dance that Allan’s dance spawned many imitators and a Salomé craze swept the stages on both sides of the Atlantic. While Gertrude Hoffman imitated Allan nightly at New York’s Paradise Roof Garden in 1908, Allan and Palace director, Alfred Butt sought an injection against Maud Dennis, an England based dancer who claimed to be the original creator of the Salomé dance. The essential fact is the failure on the part of most dance historians to differentiate between Allan’s motives for choosing Salomé as her subject matter (based on her interest in early German expressionism) and the crass commercial motives of her imitators and their promoters. This has led to the continued misunderstanding and besmirching of Allan’s reputation.

As well as uncovering much information to challenge Allan’s characterization as an exploitive imitator, evidence has been discovered of her innovative contributions to the emerging modern dance art form. It has been established that Allan had a strong musical background as a result of her long years as a classical pianist student. Her fortuitous association with the open-minded and modernist pianist and teacher, Ferruccio Busoni, sheds light on her dance career. After attending his
master classes in Weimar in 1901, he became Allan's mentor and supportive friend until his death in 1924. As discussed in 3.4 Busoni has been credited with discovering and encouraging Allan's talent as a dancer. His progressive aesthetic theories of music and acceptance of twentieth century composers such as Debussy had an obvious influence on Allan and her own musical choices.

My research led to the discovery of Allan being in the forefront of recognizing the potential of using Debussy as a composer for original dance music. When Allan's commissioning of Khamma in September 1910 is put in a chronological time frame with other Debussy commissioned dance music, it is revealed that she was in the vanguard. If Debussy had honoured his commitment, Allan's proposed Spring 1911 debut of Khamma would have predated other dance productions with original music by Debussy. Even though she was disappointed with the failure of Khamma to be delivered on time, she was one of the first dancers to use existing music by Debussy with her 1911 choreography to Danse Sacree et Profane. Here is a clear example of Allan being an innovator rather than an imitator.

The Khamma episode illustrates another original discovery by Allan. She gave the book illustrator, Dulac, his first opportunity to design sets and costumes. It was after Allan's commission that Dulac received other
theatrical projects. Allan was the first to recognize Dulac's potential as a stage designer.

All the above examples debunk the myth of Allan as merely a second-rate imitator. However as already emphasized in this concluding chapter, it is my contention that Allan's greatest contribution to early British modern dance was her function as a role model and legitimizer. Her example prepared the path for the next generation of modern dancers in Britain.

The immediate result of her 1908 London success at The Palace Theatre was setting the precedent for other serious dancers to perform in a music hall venue. The ballerina, Pavlova, followed close on the heels of Allan performing at The Palace Theatre in 1910. Indeed, Allan's uniqueness was quickly usurped by the introduction of Russian dancers at several music halls and The Ballets Russes appearances at Covent Garden beginning in the summer of 1911. The press had already explored the issue of a possible rivalry between Allan, the new-style barefoot dancer, and Pavlova, the Russian classically trained ballerina. For as yet unknown reasons, Allan was omitted from The Royal Performance for the Music Hall Benevolent Fund held in July 1, 1912 in the presence of King George V.

Allan had made the music hall a permissable and respectable venue for a serious dancer. As early as 1911, the London drama and music critic B.W. Findon (b.1859–d.1943), came to this conclusion. As editor of *The Play*
issue of the revival of interest in theatrical dancing in London.

If I were asked to state a rough and ready opinion as to the cause of this renewed interest in the *Première Ballerine*, I should give the credit in the first place to Maud Allan and secondly to Anna Pavlova. I do not class Miss Allan among the great dancers—I always feel she has left her skipping rope in the dressing room—but she has wonderful grace and a power of fascination that but few dancers have equalled. She is herself and invites no comparisons.

*The Play Pictorial*, June 1911 (No9, Vol Xviii)

Along with legitimizing the music hall stage for other professional dancers, she served as a role model for the next generation. Mothers took their young daughters to see Allan dance. In a letter (pers corres.) on February 8, 1989 Anita Heyworth¹ (b. 1905–d.1992), who was Madge Atkinson’s first dance pupil and a leading pioneer in dance education in Britain, recalled seeing Allan perform.

I saw her dance twice when I was a child and Madge Atkinson and my mother took me to two of her performances, one in London and one in Manchester which was our home town where Madge had her School of Natural Movement. I have very hazy memories of a lovely dancer, and my mother told me that she moved in a similar style to that of Isadora Duncan whose performances she had seen in Germany before she married my father. Maud Allan has always been considered an imitator of Duncan, but whether this is a fair assessment I do not know as I was too young to judge, nor had I seen Isadora Duncan myself.

These comments are significant for a number of reasons. The fact that Madge Atkinson took a pupil to witness the performances of Allan is evidence that she considered her to be of sufficient artistic merit and
worthiness to attend her performance. The fact that she took her student to two performances, one in London and one in Manchester, provides further proof that they had attended for more than prurient interest or to denigrate Allan's talent. Heyworth's mother, who had seen Duncan perform in Germany, suggested that Allan moved in a similar style. Heyworth was not prepared to accept on blind faith history's condemnation of Allan as imitator. She never saw Duncan dance and therefore she was not prepared to offer an opinion. She had only "hazy memories of a lovely dancer."

Madge Atkinson (b.1885–d.1970) established the Madge Atkinson School of Natural Movement in Manchester in 1918. She had studied several forms of dance and had visited London prior to 1914 to widen her dance experience. It is quite likely that she attended performances by Allan. It is acknowledged that Atkinson was influenced by Duncan. The basis of her method of natural movement was everyday movement actions in which her students were barefoot and dressed in loosely fitting Grecian style tunics. The movements were accompanied by a selection of music from classical composers. According to Peggie in her study "The Missionary Dream: Women Pioneers working in Britain during the first half of the twentieth century" (1989) Atkinson was a follower rather than an imitator of Duncan and built up that which had interested and excited her in Duncan's work. The fact that she took her first student, Heyworth, to
see Allan perform twice indicates that rather than the passive influence exerted by Duncan, who rarely performed in Britain, a more direct influence came from Allan’s example.

The fact that Heyworth saw one of Allan’s performances in Manchester raises another issue. Allan made several tours of the English provinces appearing for a short duration at numerous theatres. For example, after her 1909 appearance at London’s Palace Theatre, she immediately began an extended tour of the provinces. *The Daily Mail*, March 26, 1909 reported that she would make her first tour travelling for six weeks by motor car. It was stressed that all the performances would be made in concert halls or theatres. The article gave an indication of the scope of the tour which included England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Eire. All her props and settings including the “tableaux curtains, velvet hangings and scenery—exactly as at The Palace Theatre” accompanied her. Thus audiences throughout England, Scotland and Ireland were given the opportunity to see Allan dance in a one hour program presenting a selection of her dances along with *The Vision of Salomé*. The tour was not without controversy with many of the towns attempting to ban her performance of *The Vision of Salomé*. This debate allowed Allan to make public statements defending her art and educating her audience.
For example, in Preston, where she received several curtain calls, she defended her art to the *Daily Dispatch*.

"Why was the Salomé dance given after a promise to delete it?" queried our representative.

"I had made no such promise," replied Miss Allan "for the simple reason that every item in my repertoire is pure and chaste. I cannot strike one number from my programme and be true to myself, true to my artistic instinct, and true to my ideal."

*Daily Dispatch*, April 24, 1909

As well as the opportunity to make statements to the press elucidating her artistic intent, her performances were reviewed in the local newspapers. For example, the *Worthing Gazette* reviewed her September matinee performance in which she performed *Peer Gynt, Spring Song, Papillons*, and *Valse Caprice*.

It may be stated that Miss Allan presented her large and appreciative audience with a charming and novel performance distinguished by Modesty, Grace and Refinement.

With long tapering fingers and flexible arms continually in motion, the dancer shows that every single action has been carefully studied and is performed with Singular Expressiveness, all the movements of the dancer being perfectly rhythmic, every note struck on the piano having its precise values.

*Worthing Gazette*, September 9, 1909

Allan made other lengthy provincial tours in 1911, 1917 and various sorties out into the provinces in the 1920s. Thus these tours provided a much wider audience than simply Londoners with the opportunity to be
introduced to this new form of western early modern theatre dance. By her touring Allan played a pivotal role proselytizing for a new dance form.

Along with her role of introducing many members of the public to early modern theatre dance, she fought hard to make it acceptable and legitimate. Examples throughout the thesis attest to her feisty defense of the artistic intent of her work; especially with her choice of Salomé as the subject matter of one of her many dances. She also defended the costume convention of bare limbs and minimal Greek tunics.

Two non-artistic issues in Allan’s life had a major negative impact on the public’s perception of her reputation and indirectly of her artistic worth; namely her brother’s execution as the consequence of murdering two girls and her 1918 libel trial. Both of these traumatic events were discussed in Chapter Two Salomé’s Unveiling: Allan’s Life. Although Allan attempted to disassociate herself with her brother’s crimes, the connection was known. The accusation of tainted blood with siblings sharing similar psychological characteristics was brought forth in the 1918 libel trial which was widely covered in the British newspapers. As well in the libel trial Allan defended the work of Oscar Wilde, the man vilified by the English public only a few years earlier during his own well-publicized trial. No matter how carefully Allan constructed an image of propriety and conventionality, she was haunted by her past. As well she was a
performer, albeit a serious dancer, and thus susceptible to the public's assumptions concerning theatrical morality. Her choice never to marry denied her the protection of her virtue by a husband.

It is inconceivable that the evidence put forth in this thesis does not challenge the accepted negative position of Allan's role in the creation of western early modern theatre dance. However there is still further research and investigation required in order to make a full re-assessment of Allan's rightful place. One of the yet unresolved mysteries surrounds her school established in London in 1935 and advertised in *The Dancing Times*, March 1935 as "The Maud Allan Academy of the Dance and Related Arts." All forms of theatrical dance taught by recognized teachers as well as class and private lessons by Allan herself were advertised. An interview the following year given to an American publication gave some details on Allan's school.

Maud Allan wanted these children to have a well grounded and thorough cultural training so she taught them all of the dance techniques that were right, making it possible for the students to develop in such a way that when they grow older and desire to choose which course they wish to take they will have a basis upon which to chose. As she has a hundred students she wants each one to be capable of going in the direction he prefers.

She is not narrow in her viewpoint. She teaches ballet technique, and thinks tap is delightful when it is danced by someone with a rhythmic ability in that direction. Many of her children love tap dancing. She also teaches them musical comedy and stage dancing because she realizes that most of them must grow up to support themselves.

But the dance is only part of their training. They receive a thorough
musical education as well as corrective speech and are trained in prose reading, poetry and drama. As the school goes on the required work is to be extended and next year two languages, sculpture and painting will be added. She also teaches them costume design and stage management for some of the students may grow up to carry on that work.

The American Dancer, October 1936

To date there is little or no information on record concerning this school. A valuable discovery made at London's Marylebone library was a photograph with Allan and a group of students posed outdoors, probably in the grounds of West Wing. The students, all girls, are wearing a type of gymnastic outfit with dark shorts, white blouses and ties. They are barefoot. Allan is the only adult in the photograph. It would be extremely useful to contact Allan students and record their recollections of the curriculum.

There are other tantalizing pieces of information concerning teaching endeavours by Allan. An unidentified, undated announcement advertised Allan giving twenty hours of Master Classes in "The Art of Dance" which included a lecture period, technique, floor work, posture and appreciation of music as related to dance. These classes were held in Los Angeles and followed from a similar program she had given at the University of California, Berkeley. She also gave master classes in Oakland at The New Concert Hall Studios. It is possible that these classes were given during the period of 1935-38 when Allan was living and
performing in California. Again it would be beneficial to interview any
students who took these California classes to discover valuable insights
into Allan’s vision of dance and her system of making dance.

Just these cursory pieces of information provide clues into Allan’s intent
as a dancer and teacher of dance. As always, a clear connection and the
importance of music as related to dance is stressed by Allan. It can also be
seen that she strove to broaden the cultural horizons of her students by
introducing them to other disciplines such as music and fine arts. A
detailed investigation of her school and Master Classes is essential to a
complete understanding of Allan’s motivations as a dancer.

Another source of material still to be analyzed is the repository of Allan
ephemera in the private collection of Felix Cherniavsky of Edmonton,
Canada. To date access to this material has been denied to dance scholars.
A letter from Professor June Layson to Dr. Cherniavsky in March 1991
requesting access to this material elicited the response that “in the
foreseeable future and as a matter of policy I am unwilling to give anyone
access to my primary material. I know that my policy may be a
disappointment, but in my own interest it is irrevocable. I do not intend to
deposit the material with any institution; it may eventually be open to
offers.” As discussed in 1.4 the book written by Dr. Cherniavsky (1991),
based mainly on this material, is riddled with inaccuracies. This denial of
access creates a continuing problem to all dance scholars working on Maud Allan.

Anyone sensitive to Allan’s dismissive treatment will note that there is a growing awareness about her. Along with dance scholars, artists in a variety of fields are curious about this most enigmatic woman. For example, a novel published in 1993 by Pat Barker entitled *The Eye in the Door*, with a World War One theme, includes Allan as one of the characters. In the Spring of 1994, dancer and choreographer, Paul Ibe y, presented a dance drama entitled *The Last Veil*, an impressionistic dance theatre piece inspired by Maud Allan. The programme notes remark on Allan’s present day relegation to a mere footnote.

The evidence presented in this thesis clearly refutes the notion of Maud Allan as a second-rate imitative dancer restricted to performing *Salomé*. It has been shown that she had an evolving choreographic output that spanned three decades. The choreochronicle demonstrates that there is no discernable pattern of repetitive borrowing of themes and music choices from another dancer. The contextual studies prove that Allan was influenced by a variety of cultural factors including early German expressionism and modernist musical trends. The study of her choreographic style and, in particular, the more detailed analysis in Chapter Six reveals that Allan was an innovator as regards to her early
recognition of Debussy as a composer of dance music and Dulac as a
costume and set designer. Her unique performance style with its emphasis
on propriety and ladylike qualities helped to legitimize the new form of
dance. Her extensive touring and willingness to perform on the music
hall stage introduced early modern dance to a wider audience. The
evidence presented in this thesis establishes that it is no longer acceptable
for Allan to be ignored or relegated to a footnote in discussions of western
early modern theatre dance. She played a significant role in helping to
legitimize a new form of dance in the western world.
ENDNOTES

1. Anita Heyworth was closely associated with Madge Atkinson’s School of Natural Movement. She first studied with Atkinson in Manchester and later moved with the school to London in 1936. She taught natural movement and dance history for other schools including Dartford Physical Training College and helped found The London College of Dance, Bedford. In 1970 she was given the medal of the Imperial Society of Teachers of Dance for her outstanding life-long contributions to British dance.

2. Heyworth did not indicate the date when she attended Allan’s performance in Manchester. There is documentation that Allan toured the British provinces in the Fall of 1917, including Manchester, with Moss Empire. It is possible that she made subsequent tours in the 1920s after her return from South America. For example, she performed in Bournemouth in 1922 suggesting that she continued to take engagements in the British provinces. Another fruitful source of research would be to trace all of Allan’s British provincial tours.

3. The Daily Mail, March 26, 1909 reported that Allan’s tour would include Bournemouth, Brighton, Eastbourne, Folkestone, Cardiff, Bristol, Cheltenham, Nottingham, Derby, Chester, Liverpool, Leeds, Manchester, Preston, Newcastle, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carlisle, Belfast, Dublin, Cork, Southport, Sheffield, Birmingham, Lincoln, Cambridge, Oxford and Leamington.

4. This production of The Last Veil was presented from April 20-22, 1994 in Toronto at The York Quay Water’s Edge Cafe as part of the du Maurier World Stage festival. The dancers included Paul IbeY, Megan Hayes, Michael Mackid, Heather Richards and Debbie Wilson. The choreographer, Paul IbeY, has trained and worked with many companies including the London Contemporary Dance and the Lindsay Kemp Company.
APPENDICES

I. CHRONOLOGY

Where a fact, such as a date or place, was reported in a publication and has not been substantiated by subsequent research, a question mark is used to indicate such uncorroborated material. The use of (C) indicates information taken from Cherniavsky’s published accounts of Allan and not referred to elsewhere in the literature.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>June 30 marriage of William Allan Durrant to Isabella Matilda Hutchinson in Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>April 24 birth of William Henry Theodore Durrant. Toronto, 30 Louisa Street</td>
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<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>August 27 birth of Ulla Maude Durrant, Toronto, 22 Esther St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>February 5 Theodore Durrant enters St. George St. Public School, Toronto. Family dwells at 214 George St.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>December 8 Durrant family arrives in San Francisco Maud attended Denham Public School Maud’s piano teachers Miss Lichenstein and E.S. Bonelli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>Sometime in 1885 Maud and Theo sent to Santa Rosa for six months due to Maud’s ill-health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-1891</td>
<td>Maud and Theo attend Cogswell College, San Francisco. In the first graduating class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>registered in San Francisco City Directory as music teacher working from parent’s home at 1025 Fair Oaks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>February 14 Allan departs for Germany</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
April accepted at the Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik, Berlin
April 15 Theodore Durrant arrested for the murder of two girls
summer spent six weeks as English language teacher for Prussian family at Malmitz, East Germany (C)

September- murder trial of Theodore Durrant in San Francisco. Found October guilty

1896 registered as student at the Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik, Berlin
summer holiday in Thuringen Mountains with fellow class mate, May Hamaker, Mrs Hamaker and Mr Bauer, a German-American (C)
fall return to Berlin and school. Lives in pension of Frau Ilgenstein (C)

1897 summer Allan meets Artur Bock while on vacation in Thal, East Germany (C)
October Allan leaves the Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik

1898 January 8 Theodore Durrant executed
summer re-registers at the Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik.

1899 July Mrs Durrant arrives in Germany (C)

1900 October leaves the Königlichen Akademischen Hochschule für Musik for the final time

1901 summer attends Master Classes with Ferruccio Busoni in Weimar
1903
November 24  debuts as dancer in Vienna in the Small Hall of the Musikverein

1905
January 25  performance in Brussels at the Circle Artisque (C)
January 28  performance in Liege at Theatre Moliere (C)
March 4 & 14  performance in Berlin at the Artists’ Club (C)
November  performance in Eberfeld (?)

1906
February  performance in Cologne
            performance in Berlin at Berlin Writers Association
March  performance in Hamburg
April  performance in Berlin
September  series of postcards received by Maud indicates that she had been in Interlaken and Geneva. Not known if on vacation or performing
December 9  Marcel Remy dies in Berlin
December 28  debuts Vision of Salomé Vienna at Carl Theatre

1907
January  performance in Budapest, Hungary
April  Munich bans performance of Vision of Salomé
            performance at Munich Schauspielhaus
            performance at Munich Neuer Verein (C)
May  performs in Paris at Theatre des Varieties for several weeks (Alfred Butt attends one of the Paris performances)
June  postcard from her mother addressed to Potsdamer Strausse, 79A, Berlin c/o Frau Zollner
September  performs for King Edward VII at Marienbad
            performs in Prague for two weeks at Variety Club (C)
1908
January  
performance in Leipzig
March 6  
makes her London debut at a Special Matinee at the Palace Theatre, London
March 9  
begins her extended appearance at The Palace
March 15  
teà with Archdeacon Sinclair after attending service at St Pauls
March 30  
opens a bank account with Midlands Bank, Cambridge Circus Branch. London address: 86 Ridgmount Gardens
May 21  
performs at Prince of Wales Theatre, Birmingham, returns to London and performs at 9 pm at The Palace Theatre. Dances at the home of the Earl and Countess Dudley in the presence of the King and Queen at 10:40 pm
May 22  
luncheon at Downing St. with Asquiths
May 27  
Special Matinee at The Palace Theatre for officers and crew of the French cruiser, Leon Gambetta
June  
London papers report that Allan's parents have arrived in London for a twelve month vacation
July  
Manchester Watch Committee bans proposed performance
July 7 or 9  
performs at Fete in Old Ranleigh Gardens of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea on behalf of Veterans Relief Fund
October 14  
publishation of her autobiography *My Life and Dancing* to commemorate her 250th consecutive performance
October 21(?)  
injures her leg, further performances cancelled

1909
January  
rest holiday in Switzerland
February 12  
special matinee at The Palace Theatre
February 15 begins second extended appearance at The Palace Theatre

February 21 gives a speech at the Criterion Restaurant to the O.P. Club entitled “Attainable Ideal in Dance”

March 17 Gala Performance to honour officers and crew of Russian Squadron

April during the first week of April Allan ends her engagement at The Palace Theatre

April 8 luncheon in her honour given at the Cafe Royale by Mostyn T. Pigott - special menu with poem written by Pigott, drawings by R.G. Mathews


June 9 Appeared at Franco-British Charity Fete at Canadian Palace, White City

August 18 Buxton

August 31 New Brighton Towers (Liverpool) - interrupted by woman in audience. Allan confronted the audience at the end of her performance and received an ovation at the end of Vision of Salomé

September 3 Worthing

October Vacation in Paris and Venice (?)

December 4 performance at the St. Petersburg Conservatory

December 11 performance at the Moscow Conservatory

1910

January 10 departs for New York on the Lusitania
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>California. Included San Francisco (Garrick Theatre) Los Angeles (Princess Theatre), Stockton, Sacramento, Oakland (Ye Liberty Playhouse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>Begins negotiations with Debussy to write score for <em>Khamma</em>. Her address on the contract dated September 30 is Piccadilly Hotel, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 15</td>
<td>writes Debussy a cheque for ten thousand francs rest cure in France and Switzerland (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1911</strong></td>
<td>Returns to The Palace Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February 11</td>
<td>last performance at The Palace Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 5,6,7?</td>
<td>performance at Alhambra Theatre, Glasgow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>Address altered by Bank to Melrose, Upper Avenue Road, Hampstead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 11</td>
<td>appeared at charity event in aid of Actor's Orphanage Fund at the Royal Botanical Gardens, London. Photo in newspaper of Allan polishing boots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>Pro vincial tour. Included appearances in Bournemouth, Eastbourne (refused to perform on August 13 at Royal Court Hall, Hastings as the stage was inadequate). August 15, unidentified newspaper printed photo of Allan bathing at St. Leonards, East Sussex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 22</td>
<td>Aberdeen at His Majesty's Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>trip to Rhodesia and Southern Africa. Opens in Capetown on November 24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
December

Johannesburg (His Majesty’s Theatre) six performances ending December 23. Pretoria (Opera House) opens December 26 for five performances under the patronage of the Governor-General

During this trip Allan meets the Cherniavsky Trio in Johannesburg (C)

1912

She is battling with Debussy for the delivery of the Khamma score. Some time in 1912 she commissions Edmund Deluc to create the sets and costumes for Khamma

April/May

Receives the piano reduction for Khamma. Address in correspondence with Durand and Debussy is 20 Savoy Mansions, London, West Centre. In June the address is altered once again to 1 Lansdowne House, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park

September 9

Writes to Debussy demanding that the score be lengthened

1913

March

Busoni visits with Allan and writes her a scenario for a new dance

April 16

Writes a cheque for £200 for Debussy

May/June

performs at Grovenor House at bazaar in Aid of the Colonial Intelligence League (?)

July

takes a twenty year lease on West Wing in Outer Circle, Regents Park

September

begins to organize a trip of the Far East with Leo Cherniavsky

November

leaves for India accompanied by Alice Lonnond

November 24

performs in Bombay and suffers a leg injury

1914

touring in Far East and Australia
1915
February
arrives in Los Angeles where her parents are living in bungalow on Lucille Ave, Hollywood (C)
May-June
performs dances in film Rugmaker's Daughter which is released on July 5

1916
March
operation for appendicitis at German Hospital, New York.
May 3
arrives back in London
summer
recuperating and planning for a Fall tour in North América
July 20
hires the Swiss composer, Ernest Bloch, who visits Allan in London
September 8
leaves for New York on steamer, Lapland
September 28
opens tour in Albany, New York State (C)
September 29-30
Ottawa (Russell Theatre)
October 5-7
Toronto (Royal Alexandra Theatre). Montreal
New York - series of matinees at 44th St. Theatre
November
two weeks at Palace Vaudeville in New York (C) Western tour with much reduced company (C)

1917
April
William Allan Durrant dies (C)
summer
Allan returns to London
Fall
Moss Empire tour of the provinces which includes Liverpool and Manchester
October 31-
November 7
performs twice daily at St. Martins Theatre, London
accepts invitation to perform at Dancer’s matinee at The Alhambra Theatre but fails to appear due to illness

1918

April 6 Allan and J.T. Grein sue Noel Pemberton-Billing for libel

April 12 acts in Oscar Wilde’s play *Salomé* at The Court Theatre, London

May 6- June 1 performs as one of the turns at the London Pavilion

May 29 libel trial begins at Bow Court magistrates court. The trial lasts six days. Allan testifies on the first day

1919 Allan in nursing home (?)

September Busoni performing at Wigmore Hall and staying with Allan at West Wing

October Allan arranges tea with G.B. Shaw and Busoni at West Wing

December she accompanies Busoni to Paris and meets with the Director of the Paris Opera in an attempt to mount a production of *Khamma*

1920 Allan returns to California to spend time with her mother (C)

summer tours in South America - Brazil, Chile and Argentina

1921 publishes her newspaper memoirs “How I Startled the World”

February 15 begins a three week engagement as a turn at London Palladium

July performs as turn at London Coliseum

October performs as turn at London Coliseum
1922

July 28  Bournemouth (Winter Gardens)

December 19  bank reports that she has had traveller’s cheques stolen. Bank states that the average credit balance on the account that year had been £1,000

1923

February  Doris Langley Moore becomes her secretary

March (?)  Allan on tour in West of England

March 19  begins one week engagement as turn at the Alhambra

April  she begins a correspondence with Percy Pitt, artistic director of the British National Opera Company, about the possibility of mounting a production of *Khamma*

May  tour of the Middle East. Opens in Cairo (Kursaal Theatre) May 3. Also in Alexandria and Malta Final break-up of the romance with Leo Cherniavsky

During her absence from London, a legal action is taken against her in London for the non-payment on repairs done to a fur coat in November 1921

September 27  one week engagement as a turn at the Alhambra, London

December 12  one week engagement as a turn at the Alhambra, London

December 23  emergency operation reported as appendicitis

December 31  had been scheduled to perform at Queen’s Hall Roof Cabaret

1924

July 7  begins engagement at the Alhambra, London

July 27  Ferruccio Busoni dies in Berlin

private recital given by Allan in Paris in 1924 according to *The Dancing Times* (June, 1925)
1925
French tour organized by Doris Langley Moore which included Lyons, Paris plus Brussels

November 10
appears at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York with the Stony Plain Vocal Ensemble

1926
March 5
appears with the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra

summer
teaches master classes for five weeks at Oakland at New Concert Studies

August 20
performance at The Hollywood Bowl

1927
January 15
performance at Orpheum Theatre, San Francisco

February
returns to London with companion Verna Aldrich

June 31
performance in Wales - Llandudno

1928
November 15
bank postpones legal action to recover debt as result of intervention by Verna Aldrich (C)

December
Allan hires maid, Hetty Johns, on December 24. On December 27 Johns sets fire in box room, 28th another in box room, 29th in oak room and 30th in Verna Aldrich’s bedroom. On advice from insurance company, Allan is forced to dismiss all domestics

1930
Allan’s mother dies in London after long illness

January 23
The Midland Bank closes out her account

1931
June
witness at the marriage of La Meri (Russell Meriwether Hughes) in London

July
The Daily Sketch (June 12) reports that Allan attended a ballet performance at Covent Garden

1932
April/June(?)
appears at the Abbess in a revival of Max Reinhardt’s The Miracle at Lyceum Theatre, London
June

summoned to Marlyebone Police Court by Crown Estate Paving Commission for non-payment of two years rates (£65.7s.3d) at West Wing. She offers to pay by instalments. Court orders £10.00 immediately and remainder in six months

1933

June

report in *Daily Express* (June 12) that Allan is holding Saturday morning classes with tea and dancing to a gramophone for fifty slum children

1934

September 10

begins appearance as Carrie, a dancer in a travelling show, in the play *The Barker* by Kenyon Nicolson with the Manchester Repertory Company

1935

February

announcement in *The Dancing Times* that Allan is opening a school of dance. Followed by advertisement in the March issue for the “Maud Allan Academy of Dance and Related Arts”

August 10

departs for New York on liner Britannic on speech tour of women's club speaking about world peace

September 8

substantial article by John Martin in *New York Times* concerning Allan’s North American tour plans which included a series of dance recitals plus speaking engagements on subject of world peace

October 11

radio interview on W.I.N.S. with Gay Lee, director of women’s activities. Speaks on her theories of dance and world peace

1936

January

writes letter to *New York Times* in response on earlier article in newspaper which she maintained had several factual errors

summer

appears at the Redlands Bowl, California. Redlands, Riverside, held summer concerts
1938
January
Fractures spine in car accident in Pasadena, California. She had been staying with a friend, Alice Millard, who died as a result of the car accident. Allan lies in a body cast for eight months, but learns to walk again.

November 29,
Returns to West Wing, London (Daily Mail, November 1938)

1939
February
Takes part in BBC radio programme broadcast of February 28 on the history of the Palace Theatre

July
Allan’s grounds at West Wing used for charity cricket match between authors and actresses which included Priestly, H.G. Wells and Ursula Jeans

1940
February
Portion of Holford House hit by bomb (October 9, 1940) (C)

1941
February
Sunday Chronicle (February 2) reports that Allan is living in bomb damaged mansion. She volunteers for A.T.S. to drive a car

August
Arrives in United States on August 18 on liner Exeter. Unidentified newspaper reports that her London home taken over by the government, her suburban home (?) bombed and she suffered the loss of her extensive dance library

1955
Moves to Lincoln Park Retreat nursing home
May

1956

She makes her own arrangements concerning her funeral

October 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Venue</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Danse Hongroise</strong></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>London Coliseum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dance of Sugar Plum Fairy</strong></td>
<td>July 1908</td>
<td>Palace Theatre, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Circassian (La Source)</strong></td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>London Pavilion</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Blue Danube</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Blue Danube</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Barcarolle - Tales of Hoffman</strong></td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Palace Theatre, London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ave Maria</strong></td>
<td>Nov. 24, 1903</td>
<td>Musikverein, Vienna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Arabian Dance</strong></td>
<td>Feb. 1909</td>
<td>London Pavilion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Am Meer</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>A Ma Bien Aimee</strong></td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Schwan - Lise, London</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Am Meer</strong></td>
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<tr>
<th>Debut Date &amp; Venue</th>
<th>Music</th>
<th>Dance Music Debut Date &amp; Venue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pathétique Symphony</td>
<td>Tchaikovsky - Op. 74, B minor, Symphony No. 6</td>
<td>Hollywood Bowl, Aug. 20, 1926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passepied</td>
<td>Delibes</td>
<td>Delibes, Palace Theatre, London, Aug. 1909</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American Tour</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passepied</td>
<td>Delibes</td>
<td>Delibes, Palace Theatre, London, Aug. 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nair the Slave</td>
<td>Enrico Belpassi</td>
<td>Lincoln Theatre, Los Angeles, Aug. 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazurka - G# minor</td>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td>Chopin, Musikverein, Vienna, Nov. 24, 1903 (2 min. 1 sec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazurka - F# minor</td>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td>Chopin, Musikverein, Vienna, Nov. 24, 1903 (2 min. 25 sec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mazurka - B Flat major</td>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td>Chopin, Palace Theatre, London, 1908 (1 min. 35 sec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marseillaise</td>
<td>Rouget de Lisle</td>
<td>Marseillaise, Paris, May 17, 1917 (1 min. 35 sec.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suite in G minor</td>
<td>Handel</td>
<td>July 1936</td>
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<tr>
<td>Symphony</td>
<td>Allegro</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 15 sec.}) Without Words</td>
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<tr>
<td>Menuets - Songs</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 15 sec.}) Without Words</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>String Quartet</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 25 sec.})</td>
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<tr>
<th>Brahms, London</th>
<th>(2 \text{ min. 25 sec.})</th>
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<td>Symphony</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 25 sec.})</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schönberg - Op. 10</th>
<th>Op. 15</th>
<th>Nov. 24, 1903</th>
<th>Vienna</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Die Fledermaus</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 15 sec.})</td>
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<td>Don Juan</td>
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<tr>
<th>Chopin - Op. 3</th>
<th>Op. 34</th>
<th>March 1909</th>
<th>Paris, France</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scherzo</td>
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<td>Classical Ballet</td>
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<tr>
<th>Delius - Opp. 1</th>
<th>Oct. 1910</th>
<th>London</th>
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<tr>
<td>Suite No. 2</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 15 sec.})</td>
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<td>Aria</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rite of the Fire God</td>
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<td>Piano Concerto No. 2</td>
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<th>Tchaikovsky - Op. 71</th>
<th>Op. 71</th>
<th>July 1910</th>
<th>London</th>
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<tr>
<td>Symphony No. 6</td>
<td>(2 \text{ min. 15 sec.})</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Venue</td>
<td>Composer</td>
<td>Piece</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dec. 1916</td>
<td>Corn Theatre, Vienna</td>
<td>Marcel Reny</td>
<td>Valse - Flute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 24, 1903</td>
<td>Palace Theatre, Vienna</td>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td>Valse - Flute</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nov. 24, 1903</td>
<td>Palace Theatre, Vienna</td>
<td>Chopin</td>
<td>Valse - Flute</td>
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DANCE MUSIC DEBUT DATE & VENUE

DEBUT DATE & VENUE

03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30
III. CATALOGUE OF VISUALS

PICTURE POSTCARDS

Grünberger Prague:

not numbered. To date have discovered 11 postcards (10 at Theatre Museum, 1908 Empire Box)

Rotary Photo: photographed by Foulsham and Banfield Ltd. London

Series 4946

A - as Salomé
B - as Salomé
C - as Salomé
D - as Salomé
E - as Salomé
F - as Salomé
G - Chopin's Funeral March
H - Chopin's Funeral March
I - Mendelssohn's Spring Song
J - Mendelssohn's Spring Song
K - Mendelssohn's Spring Song
L - as Salomé
M - as Salomé
N - head and shoulder in street clothes
0 - as Salomé (waist shot, eyes looking down)
P - as Salomé
Q - as Salomé (head and shoulder, sideview)
R - as Salomé
S - as Salomé
T - as Salomé
U - in Grecian tunic standing near pillar
V - in Grecian tunic standing in front of double pillars
W - in Grecian tunic standing in front of double pillars
X - in elaborate street clothes
Y - in elaborate street clothes
Z - in elaborate street clothes

Series 11767 Photographed by Foulsham & Banfield Ltd. (49, Old Bond St) 1911

A - La Danse Sacree et Profane
B - La Danse Sacree et Profane
C - La Danse Sacree et Profane
D - Moment Musical
E - Moment Musical
F - Moment Musical

To date no references to further cards in this series

Series 11406

A - Quivering Arms and Finger Tips
B - Head and Shoulder in Grecian tunic with floral wreath in hair
C - Grecian tunic in outdoor garden scene
D - Grecian tunic including sandals in outdoor scene
E - Grecian tunic in outdoor scene

F - Grecian tunic head and arms turned skyward

To date no references to further cards in this series

**BEAGLES' POSTCARDS:** photographed by Reutlinger

**Series 118**

A - as Salomé

B - as Salomé

C - as Salomé

E - as Salomé

F - as Salomé

H - in chiffon costume - waist up

J - in chiffon costume - background of coastal scene

To date no references to further postcards in this series

**DOWNEYS REAL PHOTO SERIES:** (W&D Downey, 57/61 Ebury St)

#s 70, 71 & 72

**ROTARY OPALETTE SERIES:** 3038
(cameo portraits of Allan)

A - as Salomé - head and shoulders

B - in elaborate street clothes - head and shoulders

C - as Salomé

D - in Grecian tunic with pillars in background

**ARISTOPHOT COMPANY:** Reutlingers E 1584, 1585 in Vision of Salomé
PHILCOSERIES 5082 (F- head shot as Salomé)

Series 3485 D (as Salomé) & E (in street clothes with elaborate flower hat)

3408E (Mr Malcolm Scott in his Salomé costume)

H. VERTIGEN & CO. SERIES 6280

PHOTOGRAPHERS IN ALLAN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY, MY LIFE AND DANCING

Ernst Sandau, Berlin

Rudolph Duhrkoop, Berlin

Reginald Haines, London

E. O. Hoppe, London

PAINTINGS

Sketch in Oils by Reginald Howard Wilenski at Garrick Club, London

23 1/2 x 17, canvas. Whole length, dancing, fronting spectator, her head in profile to rights, arms outstretched sideways, pink ribbon around her head and pink roses in her hair; white classical costume with girdle of pink roses; grey floor and heavy grey curtain background. Inscribed in lower right corner in black, "R.H.W./Souvenir/of/Maud Allen [sic]/London/08+12." No. 634 in Garrick Club catalogue of paintings.


--- "My Aims and Ideals". Souvenir program, ca.1916.


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----- "Maud Allan, Part III: Two Years of Triumph, 1908-1909". Dance Chronicle. 7:2, 1984, pp. 119-158.


---- Der Tanz der Zukunft. Leipzig: Eugen Diederiche, 1903.


La Meri pseud. Russsell Meriwether Hughes. Dance Out the Answer: An

Layson, June. "Isadora Duncan - A Preliminary Analysis of her Work."

"Isadora Duncan: The Life-Art, Choreographic and Performance Style of an Early Modern Dance Pioneer" (pp117-126). In Adshead, ed.


Lockspeiser, Edward. Debussy: His Life and Mind. 2 volumes
Volume 2, Chapter 9 "Maud Allan and Gabriele d'Annunzio."


1967.

----- *A Game of Snakes and Ladders*. London: Cassell & Company Ltd.,
1955.


Morgan-Powell, Samuel. *Memories that Live*. Toronto: MacMillan
Company of Canada Ltd, 1929.


Muller, Joseph-Emile. *A Dictionary of Expressionism*. London:

Newton, Stella Mary. *Health, Art and Reason: Dress Reformers of the 19th

Nichols, Roger (work list with Robert Orledge). "Claude Debussy". In
Stanley Sadie, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and

Orledge, Robert. *Debussy and the Theatre*. Chapter 5 "Khamma

----- "Debussy et La "Girl" anglaise": The Legend of Khamma," *Musical


Pascal, Roy. *From Naturalism to Expressionism: German Literature and


Programmes for Maud Allan's Performances 21/03/1908, 2/05/1908, 27/05/1908, 9/06/1908, 26/08/1908, 5,6,7,8,9,10/10/1908, 14/10/1908, 21/10/1908 at The Palace Theatre of Varieties. London.

Programmes for Maud Allan's Performances 12/02/1909
22/23/24/25/26/27/02/1909, 15/16/17/18/19/20/03/1909 at The Palace Theatre of Varieties, London.

Programme for Maud Allan's Performance 7th April, 1910.
Garrick Theatre, San Francisco.

Programmes for Maud Allan's Performance 10/02/1911, 15/02/1911, 13/14/15/16/17/18/03/1911 at The Palace Theatre of Varieties.

Programme for Maud Allan's 1911 tour of the provinces accompanied by Beatrice Lindley and George F. Boyle.

Programme for Maud Allan's tour of Southern Africa under the direction of Messrs. Baring Bros. November/December, 1911?

Programme for Maud Allan's Performance 31/10/17 at St. Martin's Theatre, London.

Programme for Maud Allan's Performance 27/05/1918.
London Pavilion,
Programmes for Maud Allan's Performances 20/06/1921, 11/07/1921, 3 & 17/11/1921. London Coliseum.


Programme for Maud Allan's Performance 15/01/1927. Orpheum Theatre, San Francisco.


Sturges, Nellie. *A Brief History of the Class of '91*. privately printed class history of 1891 graduating class of Cogswell College, San Francisco.


Newspaper References


A valuable source for tracing Allan’s itinerary for British provincial tours during the 1908-1911 period was The Era (in “Variety” column); issues of which were found in The London Library, The Westminster Public Library and the library at The Garrick Club. It was also useful in the 1918-1925 period for establishing dates for Allan performances in London venues.

As well newspaper references were drawn from a variety of Maud Allan newspaper clipping collections. Central sources are at the New York Public Library Dance Collection (two scrapbooks of clippings, many unidentified) The British Library Newspaper division (Colindale) the London Theatre Museum (file folders and scrapbooks with many clippings undated) and the Mander and Mitchenson Collection (The Mansion, Bechenham Place Park, Bechenham, by appointment only and user fee).