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Dal感知 Eurhythmics in England:
History of an Innovation
in Music and Movement Education

By

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Abstract

This study uses historical research, participant observation, direct interview, and practical reconstruction to investigate Dalcroze Eurhythmics as it was introduced in England during the early twentieth century. The Dalcroze method is an oral tradition of music and movement education which originated in the experiments of the Swiss composer Emile Jaques-Dalcroze (1865-1950). Convinced that the development of musicianship must involve harmonization of mind and body, he tried exercises of walking, breathing, and beating time to help his conservatory students respond more spontaneously and accurately. From these beginnings in Geneva around 1900 he went on to pursue improvisation as a way of creating music and expressive movement. While teaching in Germany from 1910 to 1914 at the new professional training college built for him at Hellerau, near Dresden, he met a number of educationists who wanted to promote this work in England. Among them were Percy and Ethel Ingham, who founded the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in 1913. The London School trained the women who spread Dalcroze teaching widely during the years before World War II in public and private education, particularly in progressive schools. Challenged by the London School's closing in 1963 and by alternative approaches to music and movement education, Dalcrozians in the second half of the century have taken new initiatives in classroom music, professional training, therapy, and research.
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List of Illustrations

Many photographs have been made of Dalcroziens and pupils demonstrating movement studies, but their quality varies widely. This is especially true of the magazine and newspaper illustrations which are often the most historically significant. Because photocopies of these images do not reproduce well, I have chosen several examples from the extensive graphic documentation.

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1. In Search of Teachers and Teaching

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1.1 Introduction

In December 1907, following a Saturday afternoon concert at the St. Paul's Girls' School in London, the pupils of two Swiss-trained teachers demonstrated a new method of rhythmic musical exercises invented by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, a teacher at the Geneva Conservatoire. Though they were still beginners, the girls appeared to have a sense of rhythm sufficiently developed to keep up unconsciously a rhythm of three with one hand and two with the other, to change suddenly at the word of command the rhythm of their marching steps and to hasten and slacken their speed in unison with the piano, unaided by anything save the feeling that the time they kept must correspond to the time of the pianist.1

The Times writer also commented that the work "trains the children how to carry themselves and how to make graceful and easy movements."

This early report of the Dalcroze method in England was published when the idea of music education based on body movement was still very new. In 1905 Jaques-Dalcroze had first shown a gathering of his music colleagues the results of "rhythmic gymnastics," the exercises of walking, breathing, and beating time which he had worked out gradually in his teaching. Sixteen years later in 1921, his method was
so well known that *Punch* featured his book *Rhythm, Music and Education* in one of its rhyming reviews:

Of the cult of Eurhythmics, as everyone knows,  
The leading exponent's Emile Jaques-Dalcroze,  
And his volume, now published by Chatto & Windus,  
Brings Terpsichore down from the summit of Pindus  
To instruct our ingenuous youth in the duty  
Of living a life of true rhythmical beauty.  
To accomplish this aim, with quite average chicks  
Is not a mere matter of dodges and tricks,  
But means a reform of all musical teaching  
On lines which Dalcroze for long has been preaching,  
With Rhythm as basis, but truly designed  
To train simultaneously body, ear, mind.  
The lessons set forth in these luminous pages  
Are endorsed by our chief educational sages;  
But its permanent claim to a place on our shelves  
Resides in the pictures of limber young elves  
Cavorting and gambolling, leaping and skipping  
With gossamer grace that is utterly ripping.  

"Dalcroze Eurhythmics," as his teaching was called in English, interested Margaret McMillan, Susan Isaacs, and Herbert Read among many others. The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics trained the teachers, almost entirely women, who specialized in this method and held forth in forward-looking schools throughout England. Beginning in 1934 Ann Driver used the work as the point of departure for her pioneering BBC *Music and Movement* broadcasts, which reached literally hundreds of thousands of school children over the next two decades.

My purpose in this thesis is to explain how the Dalcroze method was introduced in England, and to consider why it took hold strongly in the first decades of the twentieth century. I raise several interconnected questions. What was innovative in the teaching of Jaques-Dalcroze, and why were people eager to take up this work? How did the women
who became Dalcroze teachers add their own stamp to the original theories and practices? Where did the method flourish and where did it fail? Finally, how does this teaching relate to alternative approaches to music and movement education?

The collective effort of the Dalcroziens makes a useful case history in adaptation, demonstrating how one way of teaching changed when it entered a new intellectual and social environment. Dalcroze Eurhythmics, like the Froebel kindergarten, Ling gymnastics, and Laban movement education, originated on the Continent but found fertile ground for growth in England.

1.2 A Perspective on the Work of Jaques-Dalcroze

Born in 1865, Jaques-Dalcroze taught from 1890 almost until his death in 1950. During the 1880s he studied music and theatre professionally in Paris and Vienna. An entertaining popular singer, he also composed art songs as well as operas and concert works. But it was in teaching that his greatest contributions were to be made, for beginning in the 1890s he discovered the basis for a new approach to music education. As a young teacher in Geneva he observed that his students learned to play technically but seemed to miss the real experience of music; they did not become musical. He began to try physical exercises of walking and beating time to help his solfège students listen and respond more accurately. With the magic of his improvisation at the piano, he tried to make people feel the music
that he said was in them, so that they would, as he put it, play "the marvelous keyboard which is the muscular and nervous system."

He held summer courses in Geneva from 1906 to 1909 for a widening circle of teachers and professional students, and a society for the advancement of his work was founded in 1907. The first women to teach in England studied with Jaques-Dalcroze during this period. One of them, Kathleen O'Dowd, established a young ladies' class in rooms on Great Marlborough Street in London as early as 1908. According to The Musical Times her teaching fully demonstrated the merits of the rhythmic gymnastics Jaques-Dalcroze had invented "for the purpose of imparting a sense of musical rhythm to the young by means of healthy physical exercise."

During the years he explored the use of movement in music education, Jaques-Dalcroze studied anatomy and read about psychology, physical culture, and various new approaches to physical training. In the late nineteenth century scientists investigated the mind-body relationship, the expression of human emotion, and the workings of the neuromuscular system. The recently-defined concept of the kinaesthetic or "muscular" sense aroused widespread interest. Sports and physical education expanded rapidly; the Olympic games were reborn; Marey and Muybridge conducted their chronophotography studies of animal motion; and the women's movement gained influence. Although Jaques-Dalcroze wrote a humorous song in 1895 about the introduction
of Swedish gymnastics for women in straitlaced Geneva, he strongly supported the idea of rational physical exercise.

**Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze** presented his teaching as it had evolved up to 1906, illustrating rhythmic gymnastics with photographs of active young women. It was around this time that Jaques-Dalcroze saw dancers such as Isadora Duncan and the Wiesenthal sisters, whose work inspired and reinforced him in his own discoveries. Like Duncan, Jaques-Dalcroze wanted to understand movement through research into natural actions such as breathing and walking. Photographs and lesson plans indicate that now his teaching expanded to include a wider dynamic range of movement. The students who wore bloomers in 1906 looked like graceful tunic-clad dancers by 1909, and in the studio they began to wear form-fitting dark leotards. For women such as the young Marie Rambert, who wanted to move the way Duncan did, studying with Jaques-Dalcroze was a compelling prospect in 1909. Skipping, running, improvising with a partner, and "realizing" a canon were exercises which called for timing, strength, shifts of weight, awareness of nuance and form, cooperation with others. By investigating music and movement together, Jaques-Dalcroze encouraged the idea of composing directly with the body.

In 1910 Jaques-Dalcroze had the opportunity to establish a training college for his method in the garden city Hellerau near Dresden, Germany. The Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze opened in temporary quarters in Dresden and by October 1911
had moved to the light, airy studios of the purpose-built Hellerau school. Announcements in music periodicals drew several hundred professional students from Europe as well as the United States and Japan. The three core courses in rhythmic gymnastics, solfège, and improvisation were augmented by other studies including plastic movement, music theory, choral singing, dance, and gymnastics.

In a typical rhythmic gymnastics class students would walk freely in space, following the teacher’s improvised piano music by responding directly to the stronger and weaker beats. If the teacher played changes in speed and dynamics, students would have to adjust the size of their steps and use of energy. Other exercises included walking twice as fast or twice as slow as a given tempo; walking to experience different note values and rhythmic patterns; and reacting quickly by starting or stopping on command. Similarly, running and other types of locomotor movement would be investigated with syncopation, phrasing, and many different musical phenomena.

From this approach to practical work Jaques-Dalcroze and his colleagues developed a theory of music and movement which was based on the interrelation of time, space, and energy. Visualizing the standing human figure as the axis of an imaginary sphere, they identified divisions of space in the vertical and horizontal planes surrounding the body, using high, middle, or low levels. This analysis served as a framework for creative work as well as movement notation.
Jaques-Dalcroze presented the discoveries of this fruitful period in an updated edition of *Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze* and the generously-illustrated *Exercices de plastique animée*, both published in 1916. Further research is needed to compare this work in detail with Rudolf Laban’s parallel movement analysis which developed during the same period.

People from all over the world attended or read about the Hellerau school festivals, which offered demonstrations and student performances. A much-acclaimed experimental staging of Gluck’s *Orpheus and Eurydice* produced in the summer of 1913 used a new synthesis of music, movement, and light in a monumental architectural set designed by Adolphe Appia. Among the many artists who visited the school were Vaslav Nijinsky, Anna Pavlova, Rudolf Laban, George Bernard Shaw, Max Reinhardt, Darius Milhaud, Paul Claudel, Upton Sinclair, and Le Corbusier.

In the years before World War I, a large contingent of visitors and students from England made their way to the Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze. Prominent educationists who wrote favourable reports about the Dalcroze method included Michael Ernest Sadler, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, and J.J. Findlay, Professor of Education at Manchester and father of Elsa Findlay, who went to Hellerau to learn the work. The forty from England who attended the summer school in 1913 comprised almost a third of the student body. Many of these men and women were teachers in search of educational improvements, and,
for a few such as Percy and Ethel Ingham, the Dalcroze method was to become a life's work. While studying at Hellerau they organized the successful lecture-demonstrations which Jaques-Dalcroze gave in England in 1912. At the end of September 1913 the Inghams opened the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics.

With the outbreak of war in August 1914 the unusual community of Hellerau was suddenly dispersed. Jaques-Dalcroze and many students were in Geneva at the time performing in the Fête de juin, a huge lakeside pageant which he composed for the anniversary of Geneva's entrance to Swiss Confederation. Remaining in Switzerland, he cut his ties with Hellerau after signing a protest against the German bombing of Reims cathedral. People of the Hellerau school spread far and wide, going on to careers in music, dance, theatre, education, therapy, and other fields. Many introduced the Dalcroze method in conservatories and schools in Europe and North America. These teachers, now on their own, developed the work in a multitude of different ways, elaborating and renewing the basic exercises at the same time they pursued new possibilities.

At the age of fifty Jaques-Dalcroze founded the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze in Geneva. The opening address in 1915 was given by psychologist Edouard Claparède, Director of the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Geneva, home of Rousseau and a long tradition of experimental teaching, was now a centre of research on intelligence, learning, and progres-
sive education. Here Jaques-Dalcroze taught for the rest of his life, except for two years he spent in Paris during the mid-1920s. He worked unceasingly to improve the teaching of his method, keeping in close contact with his former students around the world. Until the late 1930s he traveled regularly to teach and examine students at the London School. The fact that London was the "satellite" school with which he maintained the closest personal involvement makes it particularly interesting as a case study.

Jaques-Dalcroze stimulated a broad public through his writings, particularly his influential book *Le Rythme, la musique et l'éducation* (1920). This collection of lectures and articles was translated into English and several other languages including Japanese; a second collection of essays appeared only in English as *Eurhythmics, Art and Education* (1930). In the last years of his life he wrote three further books of reflections and anecdotes which remain untranslated.

The importance of Jaques-Dalcroze was not simply that he brought new understanding of the sources of music in movement. He was an imaginative master, whose musicianship and personality helped to form many outstanding teachers and artists. He initiated a way of teaching based on direct experience, which took the nonverbal, intuitive knowledge of the body seriously. Those who followed have been able to extend the methods he created. In Geneva the Institut
Jaques-Dalcroze continues as the international centre of Dalcroze education, while the large Fédération Internationale des Enseignants de Rythmique (FIER) unites the many teachers who use this work today.

1.3 Methods and Sources of the Thesis
The four methods used to develop this study are historical research based on analysis of written and visual evidence including musical notations; participant observation of contemporary Dalcroze teaching; direct interview of those who have taught or studied the work; and practical reconstruction of Dalcroze exercises and studies of earlier periods. The Dalcroze method, over nearly a century of existence, has generated a vast wealth of writing in various languages, ranging from newspaper and journal articles to manuals, musical scores, memoirs, biographies, and histories. To this growing documentation, photographs, drawings, sound recordings, films, and videotapes have added further important dimensions.

It is a challenging task for the researcher to locate, translate, identify, correlate, and analyse these materials which are scattered in various European and North American libraries. Even more daunting is the fact that the Dalcroze method cannot be well understood solely from written and visual sources. From the time of my first encounters with the elderly Elsa Findlay, whom I observed teaching children at the Cleveland Institute of Music in 1966, I realized that direct contact with the method in practice
would be vital to any serious attempt to make sense of its historical record.

My first priority was to gather and interpret primary sources such as the published writings and unpublished letters and notes of Jaques-Dalcroze and other teachers of the method. Books such as Ann Driver's classic *Music and Movement* (1936) and Ethel Driver's *A Pathway to Dalcroze Eurhythmics* (1951) are examples of the manuals by Dalcroze teachers which provide information on what they taught and how they adapted the work for specific situations. The journal *Le Rythme*, published in Geneva since 1909 with only a few interruptions, as well as the newsletters and publications of Dalcroze organizations in other countries, contain basic material. To analyse these sources, the researcher must be prepared to read in several languages (or have translation assistance), read music, and decode the various movement notations and shorthands these teachers have employed.

For contextual understanding I delved into the voluminous press coverage the method has received. My effort to retrieve newspaper and periodical material was greatly facilitated by the discovery of scrapbooks of press cuttings at the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze and in other schools, libraries, and private collections in Europe and North America. It was also productive to hand-search journals such as the *Journal of Scientific Physical Training*, *The Dancing Times*, and *Music in Education* which pub-
lished articles on the method.

To organize my findings, I made a master chronology and files arranged by names of people, schools, and countries. Name files kept track of the identifications, careers, and bibliography of the contemporaries and students of Jaques-Dalcroze. I set up topic files to classify information according to categories such as stage productions, lecture-demonstrations, improvisation, therapy, and so on. I also indexed Jaques-Dalcroze’s articles, manuals, teaching notes, and letters according to the same topics. I describe in more detail the written sources used for each chapter in 1.5, Structure of the Thesis.

In 1978 I enrolled in the Dalcroze Eurhythmics course for adults at the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto, which was then taught by Elizabeth Morton, a London and Geneva-trained Dalcroze specialist. After class, she helped when I, as a dance historian intrigued with the early movement work, decided to try to reconstruct exercises from Jaques-Dalcroze’s 1906 and 1916 manuals. That year I also met Morton’s predecessor, Madeleine Boss Lasserre, a Swiss woman who studied in Geneva just after World War I and introduced the method in Toronto during the mid-1920s. These two women lent me journals, manuals, teaching notes, music, photographs, films, even old tunics, along with abundant memories and information. With this preparation and some practical experience behind me, I made a work-trip to Geneva in 1979 during which Dominique Porte, then Direc-
tor of the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze, made it possible for me to visit classes, use the library, and consult the manuscript lesson plans of Jaques-Dalcroze. Relatively few researchers have been granted access to this remarkable collection of notes covering the years 1908 to 1948, which are bound in some ninety large volumes.

By this time my research had become an intermingling of documents and human sources. I was going back and forth from written and visual evidence to the experience of people who knew the method through the teaching tradition. They had the knowledge and understanding which would help to explain the written texts. I began to find answers to many questions through my fieldwork. By taking part myself or watching the classes of various teachers, I learned what they did. One stressed skipping, another the rhythms of Balkan folk dance, a third breathing and slow stretching. In a Geneva public school I observed a class of ten-year-old children study a Bach fugue in action, confidently building it up from their background in rhythmic movement and solfège. Each teacher and each situation seemed different, yet by watching and by listening to them talk about what they did, I tried to discern the practices and underlying ideas they shared. Interviews became a useful way of collecting information and experience which complemented what I could learn in the classroom.

The people I met often possessed the rare primary sources such as photographs, letters, and notes that I wanted to
find, so it was not only for their insights that I got to know, between 1979 and 1990, perhaps as many as 200 people connected in some way with the Dalcroze method. Most were teachers, which made them doubly interesting. I also met others who had studied the method when they were young but who considered it an important part of their lives. By attending Dalcroze conferences in the United States and Germany as well as the two-week congresses held in Geneva in 1981 and 1985, I was able to observe or study with more teachers, a number of whom I subsequently visited in their own schools in Europe and North America. A very large proportion of the teachers I met had studied and taught in England, so when I eventually chose to focus on a case study Dalcroze Eurhythmics in England was an obvious choice.

From my fieldwork I learned that the Dalcroze method is an approach to teaching music through movement, but not a technique or a performing art in itself. Its continuing existence is the result of an oral tradition, a teaching handed down from person to person, which does not depend on writing for its transmission. To discover this method's history, I decided to meet as many Dalcroze teachers as I could and to deal with a mélange of complex impressions of people of all ages, the incredible variety of their music and movement, many personalities, different languages, and diverse work situations.

The direct interview, participant observation, and reconstruction methods I used overlapped and reinforced each
other repeatedly, stimulating an active approach to the interpretation of written materials. After a class, for example, I would frequently ask the teacher if we could talk about her background with a given exercise which the class had just studied. Sometimes I already would have found instructions for a similar exercise in a manual or lesson plan dating from an earlier period. Having now gained a firsthand sense of how the parts combined to make a whole, I could ask for more information and memories of that particular way of working; further questions would naturally follow, and I could later try to reconstruct the exercise I had seen written down. Practical reconstruction for study purposes was a way of establishing what I did and did not know about the work, an invaluable procedure for training my eyes and ears to respond to the teaching I wanted to understand through observation.

For most of those I interviewed, especially older teachers, recollection was an activity in which they willingly engaged. For some, however, the past seemed to be a place they did not care to visit. Old photographs and what they took to be outworn practices such as plastic movement demonstrations could be the cause of embarrassment or even serious concern. I soon realized that for contemporary Dalcroze teachers it is crucial that their work be perceived as valid and up-to-date. To them the Dalcroze heritage could be burdensome, a liability. I therefore had to proceed with caution in my effort to learn about this teaching tradition from human sources. Each person not only had an
individual story but also a definite view of the past and its relevance.

A few could not understand why I as an outsider would pursue history which they regarded as mainly private, a matter of their own memoirs and memorabilia. Others, I discovered, believed that Dalcroze teaching has a broad significance that ought to be more widely known and recognized. Still others, often the youngest, were eager to learn about their roots, as they put it, and strongly felt the need to go back to find the original ideas behind the teaching.

For my part, I wanted to investigate the history of the Dalcroze method in action, to the extent that it would be possible to do so and, further, to try to place this teaching-learning tradition in several of its historical contexts. Thus the circumstances of its emergence in Geneva around 1900 would differ from those of experiments in English progressive schools of the 1920s, and so forth. I was convinced that it would be worthwhile to construct explanations of several different teaching contexts in the past, drawing on all the sources available. I hoped such explanations would shed light on other twentieth-century creative work with music and movement, in the classroom and on the stage. What was a given working situation like? What were the freedoms and constraints which determined Dalcroze teaching in each of its different settings? Were teachers effective in making their work
known to peers in education and the arts? What factors in the outside world impinged on their activities in one period and place or another? These were among the questions I had in mind, in addition to the more specific ones about exercises, when I met my human sources.

My viewpoint contrasts markedly with that of Sally Stone, an American Dalcroze teacher whose research is in the area of arts education. In arguing for systematic procedures to document current teaching and learning and to classify instructional practices, she states that Dalcroze training "has heretofore been obscured by discipleship and zeal." She rightly points out that the teaching has "passed from one generation of teachers to another by mentorship." But I find it hard to accept her characterization of the existing documentation as primarily the affectionate, enthusiastic descriptions of disciples. Such writing, according to Stone, "does not contribute to an understanding of Eurhythmics." She suggests too that the strong belief among Dalcroze teachers that the method "works" has created a mystique which "impedes definition and clear communication." Stone states this position prior to reporting the results of her observation and analysis of a Dalcroze class taught by an unnamed master teacher in an American college over a two-term period.

Her procedure for documenting Dalcroze teaching is in fact quite useful. By regular observation and interviewing she tried to collect precise answers to the question, "What
takes place on a given day, in a given setting, between the teacher, the student and the content of the lesson?" I only wish there had been more efforts to document work in similar detail. But her swift dismissal of the Dalcroze literature is an error. If she were to read further she would find that Dalcroze teachers have produced a range of writing some of which is analytical, questioning, factually informative, and exacting. For my purposes, at any rate, I had to work with the existing writing as well as the oral tradition of the teaching, with the assumption that any and all documentation has value. Rigorous or not, it potentially could contribute in some way to historical understanding. Dalcroze teachers' personal accounts could be balanced with the official statements of Board of Education publications, for example, and the combination of the two would offer more meaning than either source independently.

Stone implies that teaching based on oral tradition is inadequate compared to teaching which is supported by articulated theories and documented practices. While it may be the case that the Dalcroze method has been hindered in music education by the lack of such communication, the oral tradition is nonetheless an important part of its historical identity. Like skiing, dancing, and a host of other behaviours, the Dalcroze method has depended on direct teaching and learning; its theory has meaning in relation to an oral tradition which happens to survive. Historically, Dalcroze theory and practice have been a
single whole, indivisible, yet flexible and evolving.

To study an oral tradition of teaching in the present is difficult enough, but to comprehend one in the past as I wanted to do seemed almost an impossibility. Interviews proved to be a useful key. My method of interviewing involved questions designed for two purposes: they were partly to gather information, but they were also to elicit insights and suggestions for finding additional sources. The more I learned, the more I was able to ask pertinent questions. I tried to have at least two meetings with a person, so that I could follow up on points that occurred to me after the first meeting. Sometimes I tape recorded at the second meeting, but more often I did not, having found that a number of teachers were not at ease with the prospect of being recorded. I also found that certain meetings were fleeting while others stretched over several hours, and taping the latter would have created much more indexing and transcription later on than I had time to handle. Instead I usually relied on notes and memory, writing up further notes after a meeting. When the time came to use these materials, I tried to cross check and verify facts with those given in written sources as well as in other interviews.

For the participant observation of Dalcroze classes I had two basic approaches. If I took part, I tried to concentrate more on my personal experience and made notes as soon as possible afterwards. The notes were about content (the
musical and movement ideas introduced, their sequence and development) and context (the teacher's strategies and personality, students' responses, space and atmosphere). If I observed, I could notice better the situation as a whole and pay more attention to the activities and interactions of the participants. For this work my background in dance was helpful, for I was experienced in watching classes as well as reviewing performances. Seeing movement qualities in relation to music in many other different contexts prepared me to appreciate more exactly what was unique about the Dalcroze way of teaching.

I was invited to give several workshops and lectures at Dalcroze gatherings in the course of my research, and in some of these I taught or demonstrated reconstructions of early exercises. These experiences led to changes and refinements, creating a sense of mutual investigation. Although at first reconstruction definitely seemed a strange idea to some Dalcroze teachers, they did nothing to discourage me.

Toward the end of my research a remarkable invitation appeared, which was to choreograph movement based on historical sources for a recreation of the Hellerau production of Gluck's Orpheus. This experiment, using sets built after Adolphe Appia's original designs, was performed in January 1991 at the University of Warwick Arts Centre in Coventry, England, with professional soloists and amateur chorus and orchestra. It brought me into collaboration
with the London-based Dalcroze teacher Karin Greenhead, who worked as Eurhythmics Consultant for the project. I had thought that such an arrangement would make the whole enterprise more authentic and agreed to do the choreography on condition that a Dalcrozian be involved. The Warwick Orpheus is discussed further in an Appendix to the thesis.

My previous reconstructions had been modest studio efforts with dance history students at York University (Toronto) and New York University, as well as with Dalcroze teachers and students at conferences in the United States, Germany, and Switzerland. Now, interestingly enough, this recreation for public performances occurred in England. Orpheus gave me the opportunity to work in tandem with Greenhead on a project which was a major learning experience in itself. It also provided the time for extended interviews with this leading Dalcroze teacher of today. Quite a number of the other teachers I had met in England and Switzerland came to see the production, and since then Greenhead and I have been invited to lead workshops on Orpheus at an international Dalcroze congress in Geneva in 1992. A visitor from Hellerau has suggested staging it in the original building once the projected restoration is completed. Thus the intermingling of historical research and fieldwork continues as I embark on a book about Dalcroze teaching in several of its different historical contexts. This thesis on Dalcroze Eurhythmics in England is a step toward realizing that goal.
1.4 Survey of Secondary Literature

The secondary sources which helped to frame this research can be divided into writings on Jaques-Dalcroze and the method, on the one hand, and work in related areas such as music, dance, physical education, history of education, social history, and women's studies, on the other. The Dalcroze literature contains the ideas and references which most directly enabled me to pursue work on the history of Dalcroze teaching.

The two biographies I used are Hélène Brunet-Lecomte's life of her brother, Jaques-Dalcroze: sa vie, son oeuvre (1950) and Alfred Berchtold’s "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps," which is published along with four other extended essays and a finely-detailed "Chronologie" by Tibor Dénes in Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: l'homme, le compositeur, le créateur de la rythmique (1965). This major book, edited by the composer Frank Martin in honour of the centenary of Jaques-Dalcroze's birth, includes a bibliography and a catalogue of music which have been indispensable to my work. An English version of Claire-Lise Dutoit-Carlier's essay was later published as Music, Movement, Therapy (1971). Berchtold’s definitive intellectual history La Suisse romande au cap du XXe siècle (1963) offers portraits of Jaques-Dalcroze and his contemporaries.

Marie-Laure Bachmann, the newly-appointed Director of the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze, illuminates Dalcroze theory in
relation to current teaching practice in *La Rythmique* Jaques-Dalcroze: une éducation par la musique et pour la musique (1984), now available in English translation as *Dalcroze Today: An Education through and into Music* (1991). Bachmann, who is a Dalcroze teacher with advanced academic background in psychology, presents with exceptional clarity the theories of Jaques-Dalcroze: the need to connect body and mind, the motor origin of the rhythmic sense, and the time-space-energy relationship in music and movement. In this work which is an analysis, not a history, she speaks of the difficulty of "separating an idea, after its initial appearance, from the form it took when first put into practice."14 Bachmann in effect credits the teaching tradition with the on-going discernment of what the central Dalcroziean ideas mean, and she considers these ideas in a cross section of vividly discussed practical examples. Her perspective is that of a contemporary specialist who, well versed in the intellectual background which gave rise to the Dalcroze method, explains its main principles in terms of teaching which she sees as "a living force today."15

Irwin Spector, an American music specialist, attempts a complete historical treatment in his recent *Rhythm and Life: The Works of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze* (1990). He quotes at length from Jaques-Dalcroze's method books, but with an insufficient grasp of the practical use of such exercises. Following a biographical outline he discusses the early history, the Hellerau period, and later developments in Switzerland and France. He interjects a chapter on the
United States, even though Jaques-Dalcroze never went there, whereas he infrequently mentions England, where Jaques-Dalcroze taught almost every year between 1915 and 1939. The culmination of Spector’s study is the 1965 centenary celebration. Since this book was published in 1990, it is curious that he takes little notice of activity of the twenty-five intervening years. It is as if Dalcroze teaching and scholarship bearing on it came to an end in 1965. His dance history is such that he identifies Royal Ballet founder Ninette de Valois only as a teacher of ballet at Morley College. Although Spector’s is a large-scale study containing a collection of information, the result is flawed history which adds confusion and much misinformation to the Dalcroze literature.

I first worked on Dalcroze teaching in my M.A. thesis in theatre history, "Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze: Portrait of an Institution" (1967). More recently I published an article on the Hellerau school from the perspective of Mary Wigman, one of its outstanding students; another, in press, is on Vaslav Nijinsky’s visits to Hellerau in 1912 and his work with Dalcroze-trained Marie Rambert, who was his assistant when he choreographed Le Sacre du printemps. In other articles I studied the introduction of Dalcroze teaching in the United States by concentrating on Mary Wood Hinman and Lucy Duncan Hall, who were responsible for introducing Eurhythmics at the progressive Francis W. Parker School in Chicago.
The most complete historical outline of the Dalcroze method in England is Nathalie Tingey's *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: A Record of the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics and its Graduates at Home and Overseas, 1913-1973* (1974), which includes memoirs by over forty contributors on Jaques-Dalcroze and the first teachers in England. This small book has been crucial as the basis on which I could begin the research for this thesis. Fortunately I had several helpful meetings with Tingey, whose long career began with her study at Hellerau in 1914 and continued almost until her death in 1988. Several other collections of Dalcroze teachers' memoirs published during the 1970s and 1980s contain unique material relating to the method in England.¹

Gwen Rabinowitz, a Dalcroze teacher based in Croydon, wrote "A Survey of Current Dalcroze Teaching in the United Kingdom" (1987) as part of her M.A. in Music Education at the University of London Institute of Education. After providing a brief general history of Dalcroze teaching she concentrates on examples of contemporary practice in five educational settings in the South of England. She uses direct observation of specific lessons to create case studies of teaching in the past ten years.

Two specialists in music education provide useful models for the history of Dalcroze teaching in other countries. Arthur F. Becknell's *A History of the Development of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in the United States and its Influence on the Public School Music Program* (1970) includes brief case
studies of selected schools. Linda Kyle Revkin carefully analyses local records and educational reports in "An Historical and Philosophical Inquiry into the Development of Dalcroze Eurhythmics and its Influence on Music Education in the French Cantons of Switzerland" (1984), her Ph.D. dissertation. Several other informative studies which deal with historical aspects of the Dalcroze method are found in unpublished theses and dissertations.\textsuperscript{26}

Dorothy Taylor's \textit{Music Now: A Guide to Recent Developments and Current Opportunities in Music Education} (1979) gives a cogent and inclusive account of twentieth-century music education in England. Her attention to Dalcroze teaching and the work of Ann Driver is particularly informative. Among earlier surveys of music education, important sources include reports and pamphlets of the Board of Education and publications such as the Gulbenkian Foundation's \textit{Making Musicians} (1965).\textsuperscript{21} An informative outline of the history of dance education, within which Dalcroze teaching also had a place, is included in the Gulbenkian Foundation's \textit{Dance Education and Training in Britain} (1980).


Histories of progressivism and the New Education Fellowship have been decisive in providing the framework within which I believe the changing fortunes of the Dalcroze method in England can best be explained. These include the two major studies by R.J.W. Selleck as well as works by William Boyd, Wyatt Rawson, and W.A.C. Stewart. Brian Simon's analysis of socio-economic forces influencing the move to increase secondary education in *The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1940* (1974) is especially useful for its portrayal of the Board of Education in that period.

Arthur Marwick's *The Deluge: British Society and the First World War* (1965) and John Stevenson's *British Society 1914-45* (1984) provide valuable perspectives on twentieth-century social history. For understanding the connections of education, social history, physical culture, and the women's movement, studies by Stella Mary Newton, Carol Dyhouse, and Martha Vicinus are of special interest.

Because my previous background in interviewing was limited to journalism and television production, I turned for help to various writings on oral history such as Paul Thompson's *The Voice of the Past* (1978) and to colleagues in dance,
ethnomusicology, and anthropology for bibliography and suggestions on methodology. I have not attempted to produce a combined ethnography and history as the dance anthropologist Cynthia Novak has done in *Sharing the Dance: Contact Improvisation and American Culture* (1990). The purpose of my fieldwork was rather to inform the historical study of an oral tradition of teaching which originated almost a century ago.

1.5 **Structure of the Thesis**

This study moves from the beginnings of the Dalcroze method in its original context, the music world of Geneva between 1890 and 1910, to the Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze at Hellerau where there occurred, in the years before World War I, an intensification of the work involving people from many different backgrounds. From this centre emanated those who developed the Dalcroze method internationally, including the creators of the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics. By concentrating on the teachers, students, and influences of the London School, I try to explain the process by which Dalcroze specialists introduced this work to education and the arts in England. The experiences of individual teachers and schools fill in the story of the method's expansion through the 1930s.

With the end of the personal influence of Jaques-Dalcroze, who did not visit England after 1939, not to mention the hardships of World War II and several changes of leadership, the Dalcroze method faced difficult challenges.
Alternative methods of music and movement education gained ground; older Dalcroze teachers began to retire; and the private progressive schools which had employed them often reduced or put an end to the work. After the suspension of the London School's training course in 1963, study opportunities for prospective Dalcroze teachers were offered by members of the Dalcroze Society in a sequence of settings, but economic realities and changing educational expectations brought further problems. Even though Dalcroze teachers gradually dwindled in numbers, a dedicated group continued to address new possibilities in music education and therapy through their work during the 1970s and 1980s.

This history unfolds in the six chapters which follow. Chapter 2, "A Teacher's Beginnings," focuses on the education of Jaques-Dalcroze and his experimental teaching in the 1890s, while Chapter 3, "The Making of the Dalcroze Method," explains the breakthrough into movement work he made between 1903 and 1906. I consider these discoveries in relation to music, theatre, dance, physical education, and psychology of the period. For my analysis of the teaching itself I concentrate on the written, musical, and visual evidence of Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze as well as manuscript lesson plans. Other sources include letters, photographs, and newspaper accounts.

In Chapter 4, "Dalcrozians and Educationists," I turn to developments of the years before World War I. The writings of diverse witnesses form a composite picture of the educa-
tional and social idealism which inspired those who studied at Hellerau. School publications provide information on curriculum, classes, and performances; such materials augment the evidence of letters, lesson plans, photographs, and press coverage. Taken together, these sources reveal the priorities of the Dalcroze method at this time, and lead to an understanding of why educationists wanted to introduce this work in England.

Chapter 5, "The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics," describes what it was like to study the method professionally in England between 1913 and 1939, a period marked not only by experiment in education but also by major social change. Many of the London School's records were destroyed by bombing during World War II, but other sources survive: teaching manuals and materials; minutes and publications of the Dalcroze Society and the Dalcroze Teachers' Union; the correspondence between the London School and Geneva; and extensive coverage in newspapers and periodicals.

Chapter 6, "The Teaching Expands," complements Chapter 5 by charting out the spread of Dalcroze teaching during the same period to schools in both the public and private education systems. It examines the work in close detail in three progressive school settings: Moira House School, the Hall School (Weybridge), and Frensham Heights School. The main documentation consists of interviews, memoirs, teaching manuals, Board of Education reports, and periodicals.
Chapter 7, "Endings and New Beginnings," deals with the challenges to Dalcrozians posed by Ann Driver's BBC *Music and Movement* broadcasting and Rudolf Laban's movement education; by evacuation of schools during World War II; and by a division of leadership which made it difficult for Dalcroze teachers to deal effectively with post-war changes in education. In the second half of the century they have taken significant initiatives while searching for ways to continue and renew their work. I use insights gained from interviews and participant observation of contemporary teachers as the basis for an overview of Dalcroze teaching since the 1950s.

In this thesis I try to add in a small way to the history of education, an area of central importance in understanding the past. Such work is especially needed to document training methods in the performing arts such as music and dance, where human interactions are complex and changes over time are often hard to explain. Much attention is given to created works, and even to their composers and choreographers, but historians have less often addressed the teaching traditions by which people learn to move and make music. The introduction of the Dalcroze method in England is an interesting chapter in that larger story.
2. A Teacher's Beginnings

2.1 Introduction
2.2 Childhood and Education
2.3 Early Teaching

2.1 Introduction

Emile Jaques made his first appearances as "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze" in 1886, when he spent a season directing a small theatre orchestra in Algiers. A music publisher had recommended that he take another name to avoid confusion with a composer of polkas from Bordeaux. Emile Jaques, chancing upon his former Geneva schoolmate Raymond Valcroze in Algiers, invented "Dalcroze" and joined it to his family name. He later explained that he had hoped to set himself apart from the other "frères Jaques of creation." ¹

The pseudonym marked his coming of age as an artist. Behind him were childhood in Vienna, school and the Conservatoire in Geneva, and two years of professional theatre and music study in Paris. Ahead lay further training in composition in the quite separate music worlds of Vienna and Paris, where he studied with Anton Bruckner and Gabriel Fauré, two of the most advanced composers teaching in that era. Returning to Geneva in 1890, Jaques-Dalcroze began to earn his living as a musician, masterfully juggling the roles of teacher, pianist, singer, composer, conductor, writer, and editor. While teaching solfège at the Conservatoire, he grew interested in the involvement of "the entire organism" in music, and by 1898 he was searching for "a new system of gymnastics applied to the nervous
To explain how Emile Jaques became the teacher Jaques-Dalcroze, it is useful to study his early life in two stages. The first, from 1865 to 1890, concentrates on the teachers who were most influential in his own education. The second, from 1890 to 1903, takes up the beginnings of his career. During these years he gained extensive experience in combining music with gesture and movement, which formed the groundwork for the later development of his teaching method.

2.2 Childhood and Education

Although his parents were Swiss from the French-speaking canton of Vaud, Emile-Henri Jaques was born and lived to the age of ten in Vienna, the city then known as the music capital of Europe. His birth on July 6, 1865 occurred shortly after the celebrations opening the Ringstrasse, the ambitious development scheme which razed the city's medieval walls to make way for the monumental boulevards, buildings, and parks of modern Vienna. Surrounded by change the new family lived on the Am Hof, the largest square of the old inner city, in a comfortable apartment opposite the palace where Mozart first performed in Vienna at the age of six. Emile and his younger sister Hélène enjoyed a childhood of middle-class comfort and amusements. In addition to outings with their maid to the Volksgarten and the Stadtpark, they made imaginary expeditions led by Emile. For these they had to pack their belongings and
hitch up the dining-room chairs as horses for their carriage. As a child he was a natural animateur, and his parents did not curb his zest for play.

His mother Julie came from the Jaunin-Béranger family of Yverdon, the small town on Lake Neuchâtel where Pestalozzi established his innovative teacher training institute in the early 1800s. Jules Jaques, his father, was descended from a long line of Protestant clergymen who looked after village parishes in the Jura mountains. Among his family there had been a number of keen musicians, including Emile's grandfather, but Jules Jaques, whose son was to become one of the best known composers of Switzerland, was not himself a musician. Using Vienna as a base, he represented the Swiss clock and watchmaking industry throughout eastern Europe.

The Jaques introduced Emile to the musical life of their adopted city. He studied violin with a master from the opera, and at six he began piano lessons with an "ugly spinster" whose emphasis on playing scales he detested. Luckily the Vienna of his childhood overflowed with the vitality of the waltz. One of his earliest impressions was of the younger Johann Strauss, who "danced in place when he conducted his waltzes." So inspiring was this handsome man who alternately played and conducted with the bow of his violin, that one day Emile, aided by a ruler from his father's desk, took up a position behind the Waltz King, and helped to lead the laughing orchestra. Strauss is
supposed to have told his parents afterwards, "That child will be a great musician if you make him work." In June 1875, just before they left Vienna, the whole family went to the magnificent new Hofoper, an occasion on which Giuseppe Verdi himself conducted *Aida* with the original cast.

When the family moved to Geneva, Emile first attended the Ecole Privat, a family-run school which used progressive methods such as fieldtrips and mock elections to form "good citizens and good Swiss." Beginning in 1876, he studied at one of the oldest schools of Europe, the Collège de Genève, founded by Protestant reformer Jean Calvin. Even though he was a good Latin student and took several prizes in French composition and diction, he looked back on the experience of the Collège as a passage through a dark tunnel, lit only by a few teachers and the close friends he made. Teachers of subjects such as classics, German, French, and mathematics made "no effort to know, interest, and help us." Despite negative memories, Emile Jaques gained a strong academic foundation at the Collège, where he developed the writing skills on which he relied throughout his career.

Emile was inspired by the teaching of Emile Redard, who introduced him to Shakespeare, and he particularly flourished under Alphonse Scheler, in whose weekly class he learned to recite classic texts by authors such as Racine, Corneille, and Molière. This work involved articulation,
pronunciation, and memorization as well as the study of physical bearing, gesture, and physiognomy. In 1881 he was invited to join the local chapter of the Belles-Lettres, the student society which, he often said, formed his character and was a liberation from all the things he disliked about the Collège. Among his close friends in the Belles-Lettres he learned to express himself without self-consciousness, and his poetry recitations and high-spirited acting in Molière plays were remembered long after the years of his active membership.

His physical training consisted of two hours a week of formal gymnastics taught by a Monsieur Linck, whose "Herculean force made him famous in Geneva." Beginning in 1874 every Swiss schoolboy, as part of compulsory preparation for military service, followed a prescribed course of activities aimed to build strength and endurance. These included free-standing exercises executed on command; exercises on ladders, ropes, and the horizontal bar; jumping and running; and marching in formation drills.

Emile's musical talents were by no means neglected, for during his school years he received an intensive parallel education at the Conservatoire de Musique de Genève. From 1877 to 1883 he gained there a grounding in solfège as well as thorough training in piano and harmony. The teacher he most admired was his advanced harmony master, Hugo de Senger, the Bavarian-born composer whose conducting of great choral and orchestral works defined Geneva's music.
scene of that era. With de Senger's encouragement he began to compose, producing in public a two-act opéra-comique called *La Soubrette* in 1883, the year of his graduation.

After a year of study at the Université de Genève he left for Paris in the fall of 1884 to study theatre, following in the footsteps of his cousin Samuel Jaques, who had become an actor. At that time people in the world's second largest city could view exhibitions of the Impressionists and, if they were so inclined, attempt to reconcile the impulses of Naturalism, Symbolism, and Wagnerism. As his cousin had done, Emile attended the Conservatoire course of Edmond Got, who was described by Henry James as "the first of living actors." For diction he sought out the highly-respected master Talbot, the stage name of Denis Stanislas Montalant, who had been teaching privately since around 1864 while he continued to perform. Like Got, Talbot was a product of the Conservatoire and a long-time sociétaire of the Comédie-Française; Got and Talbot frequently played together on the stage of that centuries-old company. Sarah Bernhardt remembered Talbot as a famous teacher from whom she gained excellent advice, noting that he would make his pupils work on breathing and delivering their parts while lying flat with a marble slab on their stomachs. Emile Jaques recalled the hard work it took to satisfy Talbot, "who gave me lessons for two years after impressing on me that I had everything to learn."
Emile Jaques soon added music to his theatre studies. His parents, who supported him, had left him completely free to choose what he would do, but his sister noted that they were probably secretly relieved to hear that he decided to pursue music. At this time he seems to have played some examples of his work for Gabriel Fauré, only to be told that he knew "nothing, nothing, nothing at all." Later Fauré did agree to teach him, but in the meantime he studied piano and harmony with Félix Le Couppey, Antoine François Marmontel, and Albert Lavignac, three masters of the Conservatoire who took a special interest in music education. He became friends with young composers such as Ernest Chausson, Gustave Charpentier, and Pierre de Bréville. Although he endured setbacks and disappointments as he tried to establish himself, Emile Jaques was admitted on February 2, 1885 to the Société des auteurs, compositeurs et éditeurs de musique (SACEM), the first professional association formed to protect musical artists by collecting royalties. Thus even before reaching twenty he had earned a certain recognition as a composer.

After two years in Paris, Emile Jaques, now using the name Jaques-Dalcroze, had the chance to work as musical director of a small theatre in Algiers during the season of 1886. Fascinated by his discovery of North African drumming and dancing, he later wrote of finding "many occasions there to connect with Arab musicians." He described these experiences as the birth of his curiosity about rhythm, espe-
cially 5/4 time and the other unequal measures neglected in European works.\textsuperscript{e3}

In the fall of 1887 Jaques-Dalcroze entered the organ and composition classes of Anton Bruckner at the Konservatorium of Vienna. The relationship of the aging Bruckner and his twenty-two year old student was nearly a disaster. Even though he later acknowledged his debt to Bruckner for his "extraordinarily severe" teaching and for insisting on "the rules of classical technique," Jaques-Dalcroze found it impossible to please him.\textsuperscript{e4} In a letter to his sister he wrote, "When I am at the piano bench, there are swear-words, imprecations, growls, stampings of the floor with enormous feet, reprimands, unfair judgements, insults against the French."\textsuperscript{e5} Such was the behavior of Bruckner when failing health and a heavy teaching load interfered with composing. After several disputes, Jaques-Dalcroze was taken up by other teachers.

The most influential of these was his piano and harmony master Adolf Prosnitz, an expert on the keyboard music of earlier centuries. Jaques-Dalcroze remembered Prosnitz as "a great artist and a delightful man," who helped people go deeply into their study, penetrating to the essence the works of Bach or Beethoven.\textsuperscript{e6} Prosnitz also emphasized improvisation, an aspect of musicianship which was to have crucial importance in the future work of Jaques-Dalcroze. He wrote that Prosnitz "required each of his students, at the moment of the cadenza, to be inspired by felt emotions
in order to express, each in his own way, the feelings awakened in him by the vibrant personality of the author. This sharpened the personal spirit of the interpreter who became for a moment a true collaborator."

While studying in Vienna, he demonstrated his versatility in a literary and musical "séance" for the students of Eléonore Jeiteles. This occasion included piano works, improvisation, songs by himself and others, and eleven recitations which he had probably studied in Paris with Talbot: poetry by Victor Hugo and Sully-Prudhomme, a scene from Molière, two monologues by Dancourt, the La Fontaine fable "Les deux pigeons," works by Daudet and other writers, as well as a text of his own called "Timidité." Home again in March 1889, he gave a recital entirely of his own music at the Conservatoire. The Journal de Genève reviewer hailed him as "a talent of the future, nourished by new ideas," and noted his "astonishing facility as a pianist."

The Vienna years seem to have convinced Jaques-Dalcroze to complete his music education in France. Returning to Paris in 1889, he profited from studying composition with Léo Delibes, the prominent composer of ballet and opera who taught the advanced course at the Conservatoire. Delibes, "big, blond, amiable and jolly," was characterized by another student as "careful not to hurt anyone's feelings, shrewd, adroit, very lively, a sharp critic."

In Gabriel Fauré, Jaques-Dalcroze found an important mentor
who became a supportive friend. Fauré, still relatively obscure, earned his living by teaching privately and arranging the daily service at the Madeleine, where an early version of his *Requiem* had lately been sung. Fauré eventually was regarded as the most advanced composer of his generation and a pivotal influence in the development of the new French school. He did not stress exercises and rules but rather guided his students by responding to the essence of their work. Jaques-Dalcroze later noted, "Thanks to him I felt the growing need to express myself very simply and to control my thoughts and feelings." He also followed with keen interest the music theory lessons of Mathis Lussy, whom he regarded as an "original, passionate, and knowledgable man." This Swiss-born master who taught for some forty years in a Paris convent published treatises on musical expression, notation, and the theory of rhythm. For Jaques-Dalcroze, Lussy's notions of time, space, and movement opened the door to future explorations, as did his analogy of music to language.

Now everything began to come together for Jaques-Dalcroze. He was discovering new ways of integrating what he had learned of diction and gesture with his knowledge of music. His special consciousness of rhythm that had been awakened in Algiers was reinforced by hearing Arab music in the Paris Exposition of 1889, among the many varieties of world music so impressive to artists of that time. Working as a
voice teacher’s accompanist, he learned the principles of bel canto, which he later used in composing. Sometimes he sang at the Chat Noir, the cabaret touted as the most extraordinary in the world.

In 1890 Jaques-Dalcroze brought his apprenticeship to an end, having acquired one of the most varied music educations Europe had to offer. He had involved himself in contemporary music while deepening his knowledge of tradition; he had learned to compose and how to present his works in public. Open to new ideas about the whole process of music-making, Jaques-Dalcroze at twenty-five was prepared to play a leading role in the performing arts of his country.

2.3 Early Teaching

In Geneva he rapidly established himself as a teacher, opening a private studio for piano, solfège, and diction. His sister noted that pupils did not have to be begged to find their way to the Boulevard des Philosophes, where he gave his first lessons in his parents' apartment near the University. At the same time he began to figure out how to reach the broader public and get himself known. When he organized a series of lecture-performances on harpsichord playing before Bach, one newspaper reported, "M. Jaques-Dalcroze is a lecturer who, by his elegant and easy speaking knows how to captivate his audience. Without any special display of knowledge, he shows the result of long and minute research."
He was first appointed to teach in a music school in 1890, when the Académie de Musique invited him to lecture on the history of music. Students of the Académie, amateur and professional, were expected to attend concerts and lectures to complement their programme of vocal and instrumental study, solfège, and theory, for this school stressed the importance of developing the musical intelligence of each individual. The Académie set itself apart from the more tradition-bound Conservatoire by basing its teaching on modern as well as "old" masters. By 1886, even though it had been in operation only four years, the Académie with its burgeoning enrollment posed a serious threat to the older institution. Many of the Académie teachers had studied or formerly taught at the Conservatoire, where the music repertoire used in teaching was outdated and the curriculum remained narrow. At the Conservatoire it was debated, for example, whether history of music served any purpose, and whether it was right, in a school oriented to the serious amateur, to provide professional training. By contrast, the Académie was an ideal environment for a young teacher.

Charles-Henri Richter, founder and Director of the Académie, set the tone for his school by exclaiming in an essay on music teaching, "There is no method!" In the nineteenth century when new educational methods, not to mention new cures, inventions, and improvements of all kinds were frequently announced, this was a rather surprising statement. But according to Richter, in terms reminiscent of Rousseau,
the teacher should first study the student, rather than impose a system of knowledge, and he should recognize that the task of education is to bring out the individual by developing natural gifts. Richter’s ideas encouraged Jaques-Dalcroze to develop his own way of teaching.

Soon after Hugo de Senger died in 1892 Jaques-Dalcroze was appointed to teach harmony at the Conservatoire. Ferdinand Held, the music critic who became Director the same year, gradually introduced professional training and an atmosphere in which change could occur, despite the ever-cautious conservatism of the Conservatoire’s governing Committee. In his first year there, Jaques-Dalcroze became acutely aware of the fact that students advanced through the levels of the Conservatoire by playing more and more complicated pieces, while in many cases their basic musicianship failed to develop. Although they gained technique, they did not understand what they learned. As he put it, they lacked "the capacity of inner hearing," without which they could not recognize, much less anticipate, arrange, or invent sounds. To address this problem, Jaques-Dalcroze proposed a new course of solfège designed to strengthen the sense of tonality, which he first tried with singing students beginning in 1893. The results led to further courses, and during the 1890s demand for his teaching grew steadily. His brio and friendliness, though viewed with suspicion by the Committee, made him popular with students, who appreciated his sympathetic
interest in their work.

His first pedagogical book, *Exercices pratiques d'intonation dans l'étendue d'une dixième, et Solfèges avec paroles destinées aux élèves de chant* (1894), gave melodies for learning all of the different intervals, along with "solfèges avec paroles," which were songs he set to verses by some twenty writers including himself. His strategy, after making certain that students could hear reliably the difference between a tone and a semitone, was to have them learn to recognize every scale *from a fixed tone*. He recommended C for this purpose, since the range from C to C is comfortable for all singing voices, including those of children. What varies, depending on which scale is in use, is the exact arrangement of tones and semitones.

Explaining this approach, Jaques-Dalcroze gives the example of the scale of A flat, which is not taught as the melody of the scale of C transposed to a minor sixth higher, or to a major third lower. Instead the student learns the succession of notes in the scale of A flat beginning from C (C, D flat, E flat, F, G, A flat, B flat, C), and hears right away that "the melody differs from that of the scale of C." The tones and semitones are not in the same positions, and the student, "being familiar with the order of tones and semitones in a scale extending from tonic to tonic," will be able to notice the places they occupy in any given example and can "find the tonic for the scale, and so identify the key." After a year's time, the student
using this method should be able to learn to distinguish any key. Another advantage of this system is that "it so impresses the C on the memory, that a student is able to sing to pitch, without resorting to the tuning fork."

Using few words but many musical examples, this first slim volume of exercises by Jaques-Dalcroze was greeted by a reviewer of the period as "a work of real value, a work which, while being practical to the highest degree, does not sacrifice musical aesthetics to the essential aim of solfège." For his part, Jaques-Dalcroze, looking back in 1898 over five years of work in this area, summed up his experiences in an article stressing the importance of ear training. He had set himself the task of making exercises which would help students

recognise the pitch of sounds, estimate intervals, apprehend harmonies, distinguish the different notes in chords, follow the contrapuntal effects in polyphonic music, distinguish keys, analyse the relations between hearing and vocal sensations, sensitise the ear, and--by means of a new system of gymnastics applied to the nervous system--open up between brain, ear, and larynx the necessary channels to form of the entire organism what one might call the inner ear."

Little documentation of his early private teaching survives, which is a pity, for presumably he alone decided what to teach and which methods to use in this work. His sister Hélène, who assisted Jaques-Dalcroze during these years, has written that despite his conscientious preparation for every lesson,

he yields freely to his fantasy, which suggests to him a profusion of judicious remarks, often severe but just criticisms on classical,
dried-up instruction as practiced by certain teachers. One lesson does not resemble the next, so that the student, constantly kept on the alert, has to fill the gaps himself and acquire the qualities necessary to become a true musician."43

The composer Ernest Bloch, who as a teenaged violinist studied with him during the 1890s, remembered Jaques-Dalcroze as somewhat "irregular" about lessons: "He would miss three or four of them! Then he would spend a whole afternoon with me, playing, reading, discussing--He gave me more than a 'Method'--He gave me himself--his fantasy, his enthusiasm."43

The main proof that Jaques-Dalcroze became interested in the body and movement almost at the beginning of his teaching career is a printed announcement for his private "Practical Course for the Development of the Ear and the Musical Faculties," scheduled to open in his private studio in September 1894.44 "Practical study of rhythm, based on walking and dancing" was included in the range of study offered. Exactly what this walking and dancing involved is not known, but, apparently even in these early years of teaching, Jaques-Dalcroze was searching for ways to connect rhythmic study with whole body movement. He also offered development of the voice by "pulmonary gymnastics" based on the practical work of Ferdinand Bernard, "the creator of air therapy." The purpose of Bernard's training was to strengthen the voice and lungs, but the announcement also claimed that it was "an excellent cure against nervousness, anemia and weakness of the breathing organs, as well as a
preparation for students of singing."

Marie Chassevant, a specialist in music education for young children, was a colleague whose teaching directly influenced Jaques-Dalcroze during the late 1890s. Inspired by the active, creative teaching approaches of Marie-Olinde Pape-Carpantier and the principles of Friedrich Froebel, leader of the kindergarten movement, Chassevant created ingenious games and stories to make solfège study more engaging. Jaques-Dalcroze visited her classes at the Conservatoire, and in 1898 he published an article about her methods. She invented games with characters such as "Mme l'Intonation," "Mme la Mesure," and the "Beau Génie de la Nuance," to involve children and their mothers in imaginary situations. With the aid of another of her inventions, the "compositeur musical," children could choose little cast iron signs for different musical notes from the compartments of a special box and arrange them on a staff to read, write and compose music. Chassevant's fresh ideas, along with her confidence in a playful yet serious atmosphere, confirmed Jaques-Dalcroze in creating his own new exercises and action songs. Composer Charles Faller, who studied with both teachers, later suggested that Chassevant's remarkable example "opened the way for Jaques-Dalcroze."

Beginning in the mid-1890s Jaques-Dalcroze and his pupils gave recitals of his Chansons populaires et enfantines, songs which became immensely popular with teachers and
school children all over Switzerland. As one writer noted, such an occasion presented on a stage graced with garlands brought together "three elements of life and gaiety: youth, music and flowers." Jaques-Dalcroze published several collections of these songs along with explanations for performing them. From these movement directions any musically-inclined teacher could bring children into what one woman later remembered as "an enchanted world, where flowers talked ... and dolls became 'real' children." Every morning at ten at her school in Geneva, children put away their pens and entered a large room "to sing, beat time, and mime comic characters, familiar animals, and métiers"--all with Mlle Mercier, who kept an alcove filled with the wonderful accessories and costumes which allowed them to become grandmothers, dwarfs, or reapers. A few photographs indicate how these songs were presented in recital. For "La Lessive" a bevy of girls in long curls and their best white dresses knelt down over handkerchiefs and imitated laundresses, who in those days were still to be seen hard at work by the riverbank. The words began, "Faisons la lessive, les enfants sont sales," or "Let's do the laundry, the children are dirty...."

In this period Jaques-Dalcroze joined forces with singers, writers, artists, dance teachers, and theatre people in a steady stream of concerts and stage productions of his music, including a number of major choral works and operas. From these collaborations he gained a knowledge of movement which stimulated him to investigate new possibilities in
his music classes. The culmination of these experiences was directing the very large numbers of people who took part in his *Poème alpestre* (1896) and *Festival vaudois* (1903). For these works he had to teach on the spot, in order to achieve in a limited time the best possible performances from young and old, amateurs and professionals. This practical imperative convinced him that superior learning could be achieved through the integration of music and movement.

Despite an unusually rainy summer the Swiss National Exhibition of 1896 drew over two million visitors to Geneva. Lavish displays of products presented the country’s financial and industrial power in full force, while a variety of entertainments offered concerts and cabaret, an amusement park, the novelty of exotic musicians and dancers, and an idyllic miniature Swiss village which was elaborately fabricated for the occasion. Jaques-Dalcroze, who by now had the reputation of being one of the country’s foremost composers, was given responsibility for composing the *festspiel*, or festival play, which was conceived as a great civic pageant.

His *Poème alpestre* came vividly to life in an enclosed temporary theatre which seated 1300. Jaques-Dalcroze conducted the combined choruses of 550 and an orchestra of 80.** Beginning with a scene in the mountains, fantastic spirits and natural forces illustrated the theme of nature and man. Not surprisingly, this order was reversed for the
second part, man and nature, which showed past, present, and future through costumed cortèges of singing and dancing groups. Radiant children took the stage for a "picturesque ballet" of rounds which they sang "with clear crystalline voices." The conclusion offered a hymn to liberty and an apotheosis with hundreds singing in unison.

Whereas Jaques-Dalcroze was thirty at this time, a dapper gentleman nearing seventy was in charge of the much-admired choreography and staging of the spectacle. The dancing master Benjamin Archinard knew how to deal efficiently with large numbers of amateurs and make them look good. Many of the participants would have studied social dancing with him, as probably Jaques-Dalcroze did as a child, for Archinard had been Geneva's leading dancing master from around 1850. Trained under André Jean-Jacques Deshayes at the Paris Conservatoire, Archinard danced during the 1840s in ballets with stars such as Carlotta Grisi. His experience which made such a difference to the success of Poème alpestre came not so much from his many years of teaching polkas and deportment to local children as from his having choreographed since 1851 the traditional festspiel of Vevey, the Fête des Vignerons. Théophile Gautier claimed that he had never witnessed such a spectacle, not even at the Opéra, as Archinard's fête of 1865, which was famous for its bacchanales. Jaques-Dalcroze saw his work for the fête of 1889 with music by Hugo de Senger, which directly inspired Poème alpestre. Archinard seems to have had a
facility for simplifying and teaching his repertoire of steps, gestures, and formations to anyone, for his results never failed to win high praise.

The most monumental creation in Jaques-Dalcroze's career was his Festival vaudois, an open-air festspiel given at Lausanne in July 1903, which was mounted with the detailed strategy of a military campaign. He was commissioned to write both words and music for this work to mark the centenary of the canton of Vaud. After several months in rehearsal for this five-hour production, he conducted its three performances from atop a tower several meters high, where the cast of 2500 people from all over the canton could see him in his white suit and hat.

Conceived not as a historical play but rather as scenes, tableaux and evocations of forgotten epochs brought to life, it featured five parts representing characteristic settings and time periods. Each part was rehearsed locally by the district portrayed: "La Vigne" presented classical antiquity complete with a bacchanale, followed by a cortège of contemporary winegrowers in a tribute to the Fête des Vignerons of Vevey, while "Rolle, 1791" presented military displays in Revolutionary times. The last part used a mountain setting with real cows for scenes of fantasy, including an eight-section "Ballet des Fleurs des Alpes" with over 100 dancers and a patriotic apotheosis in which the entire cast flanked Helvetia, draped in a flag.

Firmin Gémier, the young French actor who was already
gaining attention for his innovative productions at the Théâtre Antoine in Paris, was credited with bringing the five parts of the spectacle together into a coherent whole. In his manifesto on people's theatre published that same year, Romain Rolland extolled the social virtues of such outdoor celebrations which could unite the "masses" in choral movement. But in fact it was much debated whether the dedication of participants and the wholehearted audience response (over 20,000 attended the last performance) justified the extraordinary expense and time it took to produce the Festival vaudois. Unlike the traditional Swiss festivals which date back to the middle ages, the Festival vaudois exemplified the modern civic pride which produced new pageants and immense expositions of science, industry, and art all across Europe and North America in this period.

Prominent among the makers of the Festival vaudois was Rita Missol-Rivo, ballet mistress from Geneva. By this time she and Jaques-Dalcroze had already collaborated on two productions, his opera Sancho (1897), produced at the Grand-Théâtre in Geneva, and a Ballet des Narcisses for the spring festival at Montreux in 1898. The Montreux work included nine dancers swirling voluminous skirts in the manner of American solo dancer Loie Fuller, then at the peak of her popularity in Europe. Rivo's ballets for the Festival vaudois with "swarms of young girls in fresh costumes" were described in one account as "a joy to the
eyes." Like Archinard she knew how to create effective steps and groupings for amateur performers.

Jaques-Dalcroze later reflected that "it was while preparing the Festival vaudois that I had the chance to study deeply the question of the relationship of body movements and evolutions in space and time." After this work, which was one of his crowning achievements as a composer, Jaques-Dalcroze turned his full attention to the implications of what he had learned from his early teaching and stage experiences.
3. The Making of the Dalcroze Method

3.1 Introduction

Convinced that learning should involve the whole person, mind and body together, Jaques-Dalcroze investigated the place of body movement in music education. Between 1903 and 1906 he transformed his experiments into a teaching method which he hoped others would adopt. As he proceeded he found various work bearing on the theme of movement, such as the concept of the kinaesthetic sense, studies of the emotions and expression, scientific methods of physical training, progressive education, and Isadora Duncan’s dancing. This chapter examines the Dalcroze method in the artistic and intellectual context from which it emerged.

Questioning psychologist Edouard Claparède on a matter of terminology, Jaques-Dalcroze wrote of finding "new orientations" in others' views: "Deprived of a scientific mind, I create empirically, but sometimes just one word is enough to bring about a veritable revolution in me."¹ One such word was kinaesthesis, coined in 1869 by British neurologist H. Charlton Bastian to identify a sixth or "muscular sense" for the perception of body movement and position. The muscular sense, subject of Claparède’s medical thesis in 1897, gave Jaques-Dalcroze a few years later the frame-
work he needed to explain his practical observations of mind-body relationships in music. When he published Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze in 1906, he referred to muscles, nerves, will, motor habits, and coordination, proposing that muscular control should be developed by "a special gymnastics," to help people find "complete harmony which will place a more intense and powerful nervous system at the service of a more quick and precise will."  

3.2 Gesture Songs

Jaques-Dalcroze gained immeasurably from the colleagues who understood at the beginning what he was trying to do. Nina Gorter, a Dutch woman teaching music in Berlin, was so impressed with his children's songs that in April 1904 she moved to Geneva to assist him. She came from Berlin, the city which the American dancer Isadora Duncan, then in her mid-twenties, had recently made her base, where the dress reform and physical culture movements were growing rapidly. The collaboration with Gorter produced a noticeable shift of emphasis in the children's songs of Jaques-Dalcroze. Whereas his earlier songs had been a kindergarten world of family, workmen, animals, and toys, he now wrote "gesture songs" and "callisthenic studies." On the cover of the first collection which he published with Gorter, two tunic-clad girls in a garden assume the classical poses of two statues standing in the background. One of these songs is described as a "study of hand movements"; that of a doll is a "study of expression--head and eyes"; others are pretexts for walking, for torso movement, for the arms; "L'Ondine"
is a plastique générale for a girl wearing a "supple and light long gown."

According to their supplementary pamphlet on staging, Jaques-Dalcroze and Gorter intended these songs to develop the feeling for rhythm and general harmony of movements, forming ... an artistic complement to studies of gymnastics and dance. Gymnastics strengthen the muscles, fortify the limbs, make the joints supple, and assure good organic functioning; similarly, the study of callisthenic songs will show children how to coordinate their movements and attitudes in one harmonious whole.

The directions for staging provide photographs, not as attitudes to be copied, but rather to indicate "the direction in which the personal study and research of the teacher ought to be directed." This emphasis on the need for personal study and research reflects clearly the values of nineteenth-century Delsartism, values recently espoused by Duncan in her famous lecture "The Dance of the Future," published in Germany in 1903.

Several times Jaques-Dalcroze and Gorter refer to Dr. Albert Dresdner of Berlin, an art historian who claimed that "Music, gymnastics and dance must be the first arts of education; and the task of the teacher is to form, intensify, systematize and ennoble the natural eloquence of the child's body." Although Duncan is not named, the ideas which they quote are taken from Dresdner's article on dance as a plastic art, in which he considered Duncan's new and fruitful work for the development of dancing. Interest-
ingly enough Jaques-Dalcroze as editor of *La Musique en Suisse* had published this important article in three parts, in May and June of 1903. Even though he probably had not yet seen her himself, Jaques-Dalcroze was informed about the response to Duncan’s dancing almost from the beginning of her European career, at exactly the time he decided to focus on what movement had to offer to teachers of music.

For Jaques-Dalcroze and Gorter, now working on exercises of walking, breathing, and gesture, to hear of Duncan’s performing to masterpieces of serious music must have come as incentive to continue their own efforts. Word of her dancing in Paris to Beethoven’s *Sonata Pathétique* reached readers of the *Journal de Genève* in May 1904:

> Bending under the weight of a profound and intimate passion, evolving slowly before you, translating the immortal melody from measure to measure, penetrating as in life, sometimes seeming to rise to some invisible refuge, at once its slave and its equal, the young girl, by her faithful and faultless movements, dances the truth.⁷

The reviewer concluded that Duncan, "by the happy liberty of body movements, translates the emotions that Beethoven expresses in the language of sounds." The Paris critic Jean d’Udine, a friend of Jaques-Dalcroze, was struck "by the marvelous fidelity with which Miss Duncan translates a melody in attitudes and choreographic movements."⁸ Of her *Sonata Pathétique*, he wrote, "all the curvings of the melodic line, all its events of structure: anacrusis, syncopations, groupings, even all its modulations find an echo in this body, inflections which are perfectly
Nina Gorter was not a dancer, but she had some knowledge of gymnastics and the field known around 1900 as expression, which included gesture, elocution, pantomime, and posing. Once she joined Jaques-Dalcroze his work on gesture and movement intensified, and their collaboration concentrated on the experience of music through movement. Gorter was also invaluable because she began to write down what he was doing. This act of formulating the work, which Gorter made her mission, was a crucial step in giving the method its identity.\textsuperscript{11}

3.3 The Congress at Soleure

As he progressed, Jaques-Dalcroze realized that his work was of great potential interest to everyone concerned with music education. He proposed a national congress on music teaching to be held before the next annual meeting of the Association des musiciens suisses, of which he had been a founder in 1900. On July 1, 1905, the meeting he initiated was convened in the tranquil town of Soleure, near Neuchâtel, with 136 people in attendance. In the major address, Jaques-Dalcroze depicted the mediocrity of present-day music teaching and suggested a number of improvements. It was in this context that he, by way of an unusual presentation, stressed the importance of teaching rhythm. According to the congress proceedings, he produced three young girls who had studied with him for four years:

He has them sing scales in all keys always beginning from \textit{do}, recognizing the tonality
and modulations of passages he plays for them at the piano, improvising on a given theme modulating according to his instructions; then he has them perform graceful exercises of rhythm in which the various divisions of measure correspond to certain movements of the arms and legs. He ends up with surprising exercises of sight-reading and phrasing.¹⁶

In this way students of the new method in 1905 showed its interconnecting work in solfège, rhythmic movement, and improvisation, in a performance that caused "justifiable amazement" and received keen applause.

The response to this demonstration was a lively discussion. Charles Troyon of the Lausanne Ecole Normale stated that such methods would work only for exceptional students and that they were not adaptable to most children. But Paul Boepple, a teacher from Basel, who like Troyon had sung a major role in the Festival vaudois, "gripped the auditorium" by telling how he had used the new Dalcroze method to teach some 800 girls aged ten to sixteen, "obtaining extraordinary results in very little time."¹⁷ Thus at Soleure the method became in one day a pivotal topic in Swiss music nationalism, seen as a means by which mass education could be more effectively achieved. Soon the Association committed money to help publish Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze, a projected eight-volume work which began to appear in 1906 in separate French and German editions. As Jaques-Dalcroze later noted, he could agree to this enormous undertaking because Nina Gorter had already been documenting his teaching.

By the time most of the volumes were completed late in
1906, a strenuous period of further experiment and writing had gone by. He promoted the method in April at a music pedagogy congress in Berlin and gave a two-week summer course in Geneva, which immersed some 77 adults, mostly teachers, in the method. Brunet-Lecomte recalled the suffocating heat which did not stop these "neophytes": men who took off their vests and ties, their loosened suspenders flying about as they tried the exercises; women "young or old, thin or corpulent, agile or maladroit, ... long skirts not hindering their ardor to obey the commands of 'hop'...." Among the participants was the stage theorist-designer Adolphe Appia, then forty-three, his book on Wagner and experimental productions in the Comtesse de Béarn's theatre in Paris behind him. After seeing a demonstration of the method he had become enthusiastic about this new teaching which "makes music a thing that concerns the entire body." 

Appia's article in the *Journal de Genève* about the upcoming summer course spoke first of Wagner and "Miss Duncan, who has charmed us with her interesting and fragmentary art." They among others have discovered that music finds "in the body's attitudes a singularly precise and captivating expression." Whereas music is usually conceived as virtuosity, and taught as something "outside ourselves," he wrote that Jaques-Dalcroze is convinced of this downfall:

His conviction does not result from a personal, speculative impression; it was imposed on him, little by little, invincibly, in the course of his teaching, such that he
involves inhaling, which suggests action, and exhaling, which equals rest or pause, and these correspond to the weak upbeat and the strong downbeat of the bar. "It would be a curious study," Lussy observed in 1873, "to analyze the connection between certain musical structures and the gestures they excite."  

Lussy argued that man imposes himself on the "infinities" of space and time by creating rhythm, in architecture and the plastic arts as well as in music and poetry:

A sense of rhythm is inherent in his double nature--physical and intellectual. For the mind of man is in this respect similar to his body, that, it is incapable of sustaining an effort for any length of time, unless periodic breaks occur to provide the rest indispensable to his being.  

The notion of rhythm as muscular tension and relaxation was also taken up by Paul Souriau in his classic work of 1889 on the aesthetics of movement, by Wilhelm Wundt and a host of later experimental psychologists, and by Hugo Riemann in music theory. Whereas Lussy himself used his perceptions of body movement to analyze musical repertoire, Jaques-Dalcroze's innovation was to enter the dimension of real space, where people could study music directly through movement. His Gymnastique rythmique drew upon current approaches to physical training and Delsarte expression, freely adapting exercises to support his priorities in teaching music.

A broad new consciousness of physical culture had appeared in Switzerland, as demonstrated by the rapid expansion of
German-style turnen or gymnastics that had occurred since the 1880s. John Addington Symonds, a visitor to the 1891 federal Turnfest in Geneva, described the immense impact of seeing thousands, "a whole elastic multitude," displaying the body's muscular resources: "The wide field was covered by men, every one of whom moved in concert with the mighty mass, rhythmically, to the sound of music."

For women and children, the Swedish Ling gymnastics had been introduced in Geneva in the mid-1890s. Performed to the teacher's commands, Swedish gymnastics brought not only the "day's order" of scientifically-graded training, but also a rational approach to women's dress (bloomers, no corsets) and purpose-built facilities such as the new gymnasiunm at Geneva's Ecole de Malagnou. This was exactly the kind of space which Jaques-Dalcroze needed (and soon used) for his summer teacher-training courses.

Whether German or Swedish, organized gymnastics captured the Swiss in the twenty years before Jaques-Dalcroze developed his method in Geneva. Unlike the aesthetic, stylized movements of dancing, gymnastics took a more functional approach to body training. Gymnastics, moreover, was the form of physical education which was becoming accessible to all. In this context it was virtually inevitable that certain elements of gymnastics teaching, such as quick response to commands in drills, would be modified and incorporated into the new rhythmic gymnastics.

Jaques-Dalcroze was also strongly impressed by the ideas of
François Delsarte, the unconventional teacher who imparted his system of vocal expression, body attitude, and gesture to so many mid-nineteenth-century French performers and public speakers. In Europe there was no real equivalent to the wave of enthusiasm for Delsarte which swept North America in subsequent decades, mingling elocution and gymnastics into a new physical culture hybrid which Delsarte's visiting daughter could barely recognize. According to a reliable early account, however, Jaques-Dalcroze did learn certain movements called "Delsarte" exercises in his studies in Paris during the 1880s.

Determining the extent of this work would be difficult, but it is known that Delsarte's influence still pervaded the Conservatoire at that time, long after his death in 1871. From the teachers Got and Talbot, as well as from his actor-cousin Samuel Jaques, he must have gained a knowledge of Delsarte on which he could later build. He himself briefly entered the field of expression as a reciter of poetry and monologues, and he established himself in Geneva as a teacher of diction. Since Jaques-Dalcroze also acquired books on Delsarte by Arnaud and Giraudet, it is not surprising to find him quoting a basic principle of Delsarte in Gymnastique rythmique: "To each spiritual function corresponds a function of the body;—Delsarte said—-to each great function of the body corresponds a spiritual act."

This understanding of the interdependence of mind and body,
Delsarte's "law of correspondence," led Jaques-Dalcroze to his own claim that "to regulate and improve movement is to develop the rhythmic mentality."\(^{30}\) Convinced that musical rhythm is a reflection of body movement, he now saw his task as teaching people "to take possession of" their bodies in order to move them at will.\(^{31}\)

Proper dress for movement, an important matter in the method as it had evolved by 1906, is one of the first topics raised in Gymnastique rythmique. Students are expected to wear simple, light, well-ventilated clothing. Tops are plain knit jerseys, and, "for the lower part of the body, ample bloomers, stopped just above the knees" ensure the free play of the joints.\(^{32}\) The recommended light sandals permit the teacher to see movement of the feet. As in other turn-of-the-century writings on dress reform, corsets are strictly forbidden, for nothing must be allowed to impede breathing.

Classes begin with a warm-up of "general" exercises which progress from the torso outwards to the limbs. Respiration, that "master function which commands all others," comes first, followed by work with balance and exercises to strengthen and "make supple" particular muscles needing attention.\(^{33}\) Described in some twenty pages of examples, the general exercises provide a relatively thorough physical training based on respected approaches of the period. Students mastering them would gain not only muscular control but also a basic awareness of body mechanics.\(^{34}\)
Although these exercises bear the unmistakable stamp of their time, especially in details such as the chest-lifted, hands-behind-the-neck Swedish gymnastics stance, it is revealing to learn from them the high level of physical facility which Jaques-Dalcroze envisioned for his first students. He wanted them to work toward the ideal of a trained, articulate body. "The music teacher who would like to specialize in teaching rhythm according to our method," he wrote, will feel

the necessity of studying the modifications produced in the organism by muscular work, as well as the functions of the muscles, the immediate agents of movement. It is indispensable that the teacher know the forms of muscular work and its general effects ... so as not to work against nature, to avoid errors and to recognize abnormal cases.\textsuperscript{30}

Around the time Gymnastique rythmique was written, Jaques-Dalcroze studied human anatomy and read carefully two books by Fernand Lagrange, the French physiologist who became a staunch advocate of Swedish gymnastics. Jaques-Dalcroze recommends both books for the prospective teacher, who needs to form "a very clear image of perfect movements, of the mechanism of the joints as well as of the degrees of muscular contraction and decontraction."\textsuperscript{30} Before Lagrange, few physiologists had taken exercise as a particular focus, and no book had approached the substance of his Physiologie des exercices (1888), which not only reports work on muscular effort, nervous reflexes, and fatigue, but also stands as a guide to this period's intensive research on
animal movement, work behavior, and physical training. Most significant for Jaques-Dalcroze was Lagrange's conclusion that automatisms of movement serve to economize the work of the brain, which he supported by examples of exercises which, once learned, no longer present difficulty. "Is it not quite a different thing to amuse oneself with dancing, from occupying oneself with learning dancing?" Lagrange asks. "Dancing, riding, rowing, even running, when they have long been practised, need no more brain work than walking, which is above all an automatic exercise." Jaques-Dalcroze knew this well from his teaching experience. Little by little he had built up his rhythmic gymnastics to help students gain control of movements such as walking and breathing, two automatisms which he found so central to music-making.

3:5 Educating the Nervous System

If the general exercises of Gymnastique rythmique are mostly borrowings from the physical culture movement, it is in the multitude of "rhythmic walking and breathing" exercises that the true invention of Jaques-Dalcroze is to be found. In this work, which is the foundation of the method, he connects physical movements with the musical phenomena to which he assumes they give rise. The object is not to strengthen muscles but to improve communication between the sensing, moving body and the creating, thinking brain.

One of his main ideas is that the act of walking generates
the feeling of the beat. The whole process of lifting one leg to step, falling forward and catching the weight, then going on to the next step—activity familiar and automatic from childhood—demonstrates the body's natural way of dividing time into equal parts. This creates "the model of what is called measure." When the first of two steps, or the first of three or four steps is accented, the result is metrical accentuation.

Gymnastique rythmique explains measured walking in duple time first. The students, saying "**strong, weak, strong, weak,**" step in place and then move forward, matching their actions to the quarter notes the teacher plays. The walking pattern can begin on the strong (crusic) or weak (anacrusic) beat, with either leg leading. For triple time they say "**strong, weak, weak**" or "**one, two, three,**" while alternating feet on every step; thus the strong beat changes from one side to the other in successive measures. Students may learn these walking exercises facing the blackboard, facing away from the board, or moving in a line around the room, working "by heart."

Soon students progress from quarter notes to the other note values. The half note is broken down into two movements: the step with the transfer of weight shows the first half of the note, while a gentle knee bend fills the remainder of the time. Similarly, movements for dotted half notes and whole notes include additional leg gestures to represent the longer durations. On the other hand, shorter
values such as eighth notes and triplets call for quicker, smaller steps, often to be done on the balls of the feet. It is interesting to note that the word "run" is rarely used and that, although a few jumps are given, skipping rhythms are not taken up at all. The omission of faster movements, which other evidence indicates were already a part of the teaching, suggests that they were probably reserved for a planned second volume that was never published.

For rests, or silences as they are better named in French, the legs and body remain still but alert in the ending position of the last step. Eventually, nuances such as accelerando-rallentando and crescendo-decrescendo are studied, because "the muscles can be active with more or less force." This work on muscular control and the placement of body weight receives special emphasis in Gymnastique rythmique, where Jaques-Dalcroze first begins to call the concept energy.

Arm gestures for beating time are introduced, which "must be done energetically, so that the hand arrives, whether down, to the left, right or up, at the moment the beat begins, remaining immobile for the duration of the beat." Illustrations for beating triple time show how the method enlarges the motions of the conductor: the hand "beats the air" and extends forward to horizontal, palm down, on one; goes to the side, palm facing front, on two; and lifts to vertical, palm facing in, on three. These
gestures may be performed in place or while walking. Students could simultaneously gesture with the arms and step the measures or various rhythmic patterns. When combined with syncopation, for example, the arm gestures serve especially well to heighten the feeling of regular measure pulling against the counter impulses of the stepped rhythms.

The method thus transforms ordinary walking, a complex activity in itself, into a way of studying music through movement experience. People internalize beat, measure, and rhythm by engaging in a process which is both analytic and integrative, concerned with the parts as well as the whole. This duality is summed up by two basic directions Jaques-Dalcroze often used: décomposer, to break down in order to study particular elements, and réaliser, to realize or express by movements of the body, joining all elements into a complete action.

The work with walking is complemented by an extraordinary variety of rhythmic breathing exercises. Whereas locomotion carries the body from a balanced position outward into space, breathing is a more inward activity which can, if consciously studied, awaken the torso or centre of the body. In this work muscular contraction and relaxation, concentrating in the abdomen or the chest or both together, is deliberately timed and controlled. As with walking, concepts of measure and rhythm are explored, but the body knowledge gained is not the same, for breathing is never
entirely voluntary. Hence there are no breathing exercises to show rests; specific, willed movements always have to be coordinated with the necessity for functional breathing. Another important difference is that breathing is intimately connected with the voice, the source of song and speech inside the body. Jaques-Dalcroze connects different types of movements with sound production (for example, contractions of the large abdominal muscles are associated with explosive consonants such as p, b, t, and d), and he claims that breathing work is excellent preparation for singing. This teaching, derived from traditional diction and voice instruction, becomes in Gymnastique rythmique a remarkably detailed exploration of movement impulses and phrasing in the centre of the body.

The rhythmic breathing exercises are written in a simple notation system which can show which muscles contract and relax (abdominal or intercostal); whether the movement is sudden or sustained; and whether the inhalation-exhalation fully or only partly fills or empties the chest. These signs are combined with rhythmic notation to show hundreds of isolations and timings to be practiced with music which the teacher plays. For example, one can sharply contract, fill the chest, and hold for the count of one, but then gradually relax and empty the chest during the count of two. The same physical sequence feels different, however, if the sudden contraction begins on the second beat of the musical measure. Thus the student can learn to
feel in the torso the difference between crusis and ana-crusis that has already been studied in walking. This work culminates in the "sung rhythmic marches," a group of more than eighty compositions by Jaques-Dalcroze for voice (without words), piano, and rhythmic walking, written to help students discover the sensitive links between breathing and musical phrasing."

In Gymnastique rythmique several other types of exercises go beyond rhythmic walking and breathing to develop skills of coordination, attention, and concentration. These include "independence of the limbs" exercises, such as making a large circle with one arm while the other beats time; beating two against three; making a canon with several body parts; or creating piano and forte movements simultaneously. "The challenging work called "spontaneous will" involves sudden changes on command. Students might change directions while walking, for example, or add a jump, switch the time-beating gestures from one arm to the other, or do any other agreed-upon action when the teacher calls out "hopp!" "Stopping" exercises alternate walking with stillness, during which the task is to "continue the movement mentally," so as to be able to resume the original tempo or pattern without hesitation. "Alternating measures" strengthen the feeling for energy changes, leading to exercises such as increasing from two-beat up to sixteen-beat measures, then reversing from sixteen back to two. In "hearing" exercises the students listen to a melody and realize it immediately in movement, without
Among the first to remark on the originality of involving movement experience in the process of music education was the director of the newly-established psychology laboratory at the Université de Genève, Edouard Claparède. In 1903, at the age of thirty, he had introduced a course on child psychology inspired by new teaching methods, and two years later he published his ground-breaking study *Psychologie de l'exact et pédagogie expérimentale.* 

"It is interesting to recognize," he wrote to Jaques-Dalcroze, 

that you, by completely different ways from those of physiological psychology, have arrived, as it has, at the psychological importance of movement, the role movement plays in support of intellectual and affective phenomena. But you have done more than psychologists, since, in place of merely inferring, you have verified and proven--you have demonstrated movement in action, in the truest sense!"

This was high praise, coming from a man who had written his medical thesis on an aspect of the muscular sense, including a special chapter on its role "in the genesis, coordination and execution of movements," and who had produced a definitive survey of this field which occupied so many nineteenth-century scientists.

Claparède was impressed too that Jaques-Dalcroze had evolved a practical way of achieving the "genetic learning" which he promoted. In this model of education the child, by a series of progressive "adaptations," gains inner discipline and mastery from the activities of work and
play. The teacher becomes a collaborator, a source of "enthusiasm, not erudition," as one of his colleagues put it; instead of transmitting knowledge, the teacher assists the child in acquiring knowledge through personal research. Stimulated by his friendship with Claparède, who was the co-editor of the *Archives de psychologie* and well versed in the most current work in Europe and North America, Jaques-Dalcroze began to read about psychology and education.

Before he completed *Gymnastique rythmique*, Jaques-Dalcroze discovered Georges Delbruck's *Au Pays de l'harmonie*, a novel published in Paris earlier in 1906, which popularized new notions of the unconscious. In this parable set in the centre of Africa, Lysias, the sage of a utopian community known as the Club of Harmony, observes that people are made of two distinct beings, one "unconscious, instinctive, generous, which reveals itself by the instincts; the other conscious, philosophical and imaginative, which reveals itself by conscious intelligence." Stressing the importance of education through the senses, he includes movement in the ideal learning which will fuse unconscious and conscious in one single being. Children should move like the chamois or the gazelle, play games, practice deep breathing, and learn massage and body care, according to Lysias. They should also learn "the multiplicity and independence of simultaneous movements in order to develop the unconscious nervous centres." He explains that whereas learning new movement demands conscious intelligence, acquired movement is controlled by the unconscious nervous
centres with great precision, rapidity, and "lightness," the qualities which in his opinion combine to produce elegance.

Jaques-Dalcroze cited Delbruck along with Lussy, Lagrange, and Delsarte, perhaps believing that his method in some way actualized their visions of complete physical and spiritual education. From simple walking to the most advanced realizations, rhythmic gymnastics aimed to help students "place a more intense and powerful nervous system at the service of a more quick and precise will."

3.6 The Plastic Expression of Music

The last and by far the longest section of Gymnastique rythmique, 50 of some 280 pages, offers an approach to "slow movements and walking," which according to Jaques-Dalcroze are much harder to perform than short, rapid movements. He says that it is good to train the limbs to move slowly for two reasons. From the physical standpoint, slow movements require excellent balance and muscular control, since groups of opposing muscles must adjust constantly, with both suppleness and resistance, to create a harmonious flow of action. Musically, he suggests that mastering these movements helps to impress their motor images on the mind. Slow movements thus bring out what he calls "the plastic side" of motor harmony and "the lyric nature" of music, both of which emphasize the "awakening and continuity of thought."
Exercises to prepare for slow movements use tension and relaxation of the legs to shift the body gradually from side to side or forward and back; to walk slowly, prolonging the contact of the foot with the ground; and to turn, kneel, or lie down. These movements involve sustained weight transfers, to which large arm gestures of lifting and lowering, circling, and curving can be added. "Lying down," for example, is a controlled fall to the back or side, with a flow of changing tension passing through the body until the muscles relax completely. To rise from the right side a "crescendo of tension is carried from the neck to the back and the abdomen, to the arms and the right hand; then to the legs and finally to the left leg only."\[^{54}\]

Jaques-Dalcroze introduces photographs in the text of this section to suggest how thoughts and feelings can help to motivate slow movements. These, he explains, are only meant to indicate work which can be varied "to infinity," as teacher and students invent other movement possibilities.\[^{55}\] In "calling, with rounded arms," the student beckons to an imaginary person to come to her, whereas she suggests "the desire to distance" herself by a group of contrasting gestures; "devotion" is described as a slow step forward, lifting and circling of both arms, kneeling, leaning forward with eyes on the ground, then returning to standing.\[^{56}\] Adoration, sorrow, deception, joy, shame, disdain, curiosity, and fatigue are among other expressions which are explained as movement sequences and illustrated by students photographed by Frédéric Boissonnas.
One way to understand this work is as a late example of the time-honored theatre tradition of depicting the passions, brilliantly practiced in the eighteenth century by actor David Garrick. Delsarte seems to have learned the essentials of this system in the late 1820s from his movement teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, André Jean-Jacques Deshayes, who also taught the Geneva dancing master Benjamin Archinard. Delsarte credited Deshayes with having "spurred him on to scientific discovery" by which presumably he meant his work based on observation of behavior and expression in real-life situations. Lady Hamilton's attitudes and the "mimo-plastic" art of Ida Brun were other early nineteenth-century antecedents of the pantomime and artistic statue-posing of Genevieve Stebbins, the Delsarte teacher who inspired Ruth St. Denis, Bess Mensendieck, and countless others during the 1890s in New York. Stebbins' popular manuals on expression and physical culture offer a number of telling parallels with Jaques-Dalcroze's exercises in Gymnastique rythmique.

But for Jaques-Dalcroze there may have been another impetus to connect music and movement improvisation. The so-called dream-dancer "Magdeleine G.," dark-haired and wearing a white tunic, stirred great interest in German intellectual circles with her sensitive interpretations of literary and musical works performed under the influence of magnetist Emile Magnin. But even before 1904, when Dr. Freiherr von Schrenck-Notzing of Munich presented many learned medical
and aesthetic opinions of Magdeleine in his "psychological study of hypnosis and dramatic art," psychologists Edouard Claparède and Théodore Flournoy had both written about her remarkable ability to translate music, known or improvised, directly into movement.\textsuperscript{57}

Although Magdeleine first underwent Magnin's treatment and appeared for audiences in Paris, she had grown up in Geneva, and there she returned during the late summer of 1903 to give a series of private seances in the photography studios of Frédéric Boissonnas. It was at this time, according to Flournoy, that Boissonnas made the "magnificent collection" of nearly 1000 images which captured the spontaneity and emotional impact of Magdeleine's performance. The following spring selections from this work were exhibited in Geneva, and soon dozens of the photographs were published in books by Magnin and Boissonnas, who were brothers-in-law.\textsuperscript{60}

In a fully conscious state Magdeleine was too inhibited to move or sing publicly, even though she had studied social dancing as a child with her uncle, Benjamin Archinard, and had taken a first prize at the Geneva Conservatoire in singing. But freed by the special sleep into which Magnin led her, Magdeleine would rise at once from her chair and begin, in Flournoy's words, "to interpret her musical or poetic impressions by a succession of infinitely varied attitudes, gestures, dances, which flow out and adapt instantly to the slightest modulations and nuances of
auditory perceptions." Musicians played Chopin, Bach, and Wagner for her; and she interpreted songs by Jaques-Dalcroze, including one from the Festival vaudois, just produced in Lausanne.

Even if he did not see her perform, Jaques-Dalcroze could not have failed to hear about Magdeleine and see the photographs. His colleagues and friends were filled with excitement about her spontaneous art, as Ernest Bloch recounted in a letter written at the time:

> What overwhelmed me and produced the most ineffable joy, was when I played myself; improvised to the will of my fantasy, and she did all that I thought, all that I wanted; I plunged her by turns into joy, voluptuousness, sadness, the grotesque, beatitude ..., one note, one chord, one anything: she would immediately react.

Musing about her expression of feelings other than those he intended, Bloch concluded that Magdeleine’s performance "lets us hope that the study, ever more profound, of subconscious phenomena, will end up throwing some light on the part of the unconscious in artistic creation."

It was no accident that Jaques-Dalcroze began actively to develop his method in 1903, the year Magdeleine appeared and Duncan rose to fame with her intuitive new solo dancing. Stunning as the images of Magdeleine were, however, Jaques-Dalcroze had no need to take up magnetism to enable people to invent movement. Once he realized that music could be the direct expression of the body, he knew how to reach his students’ imaginations through piano improvisa-
tion and by the rich array of ideas and images he introduced into teaching. His first surviving teaching notes, in addition to the exercises based on walking and breathing, are overflowing with "sudden emotions," attitudes, and "expressive realizations": eagle's wings, the warning, flames, the amphorae, awakening to music, lifting a stone, scattering flowers, drawing with the arms in the air.4

Certainly in a few short years Jaques-Dalcroze had moved away from the conventions of Delsarte pantomime to create new concepts for movement improvisation. He could now accurately state his ideas in the very terms adopted by psychologists of his time:

Thanks to harmonization of the nerve centres, to the formation and development of the greatest possible number of motor habits, my method assures the freest possible play to subconscious expression.... The creation in the organism of a rapid and easy means of communication between thought and its means of expression by movements allows the personality free play, giving it character, strength and life to an extraordinary degree.5
4. Dalcrozians and Educationists

4.1 Introduction

In 1910 Charles Barlow Ingham, the head of a family of unconventional teachers, discovered the Dalcroze method and began to promote its use in England. During the next three years several members of this adventurous family learned the work, first in Geneva and later in Dresden, where Jaques-Dalcroze moved in October 1910 to create a training school for teachers and professionals. While studying at the Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze, Ingham's son Percy and daughter-in-law Ethel joined forces with the family of Michael Ernest Sadler, the civil servant and educationist, to produce *The Eurhythms of Jaques-Dalcroze*. This small book was the first in English to present the public with clear information about the new teaching. It came out in 1912 at precisely the time Jaques-Dalcroze gave his first lecture-demonstration tour of England. The interest he generated throughout the country sent more teachers and young people to Germany to investigate the method. This chapter examines the experiences of the British at his school in Hellerau near Dresden during the few short years before World War I. The Dalcrozians and educationists who returned with the good news of body movement in music epitomized the idealism of that remarkable time and place.
The first to popularize the method in England was Charles Barlow Ingham, the "trained engineer and fine musician" who in 1875 founded Moira House, a small family-run school for girls. Located in Eastbourne, Moira House employed new ideas and methods well in advance of early twentieth-century progressivism. Ingham, who was already involved with such American innovations as the Liberty Tadd method of teaching drawing, had heard about Jaques-Dalcroze from relatives who had seen a lecture-demonstration of the new work in Switzerland. In April 1910 he went to Geneva with his niece, a voice teacher. As he soon wrote they were "so fascinated by what they observed, and so convinced of the radical nature of the system as an educational instrument, that they remained for six weeks, spending four and five hours each week day in attendance at M. Dalcroze's classes...." Later in the same Good Housekeeping article Ingham explained, "Dalcroze devised graceful physical exercises to implant in the pupil's intelligence the fundamental data of musical knowledge and notation." After describing children's classes, he turned to the "ladies and gentlemen of varied ages from all parts of Europe" who had gathered there:

Most of them were teachers of music or gymnastics, who desired to make their instruction more effective, more interesting and more essentially aesthetic, by adopting the Dalcroze principles and practices. Others were members of the dramatic and dancing professions, while a few gentlemen were conductors of orchestras. All these sought and found at Geneva enhanced conceptions of their several roles...."
With these impressions Ingham provided, according to the editor, "the first publication in the English language of the new method of rhythmic gymnastics which is creating such great interest abroad."

Perhaps Ingham noticed, among the talents who had come to study with Jaques-Dalcroze in this period, Annie Beck and Marie Rambert (then called Myriam Ramberg)—one Dutch, the other Polish. Like many other young women they were both inspired by the natural, flowing movement of Isadora Duncan. Before long they were enlisted to perform in demonstrations and to teach, for Jaques-Dalcroze welcomed the opportunity to collaborate with his advanced students. Beck and Rambert, who would go with him to Hellerau before pursuing their careers in England, joined Jaques-Dalcroze in 1908 and 1909 respectively. For Rambert a summer course recommended by a friend was the beginning of a decisive three years with "the greatest educator I have ever met. He taught me character, he formed me, he gave me purpose. He taught me punctuality and hard work—everything important.”

By the time Ingham's article appeared in January 1911, many people involved in music education in Europe already knew about the method. One reason was that the lecture-demonstrations which Jaques-Dalcroze gave with increasing frequency turned out to be a highly-effective medium for conveying his main ideas to musicians, teachers, and parents. Theory and explanation went well with the lively
proof of attractive young people who could show how the method worked in practice. Furthermore the summer courses, by bringing together professionals and serious students, built a solidarity among those who shared a firsthand experience of the method. These pioneers grew into a network of colleagues who advocated the new teaching. They formed a society in 1907 and spread out to introduce the work not only in Switzerland but also in Germany, France, Belgium, Sweden, and other countries.

When Ingham returned he made contact with Kathleen O'Dowd, one of the first to teach the method in England, and engaged her to start an experimental class at Moira House during the 1910-11 school year. At the same time he sent the school's senior music mistress Elizabeth Muirhead over for a year with Jaques-Dalcroze and arranged for his daughter-in-law Ethel Haslam Ingham, an "old girl" of Moira House and a gifted pianist, to follow. Ethel Ingham arrived in April 1911 and a few months later persuaded her husband Percy to take leave from his post as a language teacher at the Merchant Taylors' School in London to study at Hellerau. When Percy's sister Gertrude joined them, the family's interest increased further. The Inghams started a chain reaction which brought the Dalcroze method to England.

2.2 The Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze

The vision behind a professional school for the method in Germany belonged to industrialist Wolf Dohrn, who saw
Jaques-Dalcroze and his students give a demonstration in October 1909. Within a month Dohrn and his brother Harald went to Geneva with a proposal to open a school in Dresden the following year. Wolf, then thirty, and Harald, twenty-four, were sons of the naturalist Anton Dohrn, the founder of the Naples Zoological Station, and his free-thinking wife Maria von Baranowski, who was interested in improving opportunities for women. Dedicated to research and new ideas, the family chose to spend its considerable money in imaginative ways. Thus the Dohrns took up the challenge of making a Dalcroze training college for men and women at a time when the notion of coeducation was practically unknown in Germany.

Wolf Dohrn had studied economics at the University of Munich and moved in the Christian Socialist circle of Friedrich Naumann, the liberal politician who wanted to find ways to revitalize German culture in the machine age. Both Naumann and Dohrn were strongly influenced by the views of political economist Karl Bücher, who proposed that rhythm is a fundamental human adaptation underlying the structure of all work, play, and art. Naumann believed that industrialization had destroyed the quality of life and work which formerly had been governed by rhythm. He hoped to change this situation by uniting designers who were inspired by the English arts and crafts movement with a group of forward-looking manufacturers. The purpose of the Deutsche Werkbund, their organization founded in
1907, was to promote products made not by expensive hand-
work, but rather by modern technology in the context of
large-scale industry. Naumann was responsible for making
Wolf Dohrn the first Executive Director of the Werkbund.
In this capacity Dohrn, young and energetic, studied
carpentry in the model factory which had just been built at
Hellerau, the garden city under construction about five
miles north of Dresden. At Hellerau the guiding prin-
ciple was to affirm harmony and quality in the lives of
workers.

When Dohrn encountered Jaques-Dalcroze, he was convinced
that an educational centre for the Dalcroze method would
enhance the garden city and complement the aims of the
Werkbund. He organized a committee headed by Count von
Seebach, Generalintendant of the Dresden Court Opera, to
sponsor the school. In 1910, to the disappointment of
Naumann, Dohrn left the Werkbund in order to devote himself
fully to the Bildungsanstalt Jaques-Dalcroze. For his part
Jaques-Dalcroze resigned from the Conservatoire in Geneva,
where he had taught for eighteen years, and moved with
enough colleagues and students to begin this experiment.

For its first year the school was located in temporary
quarters in the Ständhaus, a new public building in the
centre of the city. Surrounding it were the churches and
museums which caused guidebooks to name Dresden the German
Florence, and of course the city prided itself on its
opera, concerts, and theatre. That fall of 1910 the Arnold
Gallery showed the expressionist works of Die Brücke and coming up in 1911 was a huge international exhibition on health, physical culture and recreation. Dresden was a stimulating, expensive place in which to be a student, and for Mary Wigman it was hard to find an affordable place to live. The future choreographer gave piano lessons and wrote newspaper articles to earn money while she studied with Jaques-Dalcroze.

The 1910 school prospectus explained that the Dalcroze method

tries to develop the rhythmic sensitivity of the individual, to develop hearing and tone awareness, and to strengthen the body and the will through control and play. The aim of the method is to build an entirely harmonious person, his understanding and his character together.

Students were urged to stretch and do deep breathing exercises with the window open before walking in the fresh air to school. Typically they spent four or five hours a day in class or observing other classes. For rhythmic gymnastics, students wore mid-thigh-length dark leotards; for "sitting-down" classes such as solfège, they wore silk robes in all different colors belted kimono-style over their leotards. Classes were spread over a six-day week, with Fridays kept clear until late afternoon, which allowed students to have private lessons, attend concerts and matinees, and visit museums with study and drawing groups organized by the school.

Jaques-Dalcroze taught students at all levels. In class he
conveyed his ideas directly through his playing, using few words. He would say, "Act! Try it," for he believed that learning comes through active experience, not passive observation. Beryl de Zoete, an English student who later became an authority on Asian dance, remembered that to express himself in music was as natural to him as speaking; he seemed to be able to conjure a whole world from the keyboard rhythms of sound and silence, storm and tranquility. Scenes and emotions flowed from his fingers with inexhaustible wealth of fancy and a simplicity of means....

Ethel Ingham captured the atmosphere of his teaching in "Lessons at Hellerau," which she wrote as a student in 1912. Jaques-Dalcroze might begin "by playing a vigorous theme of one or two bars" which the students "realize," by showing the music through movement. Then might come changes to a new meter or rhythmic pattern, or to moving twice as fast or twice as slowly. This all seems incredibly difficult to do at first, but the same training of thinking to time occurs in every lesson, in improvisation and solfège, as well as in the rhythmic gymnastics lessons, and so the invaluable habits of concentrated thinking, of quick and definite action, and of control of mind over body, become established. She comments, "Jaques-Dalcroze seldom repeats himself. Every day he has new ideas, consisting of new movements, or new uses for old ones, so that there is never a dull moment."

Although rhythmic gymnastics classes were the most popular, especially as taught by Jaques-Dalcroze, the curriculum also stressed two other core courses, solfège and piano improvisation. The school taught solfège using the fixed
do, according to the procedure Jaques-Dalcroze had worked out at the Conservatoire: scales were sung from C to C, always to a rhythm. For the English who were accustomed to the movable do, sight singing and transposition could thus be "not so easy to do." At Hellerau they had to adapt, urged along by Nina Gorter, who taught many of these classes. Her methodical teaching contrasted markedly with the spontaneous, entertaining manner of Jaques-Dalcroze, causing several students to remember her as formidable, even dogmatic. One English student commented, however, that the solfège was "taught brilliantly," to produce "concentration and individual effort rather than easy short-cuts or thoughtless imitation. The student who does not think for himself is caught out immediately, for the exercises are varied so constantly that nothing is allowed to become mechanical."

For many students improvisation was the most difficult area of the method. Yet as Ethel Ingham explained, the teachers of Hellerau took the positive view that everyone "can be taught to play original music." For this work students met once or twice a week in a big class with Jaques-Dalcroze, in addition to an hour with another teacher in groups of about six. Taking turns at the piano they studied practical harmony: building chords and melodies, modulating, learning to play confidently and accurately in all keys. They invented music directly from their own ideas or the teacher's suggestions, using
material such as an image, theme, mood, character, or movement. Even students with limited piano facility were expected to develop this skill which was considered vital for teaching the method.

Suzanne Perrottet, who taught both rhythmic gymnastics and improvisation, was only twenty-one in 1910, younger than many of her students (three years younger than Wigman, for example). A violinist, small and intense, she came with Jaques-Dalcroze from Geneva, where she had studied with him from childhood. Perrottet embodied the method in her musical movement. She was a major personality of the Bildungsanstalt until she left to work with Rudolf Laban during the summer of 1912. 

Marie Rambert, also in her early twenties, taught turnen, or gymnastics. According to Rambert her classes had that name "because I knew I could not call them ballet, for ballet was anathema to Dalcroze. Of course what I actually taught my pupils was founded on ballet, because it was the only system I knew, but done barefoot and in Isadora's style." At that time Rambert's classical training consisted of school study with a teacher from the Warsaw Opera and some further work with a teacher of the Paris Opéra, for she had not yet been invited to work with Diaghilev's Ballets Russes.

Annie Beck was responsible for teaching the dance classes. Modest and unassuming, Beck was quietly authoritative, and by all accounts the lyricism of her own movement was
remarkable. She often used Beethoven as the basis of her teaching, choosing examples from sonatas and symphonies. As one student recalled:

With a small vocabulary of movements: raising the arms, lowering them, walking or running forwards or backwards, increasing or diminishing the volume of a movement, breathing in, breathing out, lunging forward, lunging backward, with this minimum of material she achieved a maximum of result, and she never became monotonous or depleted in expression. She brought out the real value of an exercise and its fundamental dynamism by means of her improvisation.¹

There were other interesting teachers, several male, such as Placido de Montoliu, whom one witness described in a letter written at the time as a "little Spaniard in black knickers & swell-toed boots—as lithe as a matador"; this former army officer led a men's class which did "a solemn processional walk. It was like seeing Greek sculpture alive. They were intensely concentrated on their work. That they were beginners, and made many mistakes which had to be corrected, made it all the more interesting."² Others later included Ernst Jolowitz, the staff doctor who taught anatomy and set up a laboratory to study the method in relation to psychological pedagogy; and Erwin Lendvai, "stiff and Teutonic," the Hungarian composer who taught choral singing.³³ Adolphe Appia and other guests gave occasional special lectures.

4.3 Utopia of Rhythm

The school moved to the garden city Hellerau late in 1911, even before the new buildings were completed. Ethel Ingham
described the site as "an open, bracing, healthy spot, with charming walks in all directions." To the south people could see the spires and domes of Dresden, less than an hour's journey away. Architect Heinrich Tessenow used a symmetrical layout of buildings and grounds, based on straight lines in measured classic proportions. The main building with its square columns and pediment decorated only by the school symbol, the yin-yang circle, suggested a severe modern temple. Inside were light airy studios, dressing rooms with the most up-to-date facilities, the library, and offices. Around this building were houses for teachers and older students, while nearby was a large comfortable dormitory with dining hall, over which "a cultured English lady of wide experience" presided. Students could practice individually in their rooms, each equipped with a piano, or they could get together in studios and practice rooms. It was in a Hellerau "cave," according to Perrottet, that she, Wigman, and Rambert first dared to try making dances "without music."

The school's focal point was a large rectangular hall in the main building, the studio-theatre which actualized Appia's famous stage reform concepts. Its walls made of stretched cloth panels were surrounded on all four sides by a system of the most advanced theatre lighting. The lights could be brightened or dimmed with great precision and subtlety, making a kind of music of light. Modular steps and platforms made a flexible experimental space which was
used for mass classes, demonstrations, and performances. One student remembered that when the lights were first used in the great hall at Hellerau the students came in their leotards and formed sculptural groups on the new stairs, moving with the "marvelous" improvisation of Jaques-Dalcroze: "We were hearing and seeing how music, movement and light melted into an harmonious whole." Studying the Dalcroze method in this unique environment was the great Hellerau experience, a memory that endured for those who were there.

Built to accommodate 500 professional students, the school grew year by year toward that size, thanks to "propaganda" which Wolf Dohrn shrewdly targeted for the press as well as prospective students. In 1911-12 there were 246 students; by the following year, 343. For the summer of 1914 a total of 495 students arrived from fourteen countries. Never before had there been so large an international school dedicated to the study of music and movement. Jaques-Dalcroze's lesson plans from these years reveal that new ideas took shape almost daily. The issues of time, space, and energy became clear in a context where bare feet and leotards liberated people to experience movement in fresh ways.

Although the basic principles and exercises discovered in Geneva continued to define rhythmic gymnastics, the work, at least for the young, began to encompass more vigorous, space-covering movements. Now Jaques-Dalcroze noted many possibilities for running, skipping, jumping; working on
stairs and levels; making "impulses" travel from one body part to another; and feeling "real" and "imaginary resistances." Over and again he used exercises such as lunging, to build awareness of muscular force and elasticity as well as body weight and balance. He found that these energy factors allow people decisively to control their use of time and space. It was from physical movements, worked out in relation to musical ideas such as tempo, accelerando, syncopation, anacrusis, accent, and crescendo, that he formulated his theory of time, space, and energy. These three elements interconnect to produce rhythm and dynamics, which are the common ground which music and movement share.

At this time Jaques-Dalcroze began to devise additional ways of describing movement, in order to suggest the real nature of the work. He wanted to record human actions in space, to complement the information on time which music notation conveys. His purpose here was not the full documentation that a dance notator or sports trainer would attempt, but rather a quick, convenient shorthand for writing down ideas from classes, for planning lessons, and for recording plastic movement studies. His approach seems to have developed initially from exercises which explored physically the notion of "spaces" or intervals in the musical scale. To remember this work, he began to draw stick figures whose arms trace a semicircle by degrees, from hanging down naturally from the shoulders, up to a position lifted above the head. First he named these
divisions do, re, mi, and so forth, but he changed to the numbers 1 to 9 to identify these divisions of space in the vertical direction.\textsuperscript{35}

Similarly he used the letters A to H to designate the eight segments of a circular surface horizontal to the standing figure. These allowed him to identify the directions (left side, left front diagonal, front, right front diagonal, and so forth). Using music notation for time, he then combined numbers and letters below the notes and rests. By writing vertical and horizontal coordinates in this way he could notate positions in space, also indicating which body part, side of the body (right, left), and level (low, middle, high) by means of simple codes. Although he did not publish these ideas until 1916, Jaques-Dalcroze was working during the Hellerau years toward a functional movement analysis and notation system.\textsuperscript{36}

Expression continued to have importance, but this work moved away from stereotyped Delsarte poses and into the realm of dance. Movement improvisation became freer and more continuous. Jaques-Dalcroze now introduced twenty abstract arm gestures which could be used as the point of departure for creating countless movements and combinations, timed and stylized to correspond with many different musical examples. So, too, could the personal, intuitive gestures which students invented themselves in the study of plastic movement. One visitor was amazed by the contrast he saw when two students chose the same Chopin Prelude:
The first girl lay on the ground the whole time, her head on her arm, expressing in gentle movements of head, hands and feet, her idea of the music. At one point near the end, with the rising passion of the music, she raised herself on to her knees; then sank down again to her full length. The second performer stood upright until the very end. At the most intense moment her arms were stretched above her head; at the close of the music she was bowed to the ground, in an attitude expressive of the utmost grief. In such widely different ways did the same piece of music speak to the individualities of these two girls.34

Readiness to interpret music came partly from the intense concentration developed in class, but also from outside preparation. Work was the main topic of conversation at Hellerau according to Elsa Findlay, the small girl from Manchester who later taught in the United States.35

At the end of the year came the increased pressure of studying for examinations, which were given by juries of teachers and experts such as Appia who decided which students would be promoted or certified to teach. George Bernard Shaw saw an open examination in which two "examinees" taught their classmates. They had to play rhythms for them on the piano and make them march to it. Then they had to pick up impossible themes written on a blackboard, and harmonise them on the piano straight off. They had to improvise variations on them; to modulate into all keys on the demand of the examiners then to listen to Dalcroze modulating wildly and name the key he had come into.36

Shaw describes the characteristic exercise known as conducting with the body: "Finally they had to conduct a choir, first with a stick in the ordinary way, and then with poetic movements of the whole body. This last was
4.4 The English Promote Eurhythmics

While Ethel and Percy Ingham immersed themselves in study and joined in the euphoria of the festival, another family became involved with the Dalcroze method in 1912, in a less direct but no less enthusiastic way. This second family included Michael Ernest Sadler, recently appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University of Leeds, and his twenty-four year old son Michael (M.T.H.), who was on the threshold of a career in publishing. Even before the Sadlers discovered Hellerau two of their relatives had opportunities to visit: the Sadlers' cousin John W. Harvey, a future professor of philosophy at Leeds, and Eva Gilpin, a Quaker from another branch of the family who had taught M.T.H. and John Harvey together as children. This imaginative woman now directed the progressive school she founded in Weybridge known as the Village Hall, or simply the Hall School. Like the Inghams, the Sadlers were an extended family of capable, well-intentioned people who did not hesitate to advocate the educational improvements they frequently found on their travels. Thus the Hall School followed Moira House in incorporating Dalcroze teaching, and Sadler soon organized an introductory course for women students at the University of Leeds.\(^\text{10}\)

The first step in this process was that John Harvey, after completing his studies at Oxford, spent a few months in Berlin, visiting Hellerau in December 1911. His detailed written account intrigued the others, and Eva Gilpin went over to see for herself in January.\(^\text{11}\) Later in 1912 the
Sadlers, father and son, spent a day at Hellerau in the midst of a trip devoted to their mutual passion for art. This occurred late in August, a few days after they met the Russian abstract painter Wassily Kandinsky, who was living at Murnau. The senior Sadler soon wrote his wife a letter which began, "Hellerau is very big indeed. Dalcroze has hit on something which will influence all educational ideas, just as Pestalozzi (also Swiss) did 120 years ago." Sadler was greatly impressed by the people, the place, and the pedagogy. Having visited an improvisation class, he noted that Jaques-Dalcroze "plays magnificently and lectures with verve & with all kinds of entertaining impromptus. He has the humour of a first-rate actor, & caught fire from his audience. He talked as Kandinsky might about music and colour." Convinced that the genius of Jaques-Dalcroze "is unmistakable," Sadler ended his letter by telling about watching Hellerau children take a lesson: "Grace, intense concentration, & a beauty so significant that one cannot describe (much less explain) it, are the marks of the work we saw."

The Inghams invited the Sadlers and John Harvey to collaborate on making a small book that would both describe and explain the Dalcroze method for English readers. With each of them taking responsibility for a well-defined topic, the project moved rapidly to fruition. In November, less than three months after the Sadlers' visit, Constable in London published *The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze*, including
essays by the Sadlers and Inghams, an article and lectures by Jaques-Dalcroze, and attractive photographs of students and Hellerau. This small volume sold out five printings in a few months, according to M.T.H., a fact which he later, as a Constable director, was in a position to verify."

John Harvey's "Note" at the beginning was quite important despite its brevity, for it was here that he coined the term "Eurhythmics." Displeased with "rhythmic gymnastics," he had searched for a word which would address not just that area of the training but "the principle itself" and "the total method embodying it." In Plato's statement which he translated as "the whole of a man's life stands in need of a right rhythm," Harvey found what he wanted. The English soon became familiar with Eurhythmics, because the Inghams used this word to publicize the demonstrations which Jaques-Dalcroze gave in their country late in November 1912. A year later Sadler wrote to his son, "It is a great thing for John to have made a new word which is in use the world over.""

The contents of The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze have an order which is revealing. The two Sadlers provide a broad framework by suggesting the work's meaning in history, education, and modern art. Their pieces open and close the book, whereas the centre, through the writings of Jaques-Dalcroze and the Inghams, deals with the method itself. Not surprisingly Michael Ernest Sadler's name is featured on the title page, in recognition of his leadership in
education. In his introduction, "The Educational Significance of Hellerau," he asserts that Jaques-Dalcroze has "rediscovered one of the secrets of Greek education." Sadler argues that Wilhelm von Humboldt in his early nineteenth-century Prussian educational reforms mistakenly assumed that academic study of Greek would suffice, but, even with physical exercise added, people failed to find effective ways of balancing intellectual discipline with artistic work. The Dalcroze method according to Sadler now offers the possibility of a synthesis of these elements, both in elementary and secondary education.

M.T.H. Sadler invokes not the past but the future in the concluding essay, "The Value of Eurhythmics to Art." He sees in modern aesthetic theory a breaking down of the conventional barriers between the arts, and a growing understanding that rhythm is their common basis. While the teaching at Hellerau "is a brilliant expression of the modern desire for rhythm in its most fundamental form—that of bodily movement," he argues that the work goes beyond "its immediate artistic beauty, its excellence as a purely musical training, or its value to physical development."

There is a deeper social significance to the Dalcroze method's stress on the individual and personal creativity. Learning "to improvise from the rhythmic sense innate in him, rhythms of his own," gives each student the opportunity of making "his whole life rhythmic."

Excited by insights gained from his recent meeting with
Kandinsky, M.T.H. Sadler refers at this point to the "parallel development" of the group of artists who called themselves Der Blaue Reiter. Kandinsky, one of their leaders, in his breakthrough into abstraction, is making paintings which are "a realization of the attempt to paint music." He too creates from "his inmost soul" and is "intensely individual" at the same time "the spirit of his work is universal." Kandinsky and Dalcroze, he suggests "are advancing side by side." It is interesting to note that the Sadlers were keen collectors, especially of avant-garde art, and that M.T.H. made the first English translation of Kandinsky's Concerning the Spiritual in Art (1914), a landmark manifesto of modernism. The Sadlers, in their incisive writings on Jaques-Dalcroze, give his new teaching central importance in the history of art and education.

In their much larger share of the book, The Inghams offer the authority of firsthand knowledge. They contribute three essays and translate Jaques-Dalcroze's writings, which together make up 45 of the 55 pages of text. First they present his article "Rhythm as a Factor in Education," originally published in 1909, along with brief inspiring excerpts from his recent lectures. The article traces the gradual building up of his method and then turns to "the most subtle and complete of interpreters--the human body." He believes "that experiments in rhythm, and the complete study of movements simple and combined, ought to create a fresh mentality" and eventually a "plastic music."
The art he foresees, which sounds very much like the modern dance that was still to come, "will picture human feelings expressed by gesture and will model its sound forms on those of rhythms derived directly from expressive movements of the human body." He is confident that rhythm will be the key for the "new generations brought up in the cult of harmony, of physical and mental health, of order, beauty and truth."

If Jaques-Dalcroze tends to the visionary, the Inghams are eminently practical. Their goal is to tell as clearly as possible what the work includes and what it is like to do it. Percy Ingham begins "The Method: Growth and Practice" with a short biography of Jaques-Dalcroze, outlining the early development of the method. For the much longer section on practice, he divides the work into the three areas of rhythmic gymnastics, ear training, and improvisation, and then focuses on rhythmic gymnastics, the area "which is fundamentally new."

He classifies the basic activities such as beating time, stepping note values, responding to various tempi, realizing rhythmic patterns, "mental hearing" without moving, and so forth, coming finally to the advanced exercises of plastic movement which "allow free play to individuality, to temperament, and give opportunity for that free self-expression for which the preceding exercises have provided facility." Thus Percy Ingham gives a concise general introduction which follows the plan Jaques-Dalcroze used
for his lecture-demonstrations.

Ethel Ingham, on the other hand, talks about the work as students experience it in her "Lessons at Hellerau." She explains how Jaques-Dalcroze would go from a "vigorous" two-bar theme into a progression of related exercises. With this and other specific examples, she makes sense of Percy's overview by sharing her experience of the method's variety and spontaneity. She also discusses the teaching of solfège and improvisation in useful detail.

Her "Life at Hellerau" tells in an enthusiastic way of the "advantages and opportunities which seem to exist in no other educational institution." She describes a typical day, including the pleasures of dormitory life, outings to Dresden for galleries and performances, and chances to practice other languages. A "delightful spirit of unity" pervades the school, and students "willingly and unselfishly take time and trouble to help others who know less than themselves." Ethel Ingham's lively essays complement the book's nineteen photographs to give a vivid picture of what it meant to be a student at Hellerau.

The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze, informative and inexpensive, was a timely publication which reinforced interest created by the first lecture-demonstrations Jaques-Dalcroze gave in person in England. Just as the Inghams had produced most of the book, they also shouldered the work of organizing this tour. Curiosity about the Dalcroze method
was growing, however, and valuable assistance came from several others who were eager to spread the word. Sadler facilitated invitations to Leeds and Manchester; Ernest Read, who had seen a previous demonstration by Moira House girls, urged Stewart Macpherson to have the recently-formed Music Teachers' Association sponsor the first demonstration of the tour.\textsuperscript{61}

The demonstrations began at the Caxton Hall, Westminster (Nov. 15, 1912) and continued with dates at Cheltenham Ladies' College (Nov. 16), Leeds (Nov. 18 and 19), Manchester (Nov. 20), Goldsmiths' College, New Cross (Nov. 23), London University (Nov. 25), and the Queen's Theatre, London (Nov. 26). As the lead article of The School Music Review's December issue announced,

\begin{quote}
The most important educational musical event of the past month has been the visit of M. Jaques-Dalcroze to this country. On eight occasions ... he has demonstrated to large and deeply-interested audiences the wonderful results of his teaching. It is safe to say that thousands of teachers and others interested in educational matters are now discussing what they have seen and heard....\textsuperscript{62}
\end{quote}

This no doubt resulted partly from the fact that prominent figures such as Tobias Matthey of the Royal Academy of Music chaired these sessions, and that newspapers published many positive reports.\textsuperscript{63}

It seems that they improved the format of these presentations as they went along. At the first event at the Caxton Hall Jaques-Dalcroze apparently began with a half-hour lecture in French without the benefit of an interpreter,
and it was only when the work's results were shown by "six girls, clad in very slight costumes and barefooted," that viewers became intrigued. Later in the series, demonstration took precedence over lecture, and the language barrier was effectively overcome because Gertrude Ingham had stepped in as translator. Percy's sister was now Headmistress of Moira House; she too had studied at Hellerau and knew Kathleen O'Dowd's teaching at her own school. This inspired solution established the pattern which endured for many years: Gertrude Ingham would interpret short introductory remarks by Jaques-Dalcroze and explain the exercises which followed. In this effective way the Inghams gave the public Eurhythmics in English terms.

The demonstrators were actually from Geneva, and not until 1913 would advanced students from Hellerau appear with Jaques-Dalcroze in England. One writer described these first girls, ranging in age from eleven to seventeen, as "bright-eyed, self-possessed, and graceful young goddesses, dressed with an airy and classical simplicity that allowed absolute freedom to limbs unadorned." To the Vice-Chancellor of Manchester University they were "light-footed fairies." Another said they wore "a classical tunic of lilac crêpe," while yet another saw them as "pale purple crocuses" in their "very short tunics." Considering that they had never seen anything like this before, the press gave a remarkably complete account of what the girls did, from walking and beating time to more complicated exercises.
such as syncopation, running in canon, and conducting. They reserved the highest praise for their "dancing," the term several writers used, to a Bach fugue and other examples. Although a few compared the girls to Isadora Duncan and Maud Allan, what struck these writers most was their ability to improvise in public, without inhibition, doing work which showed, according to one, "marked freedom, grace and enjoyment."

The only real objection came from a writer in Manchester, obviously a partisan of Swedish gymnastics, who questioned the work's completeness as physical training. The School Music Review candidly raised the issue of fixed do. His method of ear training is the only part of his propaganda in this country that gives cause for regret. It is not that the actual results shown in this department were unsatisfactory, but that the fixed Do method of using the Sol-fa syllables was so much in evidence.

The problem, which this writer called an "apple of discord," results from the fact that tonic sol-fa (which uses movable do) is almost universal in English-speaking communities, and "any attempt to upset this custom in association with the use of M. Dalcroze's rhythmic method would hinder the acceptance of the whole system."

The same writer also wondered about the degree to which "the exercises depended upon good pianoforte playing, and even more upon skilful extemporisation." Although Jaques-Dalcroze is "able to provide interesting and beautiful
music at call," what about "ordinary musical humanity"?
The writer nonetheless concludes: "We can only hope that
the demand will create the supply."

Ethel Driver, who eventually became Director of Studies
at the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics, was organist
and music teacher at an Anglican convent school at Wantage
when Jaques-Dalcroze first lectured in England. According
to Driver's friend Beryl de Zoete, the "Mother Superior,
who sympathized with her instinct for combining music with
bodily movement, encouraged her to attend these demonstra-
tions, and from that moment the die was cast." Ethel
Driver left to study at Hellerau the following spring.

One of the same lectures prompted Edith R. Clarke, then
lecturer in Dance and Games at the Dartford College of
Physical Education, to make a similar decision. Convinced
that the training would "help with the musical aspect of my
own work in Physical Education," she went with Madame
Österberg's approval to an Easter course in 1913. As
Clarke recalled, she soon discovered she was not the only
one from England looking at the work. There were "three
eminent musicians," including Arthur Somervell, Chief
Inspector of Music at the Ministry of Education. Urged
to participate actively, they did so for the whole time
they were there:

It was an exhilarating experience, and showed me clearly what Monsieur Jaques's methods of
teaching had to offer from the musical and educational angles in the development of lis-
tening powers, concentration, accuracy in performance and self-control. Freedom of
expression came naturally, eliminating all posturing and self-conscious gestures so prevalent in some types of dancing at that time.

There are many such stories, including that of Beryl de Zoete, who a few years earlier completed her studies at Oxford and later would teach the method in England before embarking on her career in dance research. She more than any other captured the essence of Hellerau in her memoir of Jaques-Dalcroze. She called it "a huge school of very mixed talent, varied ambitions and a babel of tongues." Here, in this international atmosphere, amidst this short-lived experiment in learning, the English Dalcrozians first found their mission.
5. The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics

5.1 Introduction
5.2 The First Years
5.3 Expansion and Optimism
5.4 Problems and Changes

5.1 Introduction
The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics, soon to become the fountainhead of Dalcroze training in Great Britain, opened in hastily-altered rooms above a Bloomsbury furniture store in September 1913. Its chief promoters, Percy and Ethel Ingham, wanted to establish "a centre whence authoritative information relative to the method may be obtained and where teaching of the highest standard and under the most favourable conditions may be observed."

Their venture began at the end of a remarkable summer. Londoners had witnessed not only the radical choreography and music of the Nijinsky-Stravinsky Le Sacre du printemps, but also what Ray Strachey, in her history of the women's movement, called "a great pilgrimage" of the suffragists. Thousands of women "set out on foot from the far corners of the kingdom, and, marching with banners and bands along eight main routes, they converged upon London" for a meeting in Hyde Park "of a size and nature hardly ever seen there before." Other signs of impending change could be seen. "A tidal wave of unrest is at present sweeping through the English educational world," commented schools inspector Cloudesley Brereton, noting the numerous reforms called for in his field. The Inghams sensed the timeli-
ness of creating a centre for the Dalcroze method. In 1913 rhythmic movement had considerable appeal as an innovation, particularly for active young women who hoped to become teachers.

In its first year the London School provided a one-year preparatory course for entry to Hellerau, in addition to an evening course for elementary school teachers and classes for children and adult amateurs. After the outbreak of World War I, Jaques-Dalcroze, who was home in Switzerland at the time, chose not return to Germany and soon cut off relations with the Dohrns. Within a few months he granted the London School the right to train and certify professional students for the duration of the war, an arrangement which was later extended. As part of his agreement with Percy Ingham, Jaques-Dalcroze specified that he would visit England at least once a year to inspect and give lecture-demonstrations. This he did until the late 1930s, when age precluded further travel. For almost a quarter of a century the School offered a three-year course closely supervised by Jaques-Dalcroze. The student body averaged 35 per year in the 1920s and 25 per year in the 1930s. By 1939, 169 women and 1 man had successfully gained certificates from the London School. The majority assumed positions in schools, conservatories, and training colleges in England and Scotland; a few "went out" to teach in places such as Australia, New Zealand, and the United States.

This chapter describes what it was like to study at the
London School and to choose Dalcroze Eurhythmics as a profession between 1913 and 1939. Chapter 6, "The Teaching Expands," extends this theme by explaining how these new specialists introduced the work in English schools during the same years. Striking shifts in thinking about curriculum, teaching methods, class, and gender characterize the educational context which underlies both chapters.

The London School’s early history can be divided into three parts. The initial period saw the founding of the School (1913), the Dalcroze Society (1915), and the Dalcroze Teachers’ Union (1916). The middle period, after World War I, was a decade of growth and optimism continuing through the late 1920s. The death of Percy Ingham in 1930 precipitated the final period, which brought problems of leadership and finance. Despite severe economic depression, the School was able to move in 1934 from its cramped Store Street space to an Adam house in nearby Fitzroy Square. There it remained until 1939, when evacuation to Kent followed the beginning of World War II.

5.2 The First Years

At the peak of militant activism for women’s suffrage, the clear voice of a future Dalcrozeian could sometimes be heard introducing Mrs. Pankhurst at Hyde Park. It belonged to Nathalie Ward-Higgs, who attended summer school at Hellerau in 1914, the same year her red-haired younger sister Joan enrolled at the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics. After the war Nathalie Ward-Higgs Tingey trained and then
taught there for many years. The Ward-Higgs were upper-middle class, musical, artistic, and athletic. Nathalie had attended school in Weimar and won many golf cups, including the Belgian Ladies Championship. Joan, who sang and moved beautifully, soon toured Europe with Jaques-Dalcroze as a member of his elite demonstration group.

Frequently such young women decided to study the Dalcroze method after attending a lecture-demonstration or having an introduction in their own schools. Kitty Webster Haines, for example, remembered that when her mother took her to a demonstration in 1912 or 1913 she was very thrilled with it all, and luckily for me the school where I was going next term, Cheltenham Ladies' College, were having a fulltime Dalcroze teacher, Miss Makkink from Holland. I loved my lessons with her. M. Jaques came down to inspect us and also gave us lessons. This increased my enthusiasm, so that, after leaving Cheltenham in 1915, I started my training.

Percy Ingham, Director of the London School, was quite prepared to encourage talented women who were drawn to Dalcroze work. In fact he was particularly attuned to women's issues and the potential of teaching to achieve social change, for he had been educated to the age of sixteen at Moira House, the innovative girls' school which his father created specifically to improve opportunities for women.

Born in 1870, Percy Broadbent Ingham was five years younger than Jaques-Dalcroze. Although he was a keen amateur cellist, he did not pursue music as a career. Instead he
spent several years in Florida, France, and Germany, surveying and working in a civil engineer’s office, before returning to read modern languages at Owens College, Manchester, for a University of London degree. He began teaching in 1899 and by 1906 had become a master at Merchant Taylors’ School in London, a prestigious public school often ranked with Eton and Winchester even though it was a day-school.

When he took leave in 1911 to join his wife at Hellerau, Ingham found many unexpected ways to help. Jaques-Dalcroze recalled their meeting in a still-unfinished building: he was “a tall thin man in shirtsleeves carrying a bed on his shoulder, who smiled and shook hands without putting the furniture down.” The positive response to lecture-demonstrations by Jaques-Dalcroze in England in November 1912 convinced the Inghams to proceed with plans to open a centre in London the following year.

At the beginning the London School, like Moira House, was small, privately-owned, and very much a family enterprise. Percy Ingham as Director continued to teach at Merchant Taylors’ School; Ethel Ingham served as Class Supervisor; his sister Gertrude Ingham interpreted for the public appearances of Jaques-Dalcroze. Alice Weber, who had been a pupil at Moira House with the Inghams, took charge of the day-to-day business of timetables, publicity, and correspondence. She proved to be a loyal and tireless worker who ran the School’s office for almost fifty years.
directing the rhythmic choirs for the Fête de juin, an immense historical pageant composed by Jaques-Dalcroze. Rambert came from Paris to see it, her sojourn with the Ballets Russes as Nijinsky’s assistant for Le Sacre du printemps having ended in 1913. Beck and Rambert both soon turned to the Inghams for work, and thus two exceptional former teachers from Hellerau came to the London School in the autumn of 1914.  

In the first years Percy Ingham and Ethel Driver developed an efficient partnership for managing the School, although Ethel Ingham gradually had to withdraw from her responsibilities because of ill health. Perhaps it was because his wife became an invalid that Percy Ingham was even more determined to fulfill the vision they shared. As Director he oversaw all financial matters, putting large sums of money into operating the School; he also provided scholarships and subsidies to teachers’ salaries. In 1914 he left Merchant Taylors’ to work full-time for the School, but when additional funds were needed in 1917 he took a position as an underwriter at Lloyds. A daily paper columnist later observed, "I wonder how many City men there are who would devote half their lives to an ideal that has no money in it, and spend the other half earning money to keep the ideal going!" Known for his organizational skills and attention to detail, Ingham seems to have been regarded as tactful, kind, and flexible. He did not control or dominate, preferring to work in a
cooperative manner with colleagues and students. Driver remembered that "the smallest evidence of progress gave him infinite joy," and according to Weber he always "appeared to have unlimited leisure at the disposal of any who called on him for help."17

Ingham entrusted Driver to direct the professional training, a task to which she brought expertise as well as great enthusiasm. The "Examination Regulations" dated November 1915 indicate what she emphasized for students wishing to qualify for the "Certificate of ability as teacher of Elementary Dalcroze Rhythmic Gymnastics."20 The syllabus included a term of "teaching-practice" classes; "a public lesson in Rhythmic Gymnastics" for first year students or children; and tests in rhythmic gymnastics, ear-training, improvisation, and harmonizing at sight. Candidates were expected to be at least twenty and have spent three years studying the method, but in fact exceptions to this rule were made, particularly for those with extensive music backgrounds.21

A columnist for The Lady's Pictorial explained Driver's way of combining music and movement:

There was something curiously fascinating in these various evolutions; whether the movement was swift or slow, working up from andante to a prestissimo, or whether it was merely statuesque poses, or movements of the limbs, the effect conveyed was that of some old Greek frieze. It was not an advanced class that I saw, but each pupil seemed to have a thorough grasp of the subject, and those who were asked to imitate certain actions did so with the utmost ease and confidence.22
To one of her students Ethel Driver was the epitome of the method:

No one else possessed such a unified and crystal-clear grasp of all its aspects—music, movement, solfège, improvisation, movement design and, above all, the teaching of children and of those interested in the Method's application in general school education.

Annie Beck and Marie Rambert brought two quite distinct approaches to their teaching of movement. Ann Driver, Ethel Driver's extraordinarily gifted younger sister, studied with both during these years. She remembered Beck for her "delightfully free improvisation" and "the grace, the poetry, and mobility of her dancing—the exquisite phrasing, and cantabile-like quality of her moving, her flowing gestures." Rambert she described as a "small, vibrant being, so witty of mind, and so full of dynamic energy." After studying with Cecchetti when she danced in the Ballets Russes, Rambert had shifted away from the Duncan-style work she previously taught and now believed, according to Ann Driver, that "no one could move with elegance or eloquence without a basis of ballet technique"; hence she was "merciless" in demanding "accuracy and strict attention to every detail of the traditional exercises."

The unique visual record of the School's early staff is a photograph showing Jaques-Dalcroze with colleagues and students on an outing to Kew. Included are Ethel Driver, Beck, Rambert, recent graduate Beryl de Zoete, and Paulet Thévenaz, the Swiss who taught in Paris and New York, known
for his vibrant drawings of Dalcroze exercises. Not pictured is Douglas van Schnell, another artist and the first male teacher at the London School. Of Dutch background, he joined the staff in 1915 to teach piano improvisation. Information on his teaching is limited, but he inspired Ann Driver by his ability to relate the method to painting and sculpture.

The School functioned as a central bureau, arranging for teachers to work in many different "outside" situations. As Percy Ingham outlined the procedure he used, "A fee per pupil (varying with the neighbourhood, social position of the school, etc.) is charged, of which the local school takes 20% or 25% for its expenses, and remits the balance to us," or alternatively a "fixed sum" was paid by schools which incorporated the method into their "general teaching." This evidence of a sliding fee scale reveals that Ingham was guided more by social conscience than by financial gain; he also often operated classes at a loss in order to introduce the method in a new setting.

Because demand for teachers greatly exceeded the supply, opportunities for staff and new graduates of the School were excellent. Dalcroze Eurhythmics became so fashionable that Rambert recalled going out to teach a special class which contained the names of almost all the members of the Cabinet at that time: there were two granddaughters of Prime Minister Asquith, Helena and Perdita Asquith; two sons of Reginald McKenna (Chancellor of the Exchequer), Michael and David; Winston Churchill's
daughter, Diana; the Liberal leader Walter Rea's son Findlay, and Peter Scott, the son of the Antarctic, as we called him. The classes took place in their various houses in turn, so I often found myself in Whitehall.

With Percy Ingham in the chair, teachers of the London School gave their first annual demonstration on March 23, 1915. Women's Employment noted that most of the work was spontaneous and improvised—and whole classes, not a few picked pupils, took part. This gave the display a special character, and it offered to the big audience gathered at the New Princes Theatre an excellent idea of the working of the school.

This writer also reported that the professional students presented a Bach Invention and school children from Highgate demonstrated "musical expressions, three of which were arranged and learned among themselves, being based entirely on their own ideas," which "gave a very vivid idea of what this method had done for the children."

War did not prevent Jaques-Dalcroze from visiting England in 1915, twice in 1916, and once in 1917 and 1918. When he appeared with Moira House pupils and an advanced class from the London School at the Strand Theatre in 1916, "the results were amazing," according to The Daily Telegraph, "and the most astonishing thing was the instantaneous response of the pupils to almost every command." This article concluded with an interesting comment on gender:

The possibilities of the training are endless from a purely musical point of view, and therefore it was a matter for regret that the pupils were all girls. For no one who was present could doubt for a moment that the methods employed would be highly beneficial if applied also to the other sex.
By this time, of course, boys were studying Eurhythmics at coeducational schools such as the Hall School in Weybridge, but the work was much more widely taught in girls' schools. Furthermore, because the majority of lecture-demonstrations presented girls, the public came to associate the work primarily with girls and women.

During the first years of professional Dalcroze training in England, the young men who might have considered going into it were mostly occupied by the war. On the other hand, more women now entered teaching and other types of employment formerly dominated by men. An account in The Times of the Froebel Summer School in 1916 summed up this change and the new prominence of the Dalcroze method. Seventy teachers, "blithely running with bare feet and legs on the cool green lawns," responded to a gong wielded by "a tall fair-haired girl dressed in a black alpaca tunic" in the mass Dalcroze lesson which opened their three-week course. Here and at training colleges such as Goldsmiths' and Gipsy Hill, many future teachers discovered Eurhythmics as an exciting field in education. Women from the London School were leading the way.

Two important organizations emerged during this period. In 1915 Marie Eckhard of Manchester, who had accompanied her daughter to study at Hellerau, coordinated a group of educationists to welcome Jaques-Dalcroze on his first visit to England since the war had begun. The group included Michael Ernest Sadler and Arthur Somervell, both of whom
she probably knew at Hellerau, along with Ernest T. Campagnac, Professor of Education of the University of Liverpool; Lilian M. Faithfull, Principal of the Cheltenham Ladies' College; and Francis Storr, Editor of The Journal of Education. An organization was proposed, and over 230 people joined the Dalcroze Society of Great Britain and Ireland during its first year. They counted in the membership ten musicians, fifteen principals of schools, several teachers of gymnastics or dancing, ... and many enthusiastic sympathisers. We have the greatest of British conductors, the vice chancellor of Leeds, and at least three Professors of Education.35

Their goals were to "provide lectures" and "help to organise small demonstrations and illustrations in schools all over the country." In addition to these activities the Society soon began to publish papers and addresses such as "The Body as a Musical Instrument" by Professor J. J. Findlay, whose daughter Elsa was now teaching the method and giving dance recitals in the Manchester area.36 The Society, in pamphlets and the Journal of the Dalcroze Society published twice a year beginning in 1924, articulated the potential of Dalcroze teaching while connecting the names of respected educationists with the aim of spreading the work.

In 1916 around twenty qualified teachers led by Winifred Houghton formed the Dalcroze Teachers' Union in order to "maintain the standard of work" and to "protect the interests of Dalcroze teachers."37 Although records of
to Geneva, might have chosen to consider the London School expendable, but he did not. Instead he urged people from all of the countries where his work was now taught to gather for annual summer courses in Geneva to keep up with the newest developments. British students and teachers often attended these courses, thanks to financial help from the Inghams and the Dalcroze Society. Another significant change was the introduction of the "diplôme," an advanced qualification for expert Dalcrozians who returned to Geneva for intensive study. The Driver and Ward-Higgs sisters, that foursome so central to the future of the method in England, were among the first to earn this distinction, thus giving the London School a very well-qualified staff by the early 1920s.\textsuperscript{41}

In 1919 an entire issue of The Music Teacher became, in the words of Editor Percy A. Scholes, "the platform of a number of eminent Dalcrozians," who contributed no less than seven articles.\textsuperscript{42} Together they presented a vivid picture of the teaching and its widening influence at that time. Percy Ingham explained the professional course, which because of the "large but unsatisfied demand for teachers" he viewed as the School's most important activity.\textsuperscript{43} The course ran for three eleven-week terms each year, with "approximately fifteen class lessons per week, covering Rhythmic Movement, Technic of Movement, Plastic, Improvisation (Practical Harmony), Solfège (Ear Training) and Teaching Practice classes; Breathing and Voice Production are included when required." The tuition was "sixty guineas per annum
(inclusive, except for a few books and a costume)" and examination fees were five guineas. He remarked that "the work demands high ideals" and "should not be undertaken except by students who have some gift for music and a desire to teach. To such, however, it offers a career of intense interest and infinite variety."

The problem was that a number of the School's first graduates had not been sufficiently gifted in music. An entry marked "confidential" in the Dalcroze Society's minutes of March 1919 noted:

The most urgent need now is to provide teachers who are also musicians. 27 pupils have graduated at the Training School in Store St., of these only 6 are musicians by vocation. There is useful and necessary place for others in teaching, for although unable to improvise original and musical rhythm they can teach the Technique of movement and feel the poetry of movement, and they may be gifted in physical grace and rhythm. Nevertheless it is essential that there shall be enough of the musical teachers to go round as the basis of the Dalcroze Teaching is musical rhythm."

In other words, the great demand was for those who could function as music teachers; the London School's mandate should be the combination of music and movement, not movement alone.

Percy Ingham addressed this need by appointing a "Director of Musical Studies" for the School, Ernest Read. Trained at the Royal Academy of Music under Tobias Matthay and Henry Wood, Read was a teacher of wide experience. With Stewart Macpherson, the founder of the Music Teachers' Association, he had published the landmark Aural Culture
Based on Musical Appreciation (1912), as well as a number of other textbooks and music arrangements. Together they led the "appreciation" movement, arguing that children should learn not just singing but music in the broadest sense. Everyone, they believed, can enjoy music and build good listening habits, and they particularly recommended rhythmic movement for young children as a first step in this process. By enlisting Read to teach harmony, improvisation, solfège, and choral singing, Ingham not only enriched the School's offerings but also strengthened the link between Dalcroze Eurhythmics and appreciation, which were then perceived as two of the most progressive approaches in music education.

Read had been an enthusiastic student at Hellerau in the summer of 1913, and after he was released from military service he went to Geneva for another course. By 1919 he was dividing his time between the School and his primary position at the Royal Academy of Music, a pattern which he maintained until 1939. It was during these years that he created his youth orchestras, the pioneering work for which he became best known. Read, from his vantage point in the music establishment, was able to advocate the Dalcroze method with remarkable acuity. His reassuring lectures helped to defuse the fixed do versus movable do issue. Perhaps more than anyone else Ernest Read developed awareness of the need for a strategy to incorporate Dalcroze Eurhythmics into existing British music education.
In 1921-22 forty-five professional students at the School were taking a full-time course consisting of eighteen to twenty lessons per week. Read and Ethel Driver taught students at all three levels, and Driver supervised the advanced students in Teaching Practice. Annie Beck and Joan Ward-Higgs were greatly admired for their teaching of "Plastic" and "Rhythmics," as these classes were now called. Rambert had left around 1918 to pursue her dance teaching career, so Douglas van Schnell took over from her, introducing the Ling gymnastics he studied in Sweden.

Important additions to the training staff during the 1920s were Nathalie Ward-Higgs Tingey, an enthusiastic, challenging teacher, and Ann Driver, who was "the perfect example of what we all hoped to achieve," in the words of Elizabeth Billaux Ruegg, a student of the period. Ruegg reflected on her training with the Drivers, Read, Beck, and Tingey: "The really important thing to stress is how splendid and individual all our teachers were and how they treated each one of us as a complete individual and were tirelessly helpful in every respect."

This group devised an effective team approach for teaching the "Dalcroze subjects," the core principles which they emphasized throughout the three years of professional training: energy, space and time; accentuation; anacrusis-crusis-metacrusis; association and dissociation; reaction, readjustment, response; rests, silences, contrasts; time patterns; simple and compound time; phrase and period;
schools. According to Tingey several teachers' "careers were made possible by this generosity."  

Summer and holiday courses became popular, especially with teachers and administrators interested in new teaching methods. Staff from the London School led forty-eight participants in the first course at Edinburgh in August 1918, and from 1919 to 1922 around twice that number attended summer courses at Oxford. Among the leaders in music and education who gave guest lectures were W. H. Hadow, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield and President of the Dalcroze Society; Frank Roscoe, Music Advisor to the London County Council and Secretary of the Royal Society of Teachers; and Hugh Allen, Director of the Royal College of Music and Professor of Music at Oxford. Well over one hundred attended when Jaques-Dalcroze first gave the summer course at University College of North Wales in Bangor in 1923. Every two or three summers thereafter he taught in locations such as Brighton or Moira House, Eastbourne, always enjoying those who came to do "Eurhythmics by the sea," as the circulars announced.

Lecture-demonstrations continued to be the most crucial propaganda device for reaching the public. Dalcroze teachers presented their pupils in numerous school demonstrations, and Jaques-Dalcroze regularly toured throughout Great Britain with groups of children and professional students. Gertrude Ingham would temporarily leave her duties at Moira House to join Jaques-Dalcroze to interpret.
One student recalled this skillful mediator as a "beautiful and very stately figure in long blue robe, standing to one side of the stage—unassuming yet inevitably very much involved in the performance." To spread the word even further afield, Percy Ingham attempted to coordinate a six-week lecture-demonstration tour of the United States and Canada for Jaques-Dalcroze to begin in 1920. That plan did not come to fruition, but Ethel Driver made a productive four-month visit to Australia and New Zealand in 1923 which drew a number of students to London for professional training.

Desmond MacCarthy, writing about the Dalcroze method in 1913, was not alone in recognizing its potential for actor training and staging. Theatre and opera companies on both sides of the Atlantic began to experiment with the work. Several productions of Greek tragedy involved staff of the London School in unusual collaborations. In 1920 Grace McLearn, who had recently completed her training, went to the University of Aberdeen to create movement for the Choephoroe of Aeschylus staged by Glasgow producer Parry Gunn. According to an observer her choruses "fashioned a soundless poem of movement and gesture that fitted the changing passion of the drama as a glove to the hand." Among the productions she later worked on with Gunn was Sophocles' Antigone, done in 1922 by students from the Glasgow School of Art and the University of Glasgow, who played to standing-room-only houses for a week in the 2000-
The same year Ethel Driver composed the score for a performance of Euripides' *Electra* given by students of the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in London. Driver and Annie Beck trained the choruses while the students also had an introduction to Dalcroze basics. According to one account, "That they were able to give so good a performance shows not only the skill of Miss Beck and Miss Driver but the infinite possibilities of Eurhythmics in this direction." The Dalcroze Society underwrote the publication of Driver's score for voice, harp, flute, and drum. It was around this time that the theatre director Harley Granville-Barker addressed the Society on applications of the method in educating actors.

Dalcroze training sufficiently interested P.J.S. Richardson, Editor of the *Dancing Times*, that he published the occasional article on its relevance to dancers. In 1923 he invited the School to present a demonstration for the Dancers' Circle, which the Drivers and two students agreed to do. "Counterpoint" wrote afterwards in the *Dalcroze Teachers' Union News Sheet* that ballerina Adeline Genée, chairing the session, spoke very warmly of what she had seen. She said that the study of rhythm, and the concentration needed for all the work impressed her very much, and she felt sure that the art of dancing could be materially helped by Eurhythmics, and that the dancers on the other hand, could give much to the students of Eurhythmics.

The cross-fertilization which Genée foresaw had already
begun, of course. Not only was there the example of Marie Rambert, but also Ninette de Valois, who noted that her two years of childhood Dalcroze study made a difference in her development as a dancer.78

In two books of collected essays published during this period, Jaques-Dalcroze explored in depth the relation of music to movement and gesture. Rhythm, Music and Education (1921), his most widely-read and oft-quoted book, explains the evolution of his teaching methods and then turns to his visionary ideas on music drama and dance. He sees both as having the potential to become socially significant art forms in which the experience of music has a central place. These themes recur in Eurhythmics, Art and Education (1930), but here he broadens the scope to include topics such as music and the cinema, folk song, criticism, and education for the blind. These two books, coming at the beginning and end of a decade of remarkable expansion, gave the Dalcroziens substantial support in their attempt to interest people from many different fields in the possibilities of the work.

5.4 Problems and Changes

The death of Percy Ingham on September 7, 1930 ended his eighteen-year effort to spread the Dalcroze method in the English-speaking world. For the London School, it was a terrible loss, not only of administrative expertise and benevolent leadership but also of financial stability. As Jaques-Dalcroze wrote in a tribute to his friend, "He knew
how to help others so unobtrusively that, with him, giving appeared to be the most simple and natural thing in the world. His very presence was a gift of himself which brought confidence, security and joy. "71 By his will the School was handed over to family trustees led by Gertrude Ingham, who acted in conjunction with a Council of Management that included Jaques-Dalcroze, Ernest Read, Ethel Driver, Nathalie Tingey, and others. 72 In 1931 the Percy Broadbent Ingham Memorial Fund appeal was launched, with the goal of establishing an endowment and seeking new premises.

Store Street was too small. As early as 1921 Ingham had looked for larger quarters, and since that time several other locations had been investigated. In the midst of "the slump" of the early 1930s, the drive to raise funds moved very slowly. The Dalcroze Society reported "reductions" in staff and activities in May 1933, noting that "it is probably due to the financial state of the country that the friends of Mr. Ingham have not been able to contribute to the fund as considerably as we had hoped." 73 The next year, however, an ideal freehold building was found and purchased by mortgage at 37 Fitzroy Square, less than a half mile north on the other side of Tottenham Court Road. It was an elegant Adam house "in a large, quiet Square, but within five minutes walk of three Underground Railway stations, and a large number of bus routes." 74 The Square had been potter William de Morgan’s residence
for a time, and more recently Roger Fry located his Omega Workshops at Number 33; Dalcroze-trained Valerie Cooper currently ran her School of Movement at Number 6.  

The architect Edward Brantwood Maufe, an Ingham cousin who was a member of the School Council, took charge of planning the alterations. The work coincided with the beginnings of the Guildford Cathedral, which he also designed. The new School had four movement studios, two "considerably larger" than the main rooms at Store Street; aural training and improvisation rooms; and a lecture hall, offices, and canteen. The formal opening of Ingham Memorial House was held on July 14, 1934, with W. H. Hadow presiding and Jaques-Dalcroze, Hugh Allen, Geoffrey Shaw, Ernest T. Cam­pagnac, and other dignitaries in attendance.  

Later that year two American Dalcroziens, Louise Soelberg and John Colman, dancer and pianist respectively with the Ballets Jooss at Dartington, presented a "most finished performance" at the Dalcroze Society's house-warming party. The new space also inspired graduates of the School to present a series of "evenings" including a "Recital of Movement and Music" by Désirée Martin and Angela Burney, a "Soirée de Plastique" by Mary Seaman with five colleagues, and a "Song and Dance Recital" by Nora Knaggs and a group of pupils. Collections for the Ingham Memorial Fund were taken at these and other other functions, but by mid-1935 less than half of the £10,000 cost of the building had been raised.
For several years Gertrude Ingham tried valiantly to cope with the double challenge of heading Moira House and the School. Finally in 1935 the Council named a Warden, Cecilia John, an Australian who earned her Dalcroze certificate in 1923. As Warden and later Principal of the School, John turned out to be a highly controversial leader until her death some twenty years later. She persevered through financial crises as well as three moves caused by World War II, but people were repelled by her "brusqueness" and "dictatorial attitude," in the terms of one colleague. Another compared her unfavourably with Percy Ingham: "Both of them had a boundless tenacity and courage, and both aimed at the same objective: but whereas Percy, the gentlest of men, achieved these through quiet and tactful persuasion, Cecilia pursued them with bulldozer tactics and a constitutional inability to compromise."

As if leadership were not a large enough problem, an ideological debate arose which threatened further discord. At issue was the presentation of plastic movement. Confusions of the method with dancing had long been irksome to Jaques-Dalcroze, and he ceaselessly argued the case for clear distinction between the two. As he grew older, however, he became increasingly conservative as well as sensitive to criticism. Particularly demoralizing in this regard had been the negative comments of André Levinson, the Russian emigré critic based in Paris, on the value of Dalcroze-
influenced performances in that city in the 1920s.

In 1932 Jaques-Dalcroze wrote to Gertrude Ingham,

I have decided in general to give only pedagogic demonstrations, finding that is the best way to protect the method against all equivocation while affirming that it represents a preparation for art and not an art itself. I have confirmed moreover that many people prefer to see exercises of rhythmics and not plastic realizations.

She must have communicated these views to the staff, for Jaques-Dalcroze mentioned in a subsequent letter that Nathalie Tingey had written to inform him that "plastic movement still has a place" in London.

Although Jaques-Dalcroze did not want to offend the teachers, he sent a statement which he asked Gertrude Ingham to translate and read in public. In it he insisted that the movement technique connected with his teaching "is certainly not that of ballet and modern dance" and he wished to dispel "the error of those who believe that we have choreographic pretentions. Our method does not form virtuosos...." The School staff seem more or less to have ignored the implications of his new directives. From the very first years Ethel Driver, usually working closely with students, had created original plastic movement studies such as Bach Inventions and Fugues, a setting of Debussy's Nuages, and the Earth, Air, Fire, and Water ballets from Holst's opera The Perfect Fool. Driver was by no means the only Dalcroze teacher who found opportunities to compose in movement. How could the School stop the work it had always done?
London in the early 1930s was humming with exciting activity, from new cross currents in movement teaching such as Central European Dance, to the choreographic experiments of Ninette de Valois, Frederick Ashton, and Antony Tudor.\(^\text{1}\) In 1933, when de Valois proposed a two-year course on dance composition to the Association for Operatic Dancing, she intended that, in addition to herself and Markova, Ann Driver would teach. Her responsibility would be Dalcroze Eurhythmics as applied to choreography.\(^\text{2}\) During the 1930s Dalcroziens, either with the School or independently, continued to present their demonstrations and modest recitals of music and movement. The contentious issue did not disappear, and in 1936 Jaques-Dalcroze reminded Cecilia John once again that "the School must resist the exaggerated emphasis on plastic movement."\(^\text{3}\)

Money problems were another constant worry in the late 1930s. The School's operating budget showed major losses. When a proposal was sent to Geneva asking permission to reduce the length of the training course as an economy measure, Jaques-Dalcroze would not allow the change.\(^\text{4}\) An editorial in the Journal of the Dalcroze Society, probably by Nathalie Tingey, expressed the gloomy mood of 1936: "Wars and rumours of wars, the constant state of uncertainty, of stress and turmoil, of hurry, of fear for the future, ... all serve to undermine that inner steadiness and sanity which alone bring a true sense of security."\(^\text{5}\) As the writer pointed out, the method that had been new in
became wider and wider known, and, as must happen, when something of real value is involved, the essential principles of the work began to be absorbed into the educational system of this country. To-day Eurhythmics is no longer an innovation; no longer is it unusual to find systems of movement and gymnastics combined with music; there are many methods of teaching movement and music both in this country and abroad.\footnote{The hopeful pioneering years were over.}

What happens when a method "is no longer an innovation"? Almost inevitably the challenges become competition and survival. How then should Dalcroze teachers try to preserve principles, raise standards, and coordinate their work? These were the questions with which British Dalcroze teachers continued to grapple when World War II began three years later. In September 1939 it was clear that students would not return to London, so the School moved from Ingham Memorial House to Glassenbury Park in Cranbrook, Kent. A few months later the committee of the Dalcroze Teachers' Union met informally in London. Rough pencil-scrawled notes for a telegram to their absent Chair summed up the disarray:

Impossible to have either committee or business meetings in War Time. Keep in touch with Geneva & with each other. Pay what they can for substitutes (token payment). Keep work going for anything one can get.\footnote{The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics and the small profession it had generated would never fully recover from the catastrophe of this war.}
6. The Teaching Expands

6.1 Introduction

Percy Ingham's two main goals were to endow the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics as a permanent training centre, and to see the work as "an intrinsic part of every school curriculum." Like missionaries, Ingham and his colleagues set out to spread the method far and wide. They firmly believed in Eurhythmics not only as music study but as "preparation for life," in the words of Frank Roscoe, Music Adviser to the London County Council and Chairman of the Dalcroze Society in the early 1920s. Progressives were well disposed to hear and understand the Dalcroze message. It became an example of what Alice Woods, former Principal of Maria Gray Training College, and many others called the "new spirit" in education, which stressed the importance of freedom and play in the child's learning experience. In 1920 Woods discussed Eurhythmics as an area of the arts and crafts in her influential survey Educational Experiments in England, concluding, "The educators of the future will recognize as never before the value of rhythm in education," and "greater harmony in our children's natures will be the result."

Dalcroze Eurhythmics specifically contributed to "a wonderful widening of musical activity in British schools,"
according to Percy Scholes, who, along with Ernest Read and Stewart Macpherson, was a leading proponent of musical appreciation. The widening began around 1920 and included percussion bands, pipe-making and playing, class teaching of piano and stringed instruments, school orchestras, opera and choral performance, composition study, the use of the gramophone, lessons by radio, and special concerts for children. As Scholes explained, these activities were not all first introduced at this period, nor were they all taken up equally widely, but even an incomplete list "gives an idea of the new spirit that was now entering into school music." In 1934 Stewart Macpherson summed up the perspective of other music educators when he said,

Now, we may all have our own different views as to the value of certain aspects of Eurhythmics: it is not necessary, neither is it desirable, that we should all think alike. What we have to do is to judge how far and to what extent it is possible, and useful, to graft the underlying principles of Jaques-Dalcroze's Method on to the tree of our own peculiarly national system of education.

How did Eurhythmics enter British schools? Where did it flourish, and where did it fail to take hold? What factors encouraged or discouraged its use? The answers to these questions reveal some of the challenges which Dalcroze teachers faced. Not only did they have to convince headmasters and mistresses to grant them space and time, but also they had to justify repeatedly the expense of small classes, good pianos, and safe floors for movement. How far should they compromise, they wondered, when realities did not correspond to their ideals? Could classes in
crowded elementary schoolrooms benefit? Were specialists required, or could ordinary teachers be trained to convey the work's main principles? Was Eurhythmics as appropriate for boys as for girls, and, if so, up to what age? Was the work helpful for handicapped children? To the early Dalcrozians, the opportunities seemed overwhelmingly vast.

The history of Dalcroze teaching between the wars must be constructed from fragmentary evidence: several manuals, various mentions and descriptions in reports and articles, memoirs, a few photographs, and one short film. However, a host of scholars have analyzed the educational and social history background of the period, and these studies make it possible to fill in a more complete picture of the early Dalcrozians at work. They, like other middle-class teachers and reformers, proceeded on the basis of well-established attitudes toward class and gender, which largely determined their strategies for spreading the method.

This chapter first examines not the majority who taught in private schools, but the few who ventured into adapting Eurhythmics for the public education system. The next section turns to the integration of the teaching in private experimental schools such as Moira House, the Hall School (Weybridge), and Frensham Heights School. The chapter ends with a look at the difficulties of introducing the method which Dalcroze teachers and their contemporaries identified during the 1920s and 1930s.
6.2 Eurhythmics Modified

Of her work in teacher training, Winifred Houghton recalled in 1938:

When I started some twenty years ago working at the London Dalcroze School, I had in my classes a number of teachers from Elementary Schools. They were most enthusiastic and, from questions they asked and things they told me of their work, I saw that there was here a great field for Eurhythmics.

Seeking firsthand knowledge of the conditions in which such teachers taught, she worked in an East End school. To her, accustomed to classes of ten or twelve children wearing tunics, it was a revelation that teachers coped with classes of forty to fifty, "unsuitably attired for the purpose." The children responded well to the work, however, so Houghton decided to train teachers to pass on Eurhythmics to their classes, "not the complicated system intended for musicians, but modified in such a way as to meet the needs of the children, and to bring the tuition of it within the powers of every teacher."

Alice Woods, commenting on the large audiences of women elementary school teachers at Child Study Association lectures, wrote, "There is little doubt, as Sir Michael Sadler has said, that it is among women, and in the ranks of the elementary schools, that reform is making most way." Winifred Houghton's efforts to translate the Dalcroze method for the less privileged brought her into precisely this arena of social activism. Perhaps her work can best be visualized in the context of two glimpses of other early
teaching in the public educational system. Woods described a large girls' elementary school in the North of England where a headmistress experimented with the unusual combination of woodwork and Eurhythmics. Woods observed that the girls keenly enjoyed manual work, especially the "rhythmic nature" of sawing; very successful also were lessons in rhythmic movement, given to the same class three-quarters of an hour a week as part of their musical training. The headmistress reported that the girls learned "to beat the time and step the note values of improvised rhythms, pieces of music, and their songs, and by different groupings interpret the phrasing and form of the music." She was most favourably impressed with the value of this education which "gives grace and beauty to the body and at the same time provides a healthy emotional outlet."

In an even more glowing account, Catherine Carswell told of a demonstration at Wembley in 1924 which gathered nearly 150 children from all parts of London, many of them "coming from the very poorest of homes." The Hoxton Golden Staircase School arranged this festival to give British Empire Exhibition visitors an opportunity to see "what Eurhythmics can do and is doing for children, especially the East End children of London." In the fervent prose of social improvers, she depicted the event:

Dressed in gay and graceful garments these little girls and boys made a wonderfully pretty and touching spectacle in themselves, so full were they with delight in the rhythmic
movements which for them must typify all that is the opposite of the sordid and drab surroundings in which, unfortunately, most of them are compelled, by the conditions of their parents' circumstances, to live.

The children did all that was asked of them without nervousness or self-consciousness, Carswell wrote, and once again convinced her that the working-class children of London "are as naturally musical and graceful as their fellow children in the West End." 13

From its beginnings in 1913 the London School provided evening classes in Dalcroze Eurhythmics for elementary teachers, but it was only after Winifred Emily Houghton completed her professional training in 1916 that the campaign to introduce the method in elementary schools gained its true leader. Houghton was by then in her mid-thirties, mature and experienced, having lived in Berlin where she taught piano and English until World War I forced her to return to England. 14 Percy Ingham was sufficiently committed to teacher training that he provided specialists, at his own expense, to forward-looking colleges such as Goldsmiths'. In 1917 he sent Houghton to Gipsy Hill Training College for Teachers of Young Children, the new Montessori centre, soon after it had opened. There she remained until 1949 while she continued to teach in schools at several levels. A colleague characterized her as "enthusiastic and invigorating, patient and encouraging," noting her influence well into the 1950s. 15 Houghton remarked that she was grateful that she had health problems at intervals throughout her career, because they made it
possible for her to produce her books; the list of her manuals and piano collections is long, certainly longer than that most other Dalcroze teachers could claim.16

The London School published her *First Lessons in Rhythmic Movement* in 1917, three years before Jaques-Dalcroze's manual *Rhythmic Movement* appeared in English. Houghton's *First Lessons*, without any drawings or photographs, offered convenient, easy-to-follow suggestions for work to be filled in and elaborated by elementary school teachers. Judging from the number of editions, revisions, and supplements which followed, her modest little manual found widespread use. She prefaced her text by advising teachers to encourage inventiveness and spontaneity, to stimulate the imagination, to foster "good taste" by playing "good but simple" music, to draw out "individual aesthetic expression," and to "aim at sending the children away filled with happiness."17

Having had difficulty with improvisation herself, Houghton was sympathetic to the problems many faced in this area. Thus she referred to appropriate musical examples along the left margin opposite each exercise. Her directions were minimal, not explanatory; she wrote them as reminders for people who had taken an introductory course in the work. Her outline for regularity of the beat went as follows:

Play one of the examples.

Pupils--
(a) Walk in time.
(b) Stand still and clap.
(c) Mark time.
(d) Jump, with both feet together.
(e) Clap and walk.
N.B.—The teacher should play—
(1) In moderate tempo.
(2) In quick tempo.
(3) In slow tempo.
(4) With accelerando and ritardando.\(^{16}\)

Similarly, in less than thirty pages, she covered accent, bar time, note values, rhythmic patterns, phrasing, conducting, counterpoint, anacrusis, syncopation, and other Dalcroze subjects. Houghton ended with a selection of singing games and plastic exercises such as "Trains," in which the teacher "is the signalman at the piano, who puts down the different signals" (note values) for the very slow goods train, the slow passenger train, the express, or the engine running alone.\(^{17}\)

It is revealing to compare Houghton's book, which so efficiently presented the essence of the method, with an earlier one, less authoritative, but probably the first manual of this type to be published in England. Dr. T. Keighley of the Royal Manchester College of Music brought out his illustrated First Lessons in Rhythmic Gymnastics in 1915, based on what he had read in early accounts of Eurhythmics and heard in lectures during Jaques-Dalcroze's 1912 visit. Although he acknowledged his debt to the ideas of Jaques-Dalcroze, Keighley glossed over his personal lack of study of the method. He quoted Jaques-Dalcroze as sanctioning separate investigation by saying that he hoped others would "experiment on these lines and create systems of training superior to mine."\(^{18}\) Keighley did not notably succeed in doing so, however, for he reduced the work to two basic
activities: arm movements for each beat and a step for each melody note. Most of his pages were devoted to instructions on how to have children master specific movements and steps for twelve nursery rhymes and songs. Unlike Houghton, Keighley came across, at least in his manual, as quite rigid and simplistic. Lucky were the teachers who met Houghton and used her books instead, for she thoroughly understood the Dalcroze secret of spontaneity.

Ever positive, Houghton had a supportive way of urging teachers to build on their own skills in adapting the principles of Eurhythmics. She insisted that some of the most satisfactory work she had seen was "accomplished by teachers whose playing would not pass muster with a musician; some of the least satisfactory by a good pianist lacking the spirit of the method." 1 Awareness of practical realities guided her efforts. She knew that most school teachers did not have time to devise all of the exercises and games they needed, but she found that if given some definite ideas with which to start, teachers would follow with their own original work. Houghton intended her published collections such as Songs and Games for the Infant School and A Gateway to the Symphony to facilitate teaching by those who could not improvise or who did not know where to find good musical examples.

Some of her colleagues thought Houghton went too far, particularly by promoting the notion that Dalcroze work could be adapted by those having little or no skill in
piano improvisation. For her, however, the method was first and foremost education, not simply music training. It provided children with a unique taste of freedom and individual creativity. As she put it,

What we wish to do is, not to make any show, not to drill our children into certain movements which they will then perform gracefully and probably mechanically, but to reach after and bring to outward expression that rhythmic feeling which is inherent in every human being.

Around 1922 Houghton pioneered the use of Eurhythmics for teaching the mentally and physically "defective," as they were then called. Her experiences in special schools and institutions made her recognize the limitations of the prevailing middle-class image of the method. "The apparent results," she admitted,

might horrify anyone used to seeing the small cultured classes with which Dalcroze teachers usually deal. It is not a pleasant or edifying sight to see a class of mentally defective children at Eurhythmics--except to those who know how much they are benefiting by what looks to the outsider merely gauche and unfinished.

She discovered that many such children have an extraordinary sense of rhythm and that they can be appealed to by movement better than by any other medium. By the mid-1930s several other Dalcroze teachers had become involved in therapy, including work with the blind, and the London School announced that it would offer "special classes for teachers of dull and backward children" in its Christmas Vacation Course in 1934.

A different way of gauging the Dalcroze method's influence
in the public education system is to consult the Board of Education reports, handbooks, and pamphlets of the period. In the 1923 Report of the Consultative Committee on Differentiation of the Curriculum for Boys and Girls Respectively in Secondary Schools, Eurhythmics was mentioned no less than five times, usually along with dancing as a valuable adjunct to music study. This was not surprising given that W. H. Hadow, Chair, and Frank Roscoe, a committee member, were then the President and Chairman respectively of the Dalcroze Society. Roscoe chaired the first demonstration of the method with public elementary school children, which was given at Goldsmiths' College in 1917, and in the early 1920s he enabled Dalcroze teachers to gain what Tingey called a "more official status" by becoming registered as members of the Teachers' Registration Council, of which he was Secretary.

Roscoe and Hadow, the latter the musicologist who was Vice-Chancellor of Sheffield University, were two of the most prominent educationists to advocate broad use of the method. Although several witnesses to the Consultative Committee claimed that "in general girls were better than boys at Gymnastics, Dancing and Eurhythmics," Roscoe made a point elsewhere of reporting the excellent results he had seen with boys in London County Council schools, where "enthusiasm for the work dominated all else, and by directing the natural exuberance of the youthful male to unconscious self-discipline, all need for discipline
imposed from without was eliminated."

Dalcroze Eurhythmics, rhythmic movement, and even the coinage "eurhythmia," appeared on various pages of subsequent Board reports, including The Education of the Adolescent (1926), which laid out the great restructuring of national provision which led to the modern primary and secondary school system. The Hadow Committee emphasis on the importance of experience and "interest" in The Primary School (1931) and Infant and Nursery Schools (1933) indicated the degree to which progressive ideas of child-centred learning were becoming officially recognized. The oft-quoted statement that education should be "a group of activities by which powers are exercised, and curiosity aroused, satisfied, and again aroused" was a remarkable parallel to Jaques-Dalcroze's explanations of his teaching method.

Winifred Houghton was not named, but her teaching at Gipsy Hill was referred to indirectly in the Board of Education report on Music, Arts and Crafts and Drama in Training Colleges (1928). The pamphlet Recent Developments in School Music (1933) incorporated her views in a four-page section on "rhythmic work," the term chosen as "representing more nearly" than Eurhythmics "the work done in most schools."

This "modification" of the Dalcroze method, described as "an avenue of approach to Music, natural and simple, teachable in any school by the ordinary class teacher of Music, and excellent for teaching the technique..."
of music through sense impressions," included basic work in free movement and response, walking, running, skipping, dances, and games. The language is so characteristic of Houghton that she might have written it herself; she almost certainly was among those consulted.

As "the slump" of the late 1920s approached, Percy Ingham became concerned about the economic prospects for Dalcroze specialists. Most worked in private education where there were more positions; they in fact could not teach in public elementary schools at that time unless they also had the Elementary Teacher's Certificate and could teach general subjects. Perhaps anticipating the future, which brought increasing state control of all education, he urged the London School students to broaden their training so that they would be qualified for posts in schools interested in introducing the method but unable to employ a specialist who could only teach Eurhythmics.

Ingham's successor, Cecilia John, aware of radical shifts of thinking on how education reinforces class distinctions, ventured a forceful opinion in 1935. The method must cease to be an extra in a few private schools and become widely and effectively taught in the public education system.

"For the past twenty years," John argued,

> a slow process of permeation has been going on, which, at times seemed to us destructive, because of the attempts of untrained teachers to give their children what they themselves had gained from the study of Dalcroze Eurhythmics.

She hoped that the London School's recently-restructured
Dalcroze course for elementary school teachers, officially approved for the first time by the Board of Education, had begun to "ensure a definite standard" of work. This one-year course leading to the new "Elementary Certificate" had been initiated in 1931 with top staff members such as Ethel Driver and Nathalie Tingey teaching.

By introducing the new qualification, the London School gained further recognition for the method and tried to tighten control over its use. At the same time, however, the School perpetuated the double standard of training that had prevailed in previous years. Those who took the three-year professional course would, "as formerly," in John's words, "become teachers in private and secondary Schools, and should be the specialists who prepare the teachers for the Elementary Course." This elite of the most fully-trained Dalcrozians would serve the fortunate minority. For the many younger children in the public education system, on the other hand, ordinary teachers fortified at training college or by the School's short course would continue to suffice.

Aside from Houghton, the other Dalcrozians who worked in state schools were relatively few in numbers. Was it a matter of social background that most of those drawn to Eurhythmics in its first decades gravitated not to public but to private education? The following account by Kitty Webster Haynes, who was educated at Cheltenham Ladies' College and graduated from the London School in 1920,
suggests the class-consciousness which seems to have pre-
vented some women from considering Houghton’s path:

My first teaching experience was terrible. It was a practice class while I was training. I had to go to a children’s crèche in the east of London. A large room with a low stage at one end. On the stage were rows of bundles wrapped in blankets. The class was brought in, about 25-30 very small grubby children. The piano was on the stage back view on to the class! Directly I started playing the bundles all woke up. They were all babies and the noise was incredible. I had to call for help from the teachers who all had disappeared. I don’t think I got much teaching practice out of it!

The effort of Winifred Houghton and certain colleagues to translate the method for the masses left its mark on teaching in British schools between the wars, but it did not typify the work of most Dalcrozians. The sphere in which they flourished was private education.

6.3 Progressive Experiments

Historians occasionally mention Eurhythmics as a feature of the "golden age" of private education in early twentieth-century England, a time of great expansion in the numbers of pupils attending private schools. John Stevenson identifies rising middle-class incomes and liberal progressive thinking as factors which contributed to the founding of the so-called new schools, in which important educational experiments occurred that he thinks "would have been impossible in the state system." R.J.W. Selleck, the historian of education, suggests that Edmond Holmes, Homer Lane, and Dr. Maria Montessori, among others, spread their new ideas during and after World War I in such a way
that "strange new schools sprang up, old schools broke with convention and adopted new procedures, new methods of teaching or of school organization were bruited abroad, new educational societies were formed" in a period of intense activity. A study of Dalcroze teaching in several unique private schools provides a microcosm of this world of idealism and reform.

The schools selected for analysis span the phenomenon of progressivism in English education from its nineteenth-century beginnings to its legacy in the present. Moira House, the first example, was actually a precursor of the movement when it was founded by the Ingham family in 1875, whereas Frensham Heights School did not appear until 1925 as part of the wave of progressive schools established by leaders of the New Education Fellowship. Both Moira House and Frensham Heights, having undergone gradual transformations over the years, thrive as independent schools today. The Hall School (Weybridge), a non-survivor, had a rich and varied history lasting from 1898 to 1983. In these and other experimental schools such as Dartington Hall, the Caldecott Community, and Malting House School, Eurhythmics occupied a central place during the 1920s and 1930s.

When Kathleen O'Dowd first taught the method at Moira House in 1910-11, this Eastbourne girls' school already had a strong tradition of music, arts and crafts, and games. Drill and dancing had been introduced by the redoubtable Mrs. Wordsworth, who commuted from London twice a week
during the early years of the school at Croydon."¹

History was the core of the academic curriculum, in which subjects such as literature and art history were not separate, as in conventional schools, but coordinated to relate closely to each period considered. Every three years came the popular "Egyptian Term," for example. Gertrude Ingham as Headmistress observed that "when the cycle begins again a girl is naturally in a higher class, and so covers the ground from a new and more developed point of view."¹² Moira House was unusual too, for a girls' school, in its serious emphasis on mathematics and the sciences, religious studies, and philosophy. Charles Barlow Ingham set the tone from the outset with his "Socratic methods," according to an "old girl" who remembered being "seated informally round a table" where "we were encouraged to think for ourselves."¹³ He did not believe in examinations and prizes; regulations were kept to a minimum, to reflect his aim that the school should be like a family, not an institution.

Once adopted, Dalcroze study soon became an integral part of a Moira House education, because the Inghams were convinced that it was not only a foundation for the understanding and use of music but also a means of leading the child to self-realization and conscious control of her attributes. Every pupil had regular lessons twice a week, with three for the juniors when possible. The results were clear at once in piano, violin, singing, and ear training
classes, but in addition teachers noticed that "awkward barriers which kept girls from self-expression gradually melted away, and, in fact, that universally some mysterious process was at work, bringing about a greater state of balance in the character of each girl." They saw three basic elements of the child's nature called into play in each Dalcroze exercise: "the body moves, the mind thinks, and an idea is being expressed." The gains in freedom of movement, response to rhythm, and power of expression became valuable assets in other work.

Explaining their approach to curriculum, Gertrude Ingham suggested that the Dalcroze principle of experience can be applied to any subject through activities such as the dramatisation of historical events. For a geography lesson she described how a large map of South America was drawn out by the girls on the floor, and different groups illustrated the movements of the trade winds across the continent and their effect on vegetation, etc. This involved movement from different points and in different directions, as well as the meeting of the different forces at work, and was done in such a way that the sequence of results was also realised and understood.

Similarly, girls studied the rhythms of the tides and the movements of the planets. Even Latin declensions did not escape study through hand movements. Over and above the academic benefits, Moira House teachers found that the positive influence of the work on the individual "spreads through the whole community," for it is "a method which binds any number, which gives a common meeting ground to
all, and forms a bond of union between all from the youngest to the oldest." Thus for aesthetic, intellectual, and social reasons, they held that Eurhythmics should be considered not as a special subject in the curriculum but as "a foundational method of education."

Mona Swann, the future Moira House Headmistress who as a girl studied with Kathleen O'Dowd, recalled "the first awful entanglements of limb with limb, the first glimpse of dawning freedom, the first joys of plastic interpretation," not to mention how thrilling it was to participate in a group of twelve in the "first big public Dalcroze Demonstration ever given in England" at the Royal Academy of Music in 1911. When Swann returned to Moira House as a teacher she formed an experimental class with Gertrude Ingham to explore the possibilities of what they called "Language Eurhythmics," an attempt to use "the Mother-tongue, the speaking voice and the body as media for work on Eurhythmic lines." They hoped this work would offer public elementary school teachers not gifted in music an alternative way to extend the benefits provided by Dalcroze Eurhythmics.

Their experiment grew into a widely-demonstrated method which was taken up by many teachers during the 1920s, amidst the broader interest in verse-speaking choirs of that period. Jaques-Dalcroze, who supported Swann's venture, often asked Moira House girls to demonstrate both Dalcroze Eurhythmics and Language Eurhythmics. One such
occasion was for an audience of 1200 attending a New Ideals in Education Conference held in conjunction with the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1924. Swann became well known for her books on choral speaking, her plays for children, and her religious dramas, which were the first to be broadcast by the BBC.

During the 1920s and 1930s Dalcroze specialists taught at many other leading girls' schools, such as Cheltenham Ladies' College, Downe House, Francis Holland School, Queen Anne's School (Caversham), and Wycombe Abbey. At the Garden School in rural Buckinghamshire, for example, the work was offered for forty-five years under three head-mistresses. If private girls' schools were the type of school most likely to incorporate Dalcroze teaching, the new coeducational schools proved to be an equally important setting for the method's development in England. At one of the first, the Hall School (Weybridge), Eva Gilpin investigated the relevance of Eurhythmics to drama in education. She shared her keen interest in the Dalcroze method with Michael Sadler, who had urged her when she was his son's governess to gain the credentials to open a school. He assisted her in opening her "private preparatory school for boys and girls" at the Village Hall in Weybridge, Surrey, in 1898, only five years after Bedales was founded.

Like the Inghams, Gilpin particularly enjoyed teaching history and, also like the Inghams, she did not believe in marks and prizes. Her commitment to the arts made her
school unusual for its time. She pioneered the use of storytelling and drama, expeditions, and handwork to enrich the unified study of history, literature, and architecture. Widely-read, Gilpin was an enthralling teacher who made children learn "how to move, how to draw, how to make things and how to think," as one boy later put it."

They did so by working actively in small groups, consulting references, maps, pictures, and other materials as ideas occurred to them, turning to teachers only when their suggestions were needed.

Although Gilpin was not a musician, she loved traditional and classical music. She had already made singing and musical appreciation vital elements of her school's life when a letter from her former pupil John Harvey prompted her to visit Hellerau early in 1912. What must have piqued her curiosity most was his comment on how Dalcroze teaching "clears the way for untold developments of the personality upward." As a progressive, Gilpin was more intuitive practitioner than theorist, but she was profoundly interested in making education individual and creative for every child. At once she recognized the potential of the new method for her school.

As early as 1913 Gilpin engaged a Dalcroze teacher. By attending the lessons herself, she became convinced that Eurhythmics could serve effectively as the medium to combine many school subjects in making plays, the original works of music and movement which became her main focus as
an educator. She began to encourage "impromptu" dramatic activities conceived and worked out in movement by the children themselves. Gilpin also began to collaborate with talented Dalcrozians such as Annie Beck and Mary MacNair in making the twelve major productions which were her most significant creative experiments. From *The Wakefield Nativity Play* (1916) to *Mary, Queen of Scots* (1933), these plays involved the children not only in the excitement of joining music, movement, text, and design, but also in the rewarding task of documenting their experiences in a series of books. The art teacher noted that the Hall School was the first in England "to put linoleum and tools into the hands of children"; under her inspired direction children also made etchings, lithographs, and woodcuts. It is from these collectively-illustrated books and the vivid recollections of participants and witnesses that Gilpin's application of Dalcroze Eurhythmics can best be understood.

"Miss Gilpin never took a written play," recalled one early staff member. Instead the plays evolved from a song, poem, story, or idea; appropriate music and texts would be considered and, if chosen, become part of the mosaic of the production. Ida Cartledge Lloyd, a Dalcroze specialist who taught at the Hall School from 1918 to 1926, described how a short piece of music, perhaps one of Schumann's *Kinderszenen*, or the theme of some larger composition, would be played over two or three times to the children, who would be sitting on the floor and listening intently, noting mentally the chief characteristics of the music, the division into two or three sections, the main rhythms, etc. When they had absorbed as much as possible, three or
6.4 Eurhythmics and the New Education Fellowship

Moira House and the Hall School led the introduction of Dalcroze teaching in England, but other progressive schools rapidly followed. Among the next to take up the method were St. George's (Harpenden) and Arundale (later St. Christopher, Letchworth). Both schools were decisively influenced by the theories and practices of Montessori in the wake of the 1914 New Ideals in Education Conference, which focused on her work. This group and the Theosophical Fraternity in Education, founded the next year, gave rise in 1920 to the organization known as the New Education Fellowship. Beatrice Ensor, its prime mover, established the magazine *Education for the New Era*, which soon became *The New Era in Home and School*, in order "to promote International, and to record the growth of Experimental, Education." Her first issue featured an article about the Hall School, and the second an interview with Jaques-Dalcroze.

In 1921 A. S. Neill's letters to Ensor from Europe began to appear in *The New Era*, telling of his decision to join forces with Christine Baer-Frissell, then Director of the Dalcroze Schule, Hellerau. Jaques-Dalcroze himself, of course, was no longer connected with this school, but as chance would have it the school originally built for his method now served "in essence," according to Neill's biographer, as "the beginning of Summerhill." At that time Neill was enthusiastic about the possibilities of
linking Dalcroze study with other subjects such as drawing and writing, but he also stated his conviction that "the school must fit the child, not the child the school, and the boy who can't stand Eurhythmics may love painting and metal-work, mathematics and geography."

Neill especially liked the independent attitude of the Hellerau staff. "Among Dalcrozi ans," he wrote,

> there does not appear to be that unfortunate Montessorian habit of waiting for guidance from the Fountain-head. I see Montessorianism becoming a dead, apparatus-ridden system, but I see rhythm extending its influence in all branches of education. Thank heaven, there is no apparatus required for Eurhythmics!6

No apparatus, perhaps, but what about musical teachers, pianos, and space for movement? These skills and facilities, indeed requirements for the Dalcroze method, were exactly what private schools could choose to provide.

Eurhythmics, publicized in magazines such as The New Era and prominently presented in the huge international conferences of the New Education Fellowship, inevitably became one of the prerogatives of progressive education in the 1920s.

Unlike Neill, who took up Freudian psychology, Beatrice Ensor and her Theosophical colleagues tended to align themselves with the thinking of Jung. Ensor, an eloquent speaker, deplored the problems of living in the mechanical age.

> We cannot be strong unless we are poised and harmonized within, unless our personal consciousness is attuned to the Great Unconscious. Only then can we help the child to
adjust and control his inner powers, and teach him to guard himself in strength and unity that he may have the force to stand the strain of our modern world. 70

With Isabel King, Ensor introduced Dalcroze Eurhythmics as one practical step toward achieving such goals: first at St. Christopher School in Letchworth, the first Garden City of Ebenezer Howard; and then at Frensham Heights School, which Ensor and King founded in 1925 at Farnham, Surrey, as a demonstration school for the New Education Fellowship. 71

The first prospectus announced that for younger children, "Music and French are always part of the day's programme, and special classes are held in Dancing, Eurhythmics and Cookery." 78 Paul Roberts, Principal from 1928 to 1949, continued the pattern of a richly-diversified curriculum including the arts, handicrafts, gardening, and games. Peter Daniel's history of Frensham Heights includes a few photographs showing older children in tunics doing Eurhythmics-based movement in productions such as The Tempest and Nativity Plays in various years. A rare school film made in the early 1930s recorded Dalcroze exercises such as conducting with the body, skipping, and rope-pulling to show resistances, the latter done by the boys. 73

Among fascinating scenes of other activities, the children presented expressive movement in The Reluctant Dragon, a play with a medieval set given outdoors for Speech Day. Parents and other elegant visitors looked on, obviously pleased by the vision of happy uninhibited children in the fine country surroundings.
Three other experimental schools prominent in the New Education Fellowship deserve brief attention. In 1926 Leonard and Dorothy Elmhirst created their much-heralded Utopian community Dartington Hall in Devon, one year after Frensham Heights opened. Not surprisingly, Eurhythmics found its way into the school's curriculum as well as into some of the choreographic experiments of resident American dancers Louise Soelberg and Margaret Barr, in the years before Jooss and Leeder brought Central European Dance to Dartington. London-trained Dalcroze specialist Winifred Edwards reported on the teaching she built up beginning in 1931 there: "At this School the Rhythmic work is entirely voluntary, and out of a total of 122 children, 94 take Rhythmics." She explained that Soelberg, originally from the Cornish School in Seattle and the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze in Geneva, "also teaches at Dartington, but that her work is confined to adults, amongst them being the Students at the School of Dance Mime," which Barr then directed.

In 1935, when the Ballets Jooss arrived, including American Dalcroze specialist John Colman, Edwards was thrilled that there were "three trained Rhythmicians" and such "great opportunities for trying out new ideas." She had lately produced The Ancient Mariner as a play in rhythmic movement with a score composed by Trude Rittman of the Jooss Ballet School. "Much of the movement," Edwards wrote, "such as the turning of the human capstan, and the hauling of the sails, was worked out by the boys themselves." She won-
quired whether other teachers in coeducational schools found, as she had, that most boys over the age of eight or nine "shy away" from Eurhythmics. She commented that this play had used "an approach which the boys at Dartington welcomed enthusiastically, and the work they did was excellent."

During the late 1920s and 1930s Annie Beck and Désirée Martin developed parallel work with drama, often based on religious themes, as part of Dalcroze teaching at the Caldecott Community. This unique school originated in 1911 as one of London's first nursery schools for slum children, founded by social reformers Leila Rendel and Phyllis Potter. It evolved into a privately-funded country boarding school for working-class children and finally to the prototype for modern therapeutic centres for disturbed and delinquent children from all backgrounds. After a series of relocations, the Community at Ashford, Kent, leads today in the rehabilitation of troubled young people.

Rendel, a granddaughter of Victorian publisher Kegan Paul, was raised in a Lancaster Gate family closely connected with the Stracheys. She was among the middle-class girls of her generation who studied to become physical training instructors, but Rendel found her true calling in nursery education, another new field which was pioneered by women. Like Margaret McMillan, Rendel wanted nursery school children to experience freedom through music and movement. At the Caldecott Community Phyllis Potter and Annie Beck,
who later became involved in the innovative work of the Chelmsford Religious Drama League, created a drama production style which depended on the imagination, "the only property necessary," according to the flyer for *King Saul*, produced in 1939. One critic characterized a previous Caldecott play as "a strange medley of fully acted drama, eurhythmic mime and spoken duet, yet exquisite from beginning to end in sincerity, in beauty and natural solemnity." The small Malting House School in Cambridge lasted only from 1924 to 1928, but because it was the research centre of psychologist Susan Isaacs, it must not be overlooked here. Her qualitative records of children's behaviour included rhythmic movement as an area for detailed observation, as documented in her landmark study *Intellectual Growth in Young Children* (1930). At Manchester, where she originally trained as a teacher, she became familiar with the methods of John Dewey through J. J. Findlay, the Professor of Education who encouraged her to pursue a university degree. Inspired by Dewey's educational philosophy, Isaacs at the Malting House emphasized the children's play and discovery rather than set curriculum, and attentiveness rather than authority on the part of the teacher. Her writings described how twenty children between the ages of two and eight from Cambridge professional families reacted to the Dalcroze-based work made available at the School. This included "definite teaching from a trained teacher" of Eurhythmics in the third year. An excerpt from her
The children ran round the schoolroom a great deal to music, (a) as engines, aeroplanes, etc. They learnt to start and stop with the music; and changed from "express" to "slow" trains, etc., as the music changed; (b) with rhythmic movement, according to music, skipping, hopping; very slow steps; tip-toe, "flying", creeping; swinging arms, running in a spiral, marching. They would ask for particular tunes to move to, "the parade one", "the soldier one", "the skipping one", "a galloping one", "the running one", and so on. We had two or three "sleeping tunes", for resting to at intervals—when these began, the children would gradually slow down their movements, and lie down, keeping very still until the music changed again to a vigorous rhythm. They loved the "sleeping one" and always took it dramatically.

Thus Eurhythmics, in the new coeducational schools as well as in girls' schools, played its small part in the drama of progressivism in English private education. These schools had what teachers needed: small responsive classes, flexible curriculum, excellent facilities, enlightened administrators and parents. The Dalcroze method was sought and valued primarily for the children of the privileged.

6.5 Obstacles and Limitations

During the 1920s and 1930s various problems connected with the introduction of Eurhythmics were identified. The Manchester Education Committee, for example, after a qualified Dalcroze specialist conducted classes for the year in six different settings in the public education system, issued an interesting report in 1922. First on their list of
observations was the point "that the teacher was exception­ally clever and efficient, and that this subject depends for success, in a special degree, upon the personality and musicianship of a fully trained teacher." They commented that such a teacher will develop mental and physical coordination as well as memory, concentration, and "higher feeling" for music, but that these qualities were covered efficiently in existing music classes, dancing, gymnastics, and games, "a fact to be considered before adding to an already over-crowded curriculum." Reluctant to omit other subjects "to make room for Eurhythmics" in elementary schools, they were anxious about "robbing some essential subject" to teach it in secondary schools.

The Committee specified those who had benefited most from the course as physically defective children, children from six to ten years, and training college students preparing to teach young children. They saw the work as least useful for boys over ten and "boys generally," for physical training of normal children, and for voice training. They pondered the impossibility of finding space and suitable floors, along with the problem of the children's dress. Finally they concluded that "one of the greatest diffi­culties of carrying out courses in Eurhythmics successfully is the question of finding really gifted and able teachers. It is a subject which could only be successful under right conditions and with a teacher of very great personal force and charm."
There were challenges beyond training the teachers who would be such paragons and convincing local education leaders to pay to add the work. That gender was a major issue not only in Manchester but elsewhere is summed up by the Hall School pupil who remembered studying Eurhythmics "with Miss Bennett, a huge woman in a black tunic. Incidentally, we boys had to change into black tunics for this torture." Despite the efforts of some teachers to make the work more appealing to boys by stressing strength, work movements, and so forth, there was the persistent finding that older boys simply did not like the work. They definitely disliked tunics.

This obstacle was not helped by the fact that Eurhythmics was invariably taught by women. Almost no men took up Dalcroze teaching, as is clear from the few reports which even mention their presence, and this in turn limited the degree to which the work was introduced in schools. For example one writer in 1935 noted that attending a Dalcroze holiday course were some eighty students of several nationalities and all ages "and, on this occasion for the first time, of both sexes; for we were happy to include in our company two keen male students." The same year Winifred Houghton reported that she had 230 teachers in her classes, "amongst them being one man--interest is spreading to the boys' schools, both Elementary and Private." She was far too optimistic, however. Interest may have spread, but the work did not. Eurhythmics remained a subject studied by many more girls than boys.
Improvisation and the lack of sufficient creative work were two other issues in Dalcroze teaching which Marjorie Storr of Goldsmiths' College tried to articulate in 1935. Her first concern was that "the extreme emphasis laid on ability to improvise had led many Dalcroze teachers to neglect the study and use of music of permanent value." The emphasis on improvisation was a stumbling-block for others, as well, but for different reasons. To some music educators, "unskilled" improvisation reflected badly on the teaching. For many teachers who could not do it or do it well, improvisation was a very practical problem. Houghton tried to help such teachers by collecting good musical examples they could play instead. Jaques-Dalcroze and his loyal colleagues who headed the London School, however, insisted on the primacy of improvisation, even though evidently more people were positive about the teaching of rhythmic movement than those actually skilled at improvising. Improvisation, then, which was so fundamental to Dalcroze teaching, continued to be regarded as a contentious problem.

Storr's second objection was to the over-emphasis within Eurhythmics demonstrations on "purely technical exercises" and a corresponding lack of attention to "prepared work, where some musical composition has been translated into rhythmic movement and the whole has been perfected into a work of art, however simple." The need to study technical elements such as stepping crotchets, she argued, had
meaning only in the context of creative experiences of music and movement: "What should be means to an end is being displayed as if it were an end in itself." Storr hoped the followers of Jaques-Dalcroze would not fail to develop in children "a love of music, and a delight in that new art, the music-movement art, evolved by the genius of M. Jaques-Dalcroze."

From this sampling of the difficulties and shortcomings which were perceived in the period, it is clear that the Dalcrozians' task was far from easy. During the 1920s their effort to spread the method did result in expansion, most notably in private education, but the next decades brought a quicksand world of changing priorities and requirements. The women who had relied on Percy Ingham and Jaques-Dalcroze to lead them were now on their own to deal with the growing power of the Board and, later, the Ministry of Education.
7. **Endings and New Beginnings**

7.1 **Introduction**

Even before the war brought dislocation late in 1939, two developments occurred which were to have serious impact on the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics and the teaching it promulgated. In 1934 Ann Driver initiated her BBC **Music and Movement** broadcasts to schools. Without naming Dalcroze Eurhythmics, these weekly programmes spread a modern concept of the method throughout the land, reaching vast numbers of children in public as well as private education. Soon the influx of leading dancers who took refuge from Germany in the mid-1930s established a school and artistic base at Dartington Hall. Rudolf Laban's subsequent work with "Movement" transformed the teaching of physical education during the 1950s. This chapter begins by examining Driver and Laban, two challenges which Dalcrozians needed to face if they wanted to hold the ground that had been claimed for Eurhythmics.

The next topic is the split in leadership which prevented Dalcrozians from dealing with post-war changes in education in a coherent, forceful way. With the Fitzroy Square premises bombed beyond repair, Cecilia John now insisted that the School should operate as a residential training
college outside London. Although Ethel Driver stayed with her at Milland Place in Liphook, Hampshire, a separate group including Joan Bottard, Winifred Houghton, Désirée Martin, and Nathalie Tingey, urged on by Ernest Read, opened the Dalcroze Society's London Training Centre in 1949. Division rather than consolidation thus marked these crucial years, and Dalcroziens lost the singleness of purpose which had enabled them to forward their mission effectively between the wars. After John's death in 1955 the two schools merged, with Ethel Driver and the Milland Place students joining the London group in Newton Road, but by 1959 lack of funds led them to relocate at the London College of Music, where four years later the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics ceased to function.

In her history of the School, Tingey saw a "new beginning" in the alternative training programmes which had come into being by the early 1970s. These programmes proved to be variable, however, dependent as they were on institutions which waxed and waned in their support, and on an individual who eventually retired. The remaining continuity has come from the regular workshops and summer courses of the Dalcroze Society, which itself grants basic qualifications. Students seeking complete training as Dalcroze specialists must now study abroad. The last section of this chapter presents an overview of initiatives Dalcroziens have taken despite adversity in the recent past. It ends with a brief perspective on Eurhythmics as an educational innovation.
7.2 Lessons from the Air

In one deft leap, Ann Driver transcended the barriers of gender, class, and cost which perplexed Dalcrozians in the 1930s. Her BBC broadcasting appealed to thousands of boys and girls, in schools rich and poor, urban and rural. At ease with a microphone, she discovered how to spark spontaneous creative movement in pupils she could not see, relying only on the power of her speaking voice and music. Soon children everywhere experienced lessons by one of the most gifted Eurhythmics teachers in England, but by this time Driver had parted company with the London School.

Driver left in 1931 not long after Percy Ingham's death, to open her own studio in Redcliffe Square and teach independently in various London schools. It was to one of these "in a poor area of Deptford" that Mary Somerville came to see whether she would be suitable to broadcast a new programme for young children, as part of the music area in which Ernest Read would teach older children. In 1934 Driver joined the innovative BBC schools broadcast group who aimed "to link subjects and explore the boundaries between them." When she had just begun, she wrote to Somerville to ask if she would "be able to watch my broadcast lesson somewhere on Friday? If so, I should be glad to have your criticisms and comments? I think the whole thing will open out as I learn the technique more thoroughly...."

Ann Driver thrived in the context of fast-growing interest
in music which the invention of the gramophone and the "wireless" had brought about. The BBC in this period, according to Adrian Boult, managed to make music "no longer a luxury of the few, but part of all the world's everyday life." Furthermore, broadcasting had tremendous potential to help people understand and enjoy music at the same time. Driver eagerly seized the chance to introduce the pleasures of music to the young. She was fortunate in working with associates of such high calibre as Somerville, who thought to investigate schools broadcasts from the receiving rather than the transmitting end. This step, as Asa Briggs argues in his history of broadcasting, "revolutionized the use of the medium as an educational instrument." 

At the receiving end Driver was good news indeed. The widespread popularity of her *Music and Movement for Very Young Children* contributed to the extraordinary increase in listening of 1934-35, when 977 schools were added to the list of 2,763 previously registered. Broadcast for twenty minutes on Friday mornings at 11:30, her programmes were designed to encourage "direct rhythmic response to music and so to lay the foundations of true listening." An American studying the BBC's approach wrote the following account:

The listening groups are assumed to be in a large room with unobstructed floor space, such as a kindergarten or nursery school room cleared for play, a gymnasium, or even in good weather an open playground or court yard. Miss Driver plays her own music on the piano and tells the children just what to do as various rhythms accompany varied activities, such as skipping or running, driving imaginary
automobiles, hammering imaginary nails into walls, and riding imaginary horses. Occa­sional rest time is provided, when the children relax to appropriate music and listen quietly to selections played softly on the piano. The classes observed responded to Miss Driver's instructions without any trace of self-consciousness and entered joyously into all activities suggested. In one school a class of boys who were in the first year of the primary school (age seven) seemed to enjoy the whole period thoroughly, although they were a bit older than most of the listening groups.¹⁰

This writer went on to report that at a demonstration by a BBC education officer

a recording of one of Miss Driver's broadcasts aroused the only enthusiasm in the entire meeting. Teachers said, "This is the kind of thing we want--the thing most of us can't do ourselves."

Briggs points out that Driver's success "was particularly interesting in that the pioneers of schools broadcasting had thought that only older children would be able to benefit from the work of the BBC."¹¹

The Dalcrozians were utterly taken aback. Articles about Driver's plans had been sent straight to Geneva, and even before her first programme was actually broadcast, Jaques-Dalcroze wrote to object.¹² He did not think that "a psycho-physical method" should be taught to pupils the teacher cannot correct. Yet the Dalcroze Society hesitated before communicating his views to the public. During his next visit to London a long anxious discussion ensued, in which he told the Society Council he had heard that in Germany "many teachers had lost their posts owing to Wireless lessons."¹³ He pressed for action since he did
not want to accept responsibility for the broadcasting of lessons which he felt "constituted a real danger to the child." The Council saw the need to proceed carefully, "as it might prove a pity to have blocked the way to any future co-operation with the BBC." In the end a letter was published in one or two papers, but to little effect.14

Music and Movement went from strength to strength. As for Ann Driver, she had taken charge of her career three years earlier, when she decided not to be controlled by the authority of the London School. Confident, articulate, imaginative, talented equally in music and movement, she was an ideal choice for the BBC. But broadcasting against the will of Jaques-Dalcroze was considered an act of supreme disloyalty. Most Dalcrozians lacked the breadth of view to see that this new work might help them advance their cause.

Driver’s originality is well documented in her scripts, recordings, the film Lessons from the Air (1944), and BBC handbooks for teachers.15 She liked to begin:

Good morning, children. Let’s make a lovely big ring all joining hands together. (Flourish--chords)

Have you made it? Now when the music plays again, run and find a place all to yourself and not near anyone else. (Flourish)

Are you all listening, and are you ready for your lesson?16

Then, with the children moving freely on their own paths through the space, she would do a sequence such as running in the park, grown-ups walking, riders on horseback, and so
that his "view of every human being as a dancer" estab-
lished "an immediate rapport with the child-centred 
educational ideals of post-war England."\[6.0
There is little doubt that Laban's Art of Movement posed a 
threat not only to Ann Driver but to Dalcroze teachers 
generally, even if they failed to recognize it as such at 
the time. With the clout of official backing, Laban Move-
ment encroached on the territory which Dalcroziens had 
tried to claim in their earlier efforts to use creative 
movement in school music lessons. Dalcroze teachers tended 
to think of music as the main goal, yet movement was the 
activity they had particularly cultivated as a valuable 
educational method. Movement was crucial to their identity.

Dalcroze Eurhythmics successfully rode the first crest of 
progressivism in private schools in the 1920s and 1930s. 
When the time came for broader acceptance and assimilation 
of new approaches after the war, however, the Dalcroziens 
were not strategically positioned to benefit. Laban and 
his followers were. After Laban died in 1958, The New Era 
devoted an entire issue to his many spheres of work. "He 
created a new myth of movement for our century," boldly 
attested his daughter Juana de Laban.\[3.0 In England Laban's 
name became virtually synonymous with movement education, 
and his thinking extended even into music. By the late 
1950s "the influence of Dalcroze was waning and the music 
and movement class from this time became primarily influ-
enced by the teaching of Rudolf Laban," as a music educator
characterized the situation. "Music may be a hindrance rather than a stimulus to movement," cautioned Music in Schools (1969), a Department of Education and Science pamphlet: "too much should not be expected from young children by way of response in movement to music until they have acquired resources for movement apart from musical associations." Percussion instruments which children could play while moving were recommended over listening to piano or gramophone music. Laban and Ullmann had more or less avoided music education, but their view of movement grew so widespread that it eventually held sway there too.

Perhaps movement has always been problematic for Dalcrozeians because they see it not as an end in itself but as part of a larger whole. The writer of one leaflet bravely attempted to explain Eurhythmics:

It is not a form of dance and yet it has movement. It is not movement alone because it has no technique and depends on music, rhythm, sound and even silence to stimulate the body. It is not only music because it has movement, and the movement can come from the sound or the sound from the movement. It can be used as a therapy for both the handicapped and the mentally disturbed, but only as an addition to a training in both these subjects. There is no set way of teaching Eurhythmics, but those who have experienced the training use it in their own way to augment whatever they are doing or teaching.

Do Dalcroze teachers feel they need additional movement study to complement Eurhythmics? If so, which technique is most relevant? Over the years, the answers to these questions have been manifold. For one, the Ginner-Mawer Revived Greek Dance was ideal; for others, the choice may
have been anything from classical ballet to folk dancing to yoga. Dalcrozians trained in the 1970s studied movement with Simone Michelle, whose dance background was with Sigurd Leeder, and others have come in contact with various types of movement and body work including Laban.7 In recent years two Dalcroze teachers have represented Eurhythmics in the Movement and Dance Division of the Central Council of Physical Recreation: Peggy Hawkins, who trained in dance with Madge Atkinson and Marie Rambert, and Pam Hook, who is also a Medau Rhythmic Movement teacher.8 Drawing on this large network, the Dalcroze Society has invited many guest movement teachers to lead sessions in workshops and summer courses.

One teacher feels quite strongly that the confusion of Eurhythmics with dancing has been detrimental.9 Most Dalcrozians have tried to keep this distinction very clear, but people often found the point difficult to grasp. In 1933 Mary Seaman published a thoughtful discussion of Dalcroze work compared to dance and gymnastics. Dalcroze rhythmic movement, she wrote, involves "more a study of nervous reaction and control than that of muscular efficiency."10 It stresses "knowledge of such principles as Impulse, Resistance, Arrest, Continuity, Dissociation, Balance, and a sense of Time, Space and Contact...." The line between Eurhythmics and dance blurred somewhat in her conclusion:

We Rhythmicians must aim at developing this sensitiveness and expressive power through the technique which the Method has evolved for us,
finding out for ourselves first the desired movements for our expression and secondly their muscular achievement. In this way we can ourselves contribute to the Method which is still young and growing, and help Monsieur Jaques forward in his task of reinstating the Dance in its true position in the world of Art. 41

Did she mean that they should choreograph dances, or rather that they might contribute to this art through their own educational work? Several decades later, when Dalcroziens no longer thought of the method as "still young," things had changed. Most preferred to stay well back from the tenuous borderland between Eurhythmics and dance. Few would call their teaching an art of movement.

7.4 Struggle for Survival

In 1938-39, the last year at Fitzroy Square, the London School celebrated its "Silver Jubilee" with concerts and special events, but financial problems were grave. For the last time Jaques-Dalcroze came to teach the summer course, which had to be shorter than usual to cut losses. 4 2 When war was declared in September 1939, the school moved to Glassenbury Park in Cranbrook, Kent. Only one new student enrolled. Evacuation disrupted the various schools in the London area where School staff also taught; for them and many other Dalcroze teachers, as Cecilia John wrote to Jaques-Dalcroze, "the work has just disappeared." 4 3

A year later during the Battle of Britain, the School moved again, this time to Kibblestone Hall in Stone, Staffordshire, the home of Ronald Copeland, Managing Director of Spode China. Bombing completely destroyed Ingham Memorial
House in Fitzroy Square. The School, too far away from London for Nathalie Tingey and Ernest Read to commute, was reduced to Ethel Driver and Annie Beck as mainstays; Harold Craxton was appointed to prepare students for the advanced piano qualifications which the School now required. John described the School in 1942 as a "small but very effective residential training centre." It was very small: seven students were graduated in 1941 but then during the next four years only six more completed their studies.

Meanwhile Tingey became a leader in the Women's Voluntary Service and coordinated the Dalcroze Teachers' Union Conferences held in London in December 1942 and May 1943. Despite war conditions twenty-four members made their way to the first, including Désirée Martin, who was working that year in nine different London-area schools where she taught thirty-eight classes a week. The lack of a London base was keenly felt, and Tingey the next year offered her new flat in Dolphin Square as the temporary site of a "Dalcroze Club," where members planned to create a Library.

The idea that several teachers might open a Centre in London, linked with the School in Staffordshire, was proposed to the School's Board of Governors in 1943 but failed to gain approval.

In the tranquility of the country, John decided that the School's enforced absence from London had definite advantages. By living in residence "the students save the time previously wasted in travel, and can devote this to study,
with the result that a higher standard of musicianship is reached." When the war ended, she convinced the Board that Milland Place, a comfortable estate in Liphook, Hampshire, would give the School a perfect location forty miles outside London. The School moved there in January 1946. That same year it gained Ministry of Education recognition as an approved course which entitled graduates to "Qualified Teacher" status, a major achievement which in turn led to much-needed scholarships and grants for students. Tingey and Joan Bottard, however, still felt the need for some form of training to resume in London for those who could not afford full-time study at a residential college. John declared that she did not have enough energy to arrange this and run Milland Place; she probably also lacked the funds.

In 1948 Ernest Read wrote to Jaques-Dalcroze suggesting that the Dalcroze Society, which he now chaired, wanted to sponsor an independent London Training Centre authorized to examine and certify students. Tense negotiations were conducted with Geneva in an effort to determine the legal ramifications of the rights purchased by Percy Ingham in 1913 for the London School. A core group including Tingey, Bottard, Martin, and three others contributed to a fund to establish the new London Centre, and with a number of their top-ranking Dalcroze colleagues they agreed to teach with little or no pay to get it started. With three students the Dalcroze Society's London Training Centre opened in
September 1949, in Jill Argyll's former studio at 10A Newton Road. A tremendous break had already occurred between the School and the Society. It became all too public through a heated exchange of articles and letters which lasted for almost two years in the pages of *Music in Education*. Thus the small, marginal business of training Dalcroze specialists in England was split in two, with the School and the Centre competing for a very limited number of prospective students, and the staffs of both teaching on what amounted to a voluntary basis.

On July 4, 1950, Jaques-Dalcroze died, two days before what would have been his eighty-fifth birthday. A huge crowd gathered in London that October for a Memorial Service at St. Martin-in-the-Fields. It included many who had studied Dalcroze Eurhythmics personally or who were aware of the method’s significance in education and the arts. Ashley Dukes, the theatre director who was Marie Rambert’s husband, read the lesson. The loss was shared by all, but it did not ease the differences between the two schools. With a divided front, Dalcroziens moved uncertainly into the second half of the century.

"Eurhythmics Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," a paper for discussion by Mary Seaman May, was one of the first attempts of the Dalcroze Teachers’ Union to plan for the 1950s. They restated their mission in 1951 by resolving "that great stress should be laid on Eurhythmics as an invaluable part of General Education" and that Eurhythmics
"should not be allowed to become just a way of teaching music." Two years later May as Chair urged rigorous reassessment, given that education in this country has undergone and is still undergoing considerable change in outlook and standard. The focus of what is considered important and what is considered less important has shifted a great deal. There has been without a doubt a great revival of interest in our kind of work since the war, but as regards Eurhythmics itself, it is a new interest not unmixed with suspicions that perhaps this method, now in existence for close on fifty years, may no longer be new enough or up to date enough to fill the need."

She suggested that Dalcroze teachers meet to disprove this, by discussing questions such as "Is improvisation really necessary, and if so, to what extent?" and "What is the basis of good movement in Eurhythmics?" Sixteen Union members debated these issues at length in a conference on May 31, 1953. Soon they succeeded in gaining Ministry of Education recognition for the London Training Centre as an approved training college for students of music and education. But further steps were needed to secure the future of their profession, in the context of the myriad implications of the 1944 Education Act. Now even private education, which had supported so many Dalcroze teachers, began to experience more and more official scrutiny and control.

In 1955 the Union puzzled the question of how to convince educational authorities of the links between Eurhythmics and other subjects such as music, drama, and physical education. Their "fit" no longer seemed right with any
established area. By the late 1950s the worry was how their teacher training could please two masters: Geneva and the demands of the method, on the one hand, as opposed to British educational authorities and the needs of children on the other. There was the more immediate struggle to survive the lack of sufficient students in the training course, even after the two schools merged at Newton Road following John's death in 1955. Educational trends away from the arts, alternative careers opening for women, and new music education courses in universities were among the reasons they pondered to explain their decline. Since the music and movement combination was used in therapy, modern dance, Keep Fit, Margaret Morris Movement, and Medau, they wondered, "What can we contribute that these other things have not got?"

As one member later commented, they were in a "no man's land between music and movement." They thought their principles had been largely integrated into general and musical education, with the result that many teachers now used music and movement who were not Dalcroze graduates. They saw too that they must broaden and simplify their work in order to succeed in education, but they were afraid of losing their identity if they changed too much. Finally, they had to face the fact that their syllabus did not equip students to teach general music in schools. The challenges, numerous and confusing, exceeded their abilities as strategists.
When the Newton Road lease expired in 1959, lack of funds forced them to leave. Ernest and Helen Read facilitated their relocation at the London College of Music in Great Marlborough Street. Financially they functioned as an independent entity with a total of ten students that year, but thereafter the numbers dwindled until the losses became too great. According to Tingey the death of Ethel Driver in 1963, "coupled with the Ministry's new regulations regarding a compulsory fourth year's teacher training at a College of Education (not then available at the London College of Music), led to the temporary suspension" of training, "pending future developments." That was her optimistic outlook when she wrote the School's history ten years later. Tingey's earlier, more realistic view was, "I think we must now accept the fact that Dalcroze Eurhythmics as a specialist three-year professional qualification in this country has come to an end."

The closing occurred two years before the 1965 centenary of Jaques-Dalcroze's birth, an event celebrated nowhere more than in Switzerland and England. A massive year-long calendar of demonstrations, concerts, lectures, and other special events gave Dalcrozians a constructive way to persevere. It also kept them before the public eye, for they invited prominent people from various fields to take part. Rambert and Edith Clarke, for example, the latter now retired as Staff Inspector in the Ministry of Education, both remembered their Hellerau days in talks.
Clarke spoke about Mme. Österberg and Jaques-Dalcroze as "two creative artists" who realized "the close relationship between Music and Movement and Rhythm in Education as a whole particularly in the training of children." At Dartford College of Physical Education a well-attended weekend course led by Elizabeth Vanderspar in April 1965 "gave full scope to music and movement." In addition to practical sessions, Priscilla Barclay talked about music therapy with severely handicapped children and showed a short film of her work with a young blind boy. At Frensham Heights School Vivien Soldan, who had taught Eurhythmics there for many years, presented her students in a highly-acclaimed collaboration called The Wall. Created during the Cold War, this work combined spoken text, music, and movement to explore what The Times Educational Supplement called "the failure in communication between nations and individuals." As soon as the centenary ended, Dalcroziens found yet another way to get their message across, this time through a new edition of Jaques-Dalcroze's Rhythm, Music and Education (1967), published by the Dalcroze Society itself. Keith Falkner, Director of the Royal College of Music, stated in his introduction, "I consider that all young people, especially young musicians, should have the benefit of Dalcroze Training, for they will thereby develop an instinctive vitality which will show in all their work." Falkner had already given practical support since 1963 by
including an optional course initiated by Désirée Martin at the College. Elizabeth Vanderspar developed this course during the 1960s into a two or three year sequence through which a number of students earned basic Dalcroze Society qualifications.⁶⁷

At the same time Vanderspar almost single-handedly carried the torch for Dalcroze specialist training in England, no matter how precarious and financially-pressed were the institutions through which she worked. Tall, confident, as passionately interested in Messiaen as in the music of the past, Vanderspar taught in an enthusiastic way that made the method pertinent to contemporary music and education.⁷⁰ She organized, first privately and then with Dalcroze Society backing, an intensive course for work at the licentiate level, drawing on colleagues such as Ann Driver, Laura Campbell, Ruth Stewart, and Patsy James to teach. It found a home at Morley College in 1973, and in 1974 had nine full-time students including several from Japan and Australia.⁷¹

Vanderspar moved this course to Roehampton Institute of Higher Education at Southlands College in Wimbledon, where a new course leading to the Diploma in the Teaching of Music (Dalcroze option) was put in place by 1978. Among the diverse students in 1986 were teachers, therapists, and musicians such as Nicholas Cornish and composer Erika Fox. Elsewhere Vanderspar taught a steady stream of workshops, summer courses, and in-service teacher training
courses, not to mention the guest teaching she did in schools around the world. The Roehampton Diploma Course put Dalcroze teaching back on the educational map, so to speak. As Helen Read, Chair of the Dalcroze Society in 1982 said, "we must be integrated into the State system if we're going to be anything but an exotic sect based on a dynamic founder whose dynamism died with him."  

Vanderspar retired in 1987. Since then hopes for a full specialist training course have focused on Karin Greenhead, who first encountered the work during her training at the Royal College of Music in the early 1970s. The Dalcroze Society supported her study in Geneva in 1980-81, when she earned the prestigious diplôme. Now at the Royal Ballet School, Trinity College of Music, and the Royal Northern College of Music in Manchester, Greenhead is virtually the only top-level Dalcroze professional who works full-time teaching Eurhythmics. 

Greenhead favours new approaches for training specialists that would take into account the major changes in teaching style which have occurred since the 1960s. Teaching "by criticism" (and little praise), as she sees it, no longer works for young people today, who openly question or even doubt authority. They are not attracted to fields with outmoded notions of the master-pupil relationship and excessively severe examination procedures. She also feels the need to strengthen the movement side of the music and movement equation, as well as to gear more of the teaching
to age groups other than children. If anyone is the phoenix who can revitalize Eurhythmics in England, it is Greenhead. An energetic, gifted artist-teacher, she has refused the opportunity to teach in Germany to stay in her home country. There is more demand for Dalcroze teaching than she and her colleagues can deal with currently, but without some way to replenish their ranks through training specialists, they face a bleak prospect for the 1990s.

7.5 Dalcroze Yesterday and Today

Dalcrozians by no means perceive the present as the end. Their Society is a small but stalwart organization well versed in survival. "Almost insuperable obstacles," to take a phrase Winifred Houghton used long ago, has been their story's title from the beginning.74 Never having grown as large or as institutionally successful as, say, women's physical education, their profession did not suffer the crushing disempowerment of educational restructuring and cutbacks in the 1970s. With their modest financial resources, they have managed to continue much as before. The Dalcroze Society Newsletter, notwithstanding the inevitable obituaries, faithfully records its members' activities in schools and music centres, workshops and courses, as well as conferences in a variety of fields. Dalcrozians today, whether teaching actively or not, are a remarkable group dedicated to creating a future for work they believe "is good," as Vanderspar put it succinctly at her retirement celebration.75
What Dalcroze teachers think is good about Eurhythmics can best be illustrated by a brief sampling of their recent contributions to music education, professional training, therapy, and research. The majority teach children in schools. Music education in general, Dorothy Taylor has suggested, was hindered for many years by its "group four" non-matriculation status at the secondary level. This in effect kept music, art, handicraft, and domestic science as "peripheral extras" from the standpoint of implementation. Postwar liberalization gradually brought the widespread use of recorders as a first instrument, as well as influential new teaching methods from abroad. Orff Schulwerk, introduced in England in 1958, involved many children in singing, chanting, movement work, and ensemble playing with "pitched" instruments such as xylophones and glockenspiels. These portable, sturdy instruments, ideal for improvisation by beginners, "turned out to be the very resources needed to spark off the 'creativity' movement" in music education, according to Taylor. Music teachers also responded positively in the late 1960s to the Kodaly Choral Method, with its rich collection of graded exercises to develop musicianship through sight-singing and aural training. Orff instruments and Kodaly books reassured teachers, stimulating them to experiment creatively with children. By contrast the Dalcroze method seemed less accessible, with its study which required many hours of direct personal tuition, supported by limited written material, and its emphasis on piano improvisation skill.
"Classroom Music for the 1980s," a jointly-sponsored week-long course for music teachers held at Southlands College in July 1983, drew together Orff, Kodaly, Dalcroze, and Music Theatre specialists. Exploration of their common ground in the use of body movement, the singing voice, instrumental playing, and improvisation promoted cooperation rather than competition, and various subsequent gatherings have encouraged this network. Dalcroze Society members have presented papers, for example, at conferences of the United Kingdom Council for Music Education and Training during the late 1980s.

In the recent past Dalcroze teachers have pursued Orff, Kodaly, and work such as Suzuki violin study, resulting in fruitful cross-fertilizations. Dorothy Taylor, Susan Young, Nicola Hadley, and Gwen Rabinowitz are four Dalcroze teachers who either combine methods in their own teaching or who work closely together with other specialists in schools and music centres. Gwen Rabinowitz identifies several of these links in her survey of current Dalcroze teaching, in which she demonstrates the relevance of Eurhythmics through case studies of five educational settings in the South of England. Her research presents detailed information on approaches used and specific exercises taught, and she has made a video documentary which complements her written study.

People usually tend to think of the Dalcroze method as introductory music education for young children, but there
has also been an interesting history of Eurhythmics in the conservatory. Professional and pre-professional training schools such as the Royal College of Music and the Royal Ballet School have called for various adjustments in the teaching of Eurhythmics to suit the different ages, skill levels, and goals of students. Winifred Houghton's work with Sadler's Wells ballet students and Old Vic theatre students in the 1930s was an early but little-documented instance of such work. Phyllis Crawhall-Wilson developed an extensive programme at the Scottish National Academy of Music in Glasgow during the same period. This course was compulsory for both men and women students, and for many years Dalcroze teachers arranged movement which students there performed in stage productions.\(^1\)

In the 1960s Vanderspar initiated Eurhythmics classes at the Central Tutorial School for Young Musicians, later renamed the Purcell School, which was created for children with exceptional musical ability or potential. There she included many coordination, dissociation, and quick-reaction exercises, hoping to help young musicians become "rhythmically balanced human beings, sensitive to all that is around them."\(^2\) Her own three children who attended the school are now professional string players. Vanderspar also taught for a number of years at the London College of Dance and Drama.

Ruth Stewart, Gwen Rabinowitz, and Nicola Hadley are Dalcroze teachers associated with the Guildhall School of
Music and Drama. Some of their work is described by Rabinowitz, as is Karin Greenhead's at the Royal Ballet School at White Lodge. Greenhead, who also teaches in the Upper School Teachers' Training Course and at the Central School of Ballet in London, divides her time between dance and music students, the latter in both London and Manchester. Because of her experience in both vocal music and dance, and her background in opera production, she knows well how to relate Eurhythmics to the needs of performers. Through teaching she shares her insights about musicality in dance in areas such as phrasing, timing to arrive with the music, and using body weight to achieve emphasis.

Before Greenhead, both Kitty Webster Haynes and Désirée Martin taught at the Royal Ballet School, the latter for many years during the 1950s when the Anthony Dowell generation of dancers were her pupils. Ninette de Valois is undoubtedly the original reason for this long-standing connection. Around 1912 during her early dance training in London, she had Eurhythmics lessons for two years which she remembers as "well taught"; although she was not a serious student of the method, she has confirmed that it "made a deep impression and definitely influenced me later on in my approach to choreography." She remains a firm believer that Eurhythmics "should be a part of a dance education."

Priscilla Barclay is pre-eminent in the vital area of music therapy, in which several other Dalcroziens have also worked. Barclay retired in 1977 after twenty-one
years of ground-breaking work with mentally handicapped children at St. Lawrence’s Hospital in Caterham, Surrey. After studying at the London School, she taught for six years in Northern Ireland before returning to England in 1942 to train in occupational therapy. From Eurhythmics she gained half of her equipment as a music therapist, "the ability to think and feel imaginatively through music," while the other half came from occupational therapy, which gave her "formal training and knowledge of the structure of personality and the ills that may afflict people."

Using bamboo pipes, tambours, and many other simple hand-made instruments, as well as balls, hoops, and other materials, Barclay worked with hundreds of children and adults. Changes usually came gradually as her patients "became confident and their responses increasingly sensitive and rapid.... They accepted and understood what the music was saying--words were very often just not understood and very many had speech defects or no speech at all." She tried to adapt Eurhythmics and her own ways of teaching to create an atmosphere of happiness and well-being in which people would grow as much as they were able to. Barclay frequently lectured and gave many demonstrations and workshops about music therapy, which she was instrumental in establishing as a professional field in England.

On the whole Dalcroze teachers are active, not reflective. They see themselves as people who think on their feet or
with hands at the piano, not as writers. In the past the
tabias was actually to be suspicious of theoretical writing
or anything that was not directly experienced; the work
had to be lived. This is not to say that Dalcroziens have
avoided writing. Articles in their journals and news-
letters, or a book-length history such as Tingey’s with its
many memoirs of the London School prove exactly the oppo-
site. But most of these writings are essentially "in
house," directed to colleagues, not to the outside world.
Dalcroziens in England are now all too aware that the
method’s relevance is neither widely recognized nor under-
stood. Traditionally they have relied on their expertise
in giving demonstrations and workshops to reach the public.
Recently they have come to consider research, publication,
and video documentary as increasingly important ways to
communicate about their work.

Laura Campbell’s highly-praised Sketching at the Keyboard
have been landmarks not only because they present research
based on Dalcroze teaching to a much broader public. They
also are unique because they discuss systematically the
mysterious subject of improvisation, hitherto regarded as a
matter of instinct, and certainly difficult both to learn
and teach. There is virtually no other comparable writing
on the subject. With her students at St. Luke’s College
(now the School of Education of Exeter University), Camp-
bell experimented on building improvisational skill by
beginning from melody first, the musical equivalent of an artist's sketch. She ended up creating a new way of teaching harmony, which can be used for musicians at all skill levels, whether they are adults or young children. As Campbell explains,

Music, to be such, must move. It must progress horizontally in time. The traditional system of working out chords by a vertical process of construction is a contradiction in terms when it comes to practical music making. Nor is that process the way in which music evolved. It brings the student in too late historically, aurally, mentally and manually."

Her approach encourages playing by ear, which bypasses notation and develops listening and reasoning during the moment of making music. She suggests how to start with a shape, which is melody, setting style and pace, and then how to begin "harmonic landscaping" in a variety of ways. Campbell brings to this work her Dalcroze training and teaching experience (at the Hall School among others); her dancer’s knowledge of movement (she danced in the Anglo-Polish Ballet and taught for Kurt Jooss at Essen in the 1950s, with Pina Bausch among her pupils); and her visual awareness as a painter."

Elizabeth Vanderspar’s Dalcroze Handbook: Principles and Guidelines for Teaching Eurhythmics, published privately in 1982, is unfortunately less well known outside Dalcroze circles. Written "to help people teaching the subject," this brief guide offers thoughts and suggestions based on Vanderspar’s vast teaching experience, organized in useful chapters on theory of teaching Eurhythmics, basic prin-
ciples, plans and techniques, curriculum for different age groups, and "a closer look" at issues such as introducing notation and improvisation. Vanderspar's book, if expanded and distributed more widely, would undoubtedly interest many more teachers than those who use it now.

More recently, three women have pursued postgraduate study in Music Education at the University of London Institute of Education, where Professor Keith Swanwick and Dorothy Taylor, former Lecturer, fostered the development of research relating to the Dalcroze method. Gwen Rabinowitz's "A Survey of Current Dalcroze Teaching in the United Kingdom" (1987), the dissertation she presented for her M.A. in Music Education, is mentioned above. Taylor completed her own Ph.D. in 1990 with a thesis on "Music and Movement: Kinaesthetic Strategy in Promoting Musical Memory," which is based on conceptual as well as empirical work. Taylor has tested the validity of Jaques-Dalcroze's claim that there is a correspondence between the strength of muscular sensations and the clarity and precision of musical images. Ruth Stewart, who holds the Dalcroze diplôme, is currently concluding her investigation of the role of kinaesthetic experience in the development of musical intelligence and understanding.

Stewart was the determined force behind the appearance in July 1991 of Marie-Laure Bachmann's Dalcroze Today: An Education through and into Music. For several years Stewart devoted herself to this project, fund-raising in
her capacity as Dalcroze Society Chair, arranging for David Parlett's translation, editing the English text, and making certain that it would reach an international public through publication by the Oxford University Press. It is revealing to compare the French title of this major analysis published in Switzerland as *La Rythmique Jaques-Dalcroze: une éducation par la musique et pour la musique* (1984), with the title of the new edition. Words which normally would be translated "an education by music and for music," are rendered with the more penetrating "through and into music" of the English subtitle. Except for the addition of a preface by Jack P. B. Dobbs, the English edition is a precise and faithful version of the original book in which, as it happens, Swiss and American teachers' work provides the majority of practical examples cited. *Dalcroze Today*, the main title, is an assertive statement of the message Dalcrozians in England want very much to convey, a message which, of course, transcends mere nationalism. It shows how important it is to them that Dalcroze teaching be perceived as relevant, current, needed, and valuable.

7.6 Afterthoughts

There are two main ways, it seems in the end, to look at Dalcroze Eurhythmics as an innovation in music and movement education. One is a wide perspective which concerns itself with larger patterns of thought, action, and influence. The other, more detailed, attempts to deal with personalities, places, specific relationships, the exact contexts
of teachers' work. The wide view is readily found in histories of music, dance, theatre, and education, many of which refer to Jaques-Dalcroze and Eurhythmics as seminal. Josephine Ransom, writing in 1919 about the struggles of the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics and other new experimental schools, epitomized this breadth when she mused, prophetically, as it turned out in the case of the London School:

> With some the very "failure" that they may encounter will be their lasting success. They will have added an intangible but important element to the stream of education; they will have made the stream wider and fuller, and in that lies much of the very reason of their existence. They enrich the content of education and contribute distinctly to the formation of opinion as to its meaning and purpose."

The narrower view focuses patiently on people, many of them: on the diversity of their lives and what went on in their teaching in the past. At this closer distance it becomes interesting to know, for example, that Kathleen O'Dowd probably taught Eurhythmics to Ninette de Valois, or that Iris Greep, a 1934 graduate of the London School, was the mother of cellist Jaqueline du Pré.

Studying the history of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in England gives the insights of these two different perspectives, both true. A garden can be appreciated for its vistas as well as for the qualities of each and every one of its individual plants. Elizabeth Vanderspar, one of the strongest in the Dalcroze garden, told her colleagues rather proudly as she retired, "I was driven to do it
because I find it so helpful. It is good. The method originated in Switzerland, but it can be considered as British as anything else."

Vanderspar's words which summed up so perfectly the framework of my investigation stayed with me as I completed the writing of this study. Yet from meetings with others, I realize that intricate histories could be produced about the method elsewhere, for Dalcroze teachers have made this work their own, variously, in many different contexts. In each country or sphere of influence, be it music, dance, theatre, or therapy, the ideas and practices which Jaques-Dalcroze engendered have spread out and developed through a way of teaching which has proven itself remarkably capable of change over time. Its identity comes partly from his original principles, but also from the vitality of those who have continuously applied them in music and movement education. The teachers themselves, working individually and among colleagues, have made the Dalcroze tradition.
Appendix

The 1913 Hellerau Production of
Gluck's Orpheus and Eurydice
as Recreated at the University of Warwick
11-12 January 1991

Professor David Thomas, Production Director and Head of The Joint School of Theatre Studies, explained the background of this experiment in his foreword to the printed programme:

This opera project has come about through a series of happy coincidences. Colin Touchin, Director of Music at Warwick, planning one of the Music Centre's biennial operatic productions for 1991, decided on Gluck's Orpheus and Eurydice, with the intention of using the University Chamber Choir and Orchestra and young professional soloists with a Warwick connection. This choice found an immediate resonance in The Joint School of Theatre Studies, where Richard Beacham, a leading Appia scholar, suggested that the production should be based around the epoch-making version of the opera mounted in 1913 by two Swiss theatre practitioners, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and Adolphe Appia. I was then asked to direct the production on behalf of The Joint School and the Music Centre, with assistance from an experienced dance historian and choreographer from York University, Toronto, Selma Odom, and a London-based eurhythmics consultant, Karin Greenhead. A recent graduate from Theatre Studies, Peter McKintosh, was asked to design the set on the basis of Appia's design sketches.

Through the energetic efforts of Peter James, we were able to find the financial support for the project from the Committee of the "Festival of Switzerland in Britain 1991" who are organising a series of events to celebrate the 700th Anniversary of the Swiss Confederation. Additional funding for the project was given by the Stanley Thomas Johnson Foundation of Berne, Switzerland. The Swiss Embassy kindly supplied us with the Pro Helvetia exhibition of Appia's work. Finally, we are delighted that this production will also launch the series of events that will celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the University of Warwick.

The production was staged at the Arts Centre in Butterworth
Hall, a large concert hall which was especially adapted for this occasion. The three major roles were performed by mezzo-soprano Gaynor Keeble (Orpheus), a former member of the Welsh National Opera; soprano Kathryn Jenkin (Eurydice), a postgraduate student at the Royal Academy of Music; and mezzo-soprano Lindsay Wagstaff (Amor), a freelance musician educated at the Royal College of Music, the University of London, and Oxford University. A chorus of twenty performed the work, augmented by fourteen singers offstage. An ensemble of twelve women and two men danced. Richard Beacham, Dramaturg and Senior Lecturer, has made a complete archival video of this production as well as a documentary video on the process of recreating it, both of which are available for educational use.

On January 12 Richard Beacham and I gave a two-part public lecture at the Arts Centre on the Hellerau Orpheus and the Warwick production. He concentrated on the history of Hellerau, the Appia-Jaques-Dalcroze collaboration, and the Orpheus designs and lighting. I then presented the following text illustrated with slides and musical examples:

In my part of this lecture I’ll focus first on the Hellerau Orpheus from a practical perspective: that is, who worked on it and how they prepared and performed it. Then I’d like to tell you about some of the challenges we faced in doing our production.

One observer wrote that the 1913 Orpheus radiated a special
spirit not seen before on any stage. He attributed this to the fact that the participants were all the students of one teacher, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze. His new method based on body movement enabled the players to be filled with music, to possess it both physically and spiritually.

As this caricature suggests, Jaques-Dalcroze was a musician who could dance. He was also a natural entertainer, a chansonnier, with an extraordinary gift for improvisation at the piano. Born in 1865, he studied in Paris and Vienna with two of the most advanced composers who were teaching in the 1880s, Gabriel Fauré and Anton Bruckner. He became fascinated with rhythm during a year he spent directing a small theatre orchestra in Algeria.

As a young music teacher in Geneva, he began experimenting around the turn of the century in his solfège classes with walking and breathing, beating time, gesture and movement improvisation. He wanted people "to take possession" of their bodies, to find the music which he said was in them, in order to play "the wonderful keyboard which is the muscular and nervous system."

By 1907 he was demonstrating his new rhythmic gymnastics in places such as the Paris Conservatoire. As he explained in an interview, "Rhythm must be so completely internalized that it can be executed effortlessly, even when unanticipated. In my system, as soon as one movement is automatic, I add a different movement which goes with it and so on...." It was the ear-brain-body connection which led him further
and further into movement.

Among those who came to study with him shortly before he went to Germany in 1910 were Marie Rambert, whom you see here, and Annie Beck, who choreographed Orpheus. Annie Beck is on the left, with other students of Jaques-Dalcroze around 1909. Like many other young women, they were inspired by the dancing of Isadora Duncan, the great American innovator who, as one Geneva reviewer put it, was able to translate through movement "the emotions that Beethoven expresses in the language of sounds."

Beck and Rambert were prominent among the talents who accompanied Jaques-Dalcroze when the Dohrns offered him the opportunity to create a new training college for his method. Hellerau provided ideal purpose-built facilities in which the study of music and movement could develop. By 1912 over 200 professional students had arrived from countries as far away as the United States and Japan, young people embarking on careers in diverse fields, in music, education, dance, theatre, therapy. Beryl de Zoete, an English student who later became a specialist on Asian dance, characterized it as "a huge school of very mixed talent, varied ambitions and a babel of tongues."

This is Michio Ito from Japan, a dancer, with Anya Antik from Russia who became a music teacher, and Jelle Troelstra from Holland, later a painter. Mary Wigman would soon become one of the leaders of German modern dance. Marie
Rambert left Hellerau to work in the Ballets Russes as Nijinsky's assistant, performing in his landmark choreography of 1913, *Le Sacre du printemps*, before coming to England. In London she taught Dalcroze Eurhythmics and later classical ballet, nurturing generations of British dancers including Frederick Ashton and Antony Tudor.

Jaques-Dalcroze's lesson plans of the Hellerau years reveal that new ideas took shape almost daily. The interconnections of time, space, and energy became clear in a context where bare feet and leotards liberated people to investigate music and movement in fresh ways. Here we see a young woman, lifted, ready to move on the next downbeat, and here a student crouches, prepared to move very fast. Jaques-Dalcroze noted down hundreds of possibilities for running, skipping, jumping; working on stairs and levels; making impulses travel from one body part to another; and feeling "real" or "imaginary" resistances. This lithograph by Hugo Böttinger shows strong pressing movement with a contraction in the torso, while another shows a conducting exercise, in which one student directs a group through gesture alone, an improvisation in leading and following.

Adolphe Appia had extensive direct experience of the early Dalcroze method when the working spaces of the Hellerau school were planned. A Russian girl remembered the evening when the lighting equipment was used for the first time in the great hall. Dressed in their leotards the students formed sculptural groups on the new stairs, responding to
the improvisation of Jaques-Dalcroze: "We were hearing and seeing how music, movement, and light melted into a harmonious whole."

In the summer of 1912 a three-week festival showed the school's educational and artistic work, culminating in a programme of "plastic music representations" which included the Descent into the Underworld from Gluck's Orpheus. Over 4000 visitors from many countries attended classes and demonstrations of the method and the studio-theatre. Basic elements of Dalcroze teaching were shown by the students, leading on to composed movement works. Viewers saw, for example, a Bach fugue realized by three groups of students who, according to one observer, "followed the mazes of the interweaving voices, in beautiful figures with wonderful fidelity."

In another work called "The Singing Flowers," a writer who himself studied at Hellerau explained,

The kneeling groups would rise singing softly, bodies and arms stretching upwards as the singing increases, until the circles of supple bodies bend backwards and open like a basket. With a change of chord the movement reverses, the knees bend and all kneel down again. These human flowers open and close more and more quickly, the final chord of one becomes the beginning chord of another, until all open in a joint chord ... [to make] a hymn of life and light.

It was in the context of presentations such as this that the Descent scene from Gluck's Orpheus was first given at Hellerau in 1912. Months of study and experiment went into the work.
The collaboration of Appia and Jaques-Dalcroze on this project has been extensively documented by theatre historians, but a third person also made a very important contribution to the actual staging. The choreographer Annie Beck was from Holland, in her early twenties, and it was she who worked out the movement for the Furies. Emmi Leisner from Berlin, the young professional who played Orpheus, came to Hellerau for three months of study. This posed studio photograph shows her as Orpheus confronting the wall of resisting Furies.

A sense of the rehearsal process is found in the letters of Jaques-Dalcroze of this period. He wrote to his sister, "For the finale, I found a gesture for the crowd so extraordinary that everyone trembled and this single gesture will awaken the sensitive to be moved...." He continued, "the rehearsals despite the fatigue bring immense joys. And what discoveries!"

This photograph, another of the very few we have of the production, shows the grandeur of the final part of the Descent scene, with some 135 students framing Orpheus on Appia's flights of stairs and platforms. From written descriptions we know that the stage was extremely dark at the beginning of the scene, to reveal the intense misery of the Furies and Unhappy Spirits heaped about on the floor. As Orpheus appeared at the top for his long descent, light shone on him and accompanied him all the way down to the orchestra pit. By his presence and the power of his
singing, Orpheus transformed the Underworld bit by bit until the whole space was filled with brilliant light.

Within this long sustained line of action the Furies first opposed him and then gradually gave way. Several lithographs by Hugo Bötttinger show the angularity, energy, and scale of their movements. Note the strength shown in the forearms and hands of this figure, and the way the Furies worked on Appia's stairs, creating their distorted body shapes in relation to the physical realities of this particular spatial environment. The movement style in fact seems to come from the stairs with their dynamic juxtaposition of lines and forces: horizontals and verticals which combine to make a greater diagonal. Bötttinger also showed the Furies moving through space in a contracted run with arms forward, elbows leading. And in this image he showed a large swarm of running figures whose weight is far forward with torsos contracted, again with elbows leading or with the arms flung straight back.

One of the original Furies who had this rehearsal photograph identified it as part of the Descent scene, even though clearly the space is not arranged according to Appia's design. The performers wore the then quite radical leotards which they used for ordinary study. This was Appia's recommendation which was accepted only after much tense disagreement and uncertainty.

The Descent into the Underworld became the nucleus of the
complete version of Orpheus mounted in the school festival of 1913. The press hailed the production as a breakthrough, and their reports offer many fascinating details on the staging. Appia, at home in Switzerland during the months of preparation, kept the letters he received from Jaques-Dalcroze which reveal his reasons for many of their artistic decisions, but unfortunately Appia’s letters did not survive, so we only have half of their dialogue. This is a pity since they did not see eye-to-eye on all issues.

Jaques-Dalcroze chose to eliminate the overture and the happy ending, which to him contradicted the essence of Gluck’s reform opera. He wanted the Hellerau production to present only the tragic core of Orpheus. The singer grieves at the funeral of Eurydice, the chorus joining him in mourning. Amor brings the news that the gods will allow him to seek her among the dead. After taming the Spirits of the Underworld, Orpheus finds Eurydice in the Elysian Fields. As he leads her back to earth he finally gives in to her pleading, and his look causes her to die forever. Orpheus is alone.

At Hellerau the chorus closed the drama with the return of the Mourners from Act I, giving an over-all symmetry to the presentation. Jaques-Dalcroze was convinced that this was what Gluck really intended and that he had only added his happy ending with divertissements because of the theatrical conventions of his day. Apparently Appia was not so convinced about Jaques-Dalcroze’s treatment, for he seems to
have designed or planned a scene for the Triumph of Love, the happy ending. (This is an intriguing topic which I can’t take up here, but I do want at least to indicate that their collaboration on the 1913 production was not free of debate and even a certain amount of discord.)

Several posed photographs show the actual handling of Act I: Orpheus before an unadorned tomb, the chorus of Mourners wearing draped tunics. An extra length of fabric hanging from one shoulder extended and enlarged their gestures. The scene was essentially treated as processions and a slow-moving sculptural bas-relief. Jaques-Dalcroze wrote to Appia that the figures are there "solely to express the grief of Orpheus," which they realize through a series of intense poses and transitional movements to connect them. I’ll show several of these images as Karin Greenhead plays some phrases of the music for this scene [musical example].

Toward the end of Act I, as Richard Beacham has mentioned, Amor appeared only as a light, not as a visible character.

Marie-Louise Bablet-Hahn has made a thorough comparison of the 1912 and 1913 Descent settings in her edition of the complete works of Appia. This photograph shows the 1913 version, with the participants in an arrangement almost identical with the 1912 scene at the climax of the Descent, even though the physical space is different. Note the curtains, for example. Appia wrote in pencil on a letter from Jaques-Dalcroze on the mise en scène for the Descent: "the same as last year."
When we come to the scenes in the Elysians Fields the visual documentation is very sparse. The most contemporary image is a sketch by Edward Gordon Craig in a letter to Appia which says, "I have your picture ... in front of my desk always." The arrangement of slopes and planes bears a strong similarity to Appia's later (1926) drawing of the scene. Ernest Ansermet wrote several detailed articles about the 1913 staging:

The students formed several groups of Spirits. They took imperceptible movements to the music, inclinations of the head, liftings of the arms; they passed hardly touching the ground, weightless, and Orpheus crossed their groups without disturbing them, the groups reforming behind him...

In the next Act when Eurydice follows Orpheus away from the Elysian Fields, Ansermet explained that the drama was not divided into successive tableaux requiring scene changes. The two characters must have come to the foreground with the large curtain closed behind them, so that the dying Eurydice sank back and disappeared into its folds, leaving Orpheus alone for the beautiful aria "Che farò." According to one writer Leisner sang each of its three sections with a different emotion and body attitude: first in place wilting like a plant, then moving forward in despair, and finally on the ground like a child, her face to the earth. The chorus of Mourners approached again with the theme of Act I, bringing the drama full circle.

Now I would like to turn to our production, which has been a most remarkable learning experience, almost an intensive
course over the past three months involving many different people. Our Production and Musical Directors, the Dramaturg Richard Beacham, and the performers have joined in workshops with Karin Greenhead, who has given us a vibrant introduction to the Dalcroze method. Of course in that short time we could not become in any way expert as the Hellerau students were, but at least everyone has tasted the beginnings of what this kind of work has to offer, and quite a few want to continue with further study. Since I am not a Dalcroze teacher, I felt that a serious introduction by a specialist was a condition without which we could not proceed, and we have all benefited greatly from Karin Greenhead's work.

No score or rehearsal notes survive to tell us precisely how the 1913 Orpheus was staged. My work on the movement has been a process of visiting and revisiting the visual and written sources we do have, investigating all their details, both facts and impressions, in a very practical way. These sources, in addition to the three interviews I had with people who were at Hellerau, offered the materials for a living synthesis: a putting-together entirely different from writing in which the task is to construct an argument or historical explanation. Working with the musical score, the ground base for the whole effort, and with people to make movement in the style of the original production, has been far more revealing than reading, imagining, and trying to write a scholarly analysis has
ever been for me.

Experimenting first in Toronto with four Dalcroze teachers at the Royal Conservatory of Music and with dance students at York University, improvising together with the music, I explored movements for the three contrasting scenes of the Mourners, the Furies, and Spirits of the Elysian Fields. I began first with the distorted, weighty, angular movements of the Furies, with strong accents and impulsive running. In November the improvisations continued here with Warwick students in Theatre Studies and other fields.

The Hellerau production of the Descent scene began with a dance developed on the lengthy music from Gluck's ballet Don Juan, not originally in his 1762 Orfeo, but music which Gluck interpolated in the Orphée version he made later in 1774 in Paris [musical example]. Because we are doing the Vienna score, the 1762 Orfeo, our Furies omit this long opening dance and use only the music which is common to both versions.

We tried to connect the actions Böttinger caught in his dynamic lithographs with the accents and the incredibly fast ascending and descending scales of the Orfeo Furies dance [musical example]. Writers inspired us: the chorus of Furies were living beings "through whose limbs the rhythm swelled like a great wave"; or, "the swarming of nude arms"; or, best of all, Upton Sinclair, who described the Hellerau Furies in his novel World's End:
Their feet trod with eagerness to leap at the intruder, their hands reached out with longing to seize and rend him. The music crashed and rushed upward in a frenzied presto, it crashed and rushed down again, and bodies shook and swayed with the drive of it. The spirits stood upon a slope within the entrance gates of Hell; tier upon tier of them, and in the dim blue light of infernal fires their naked arms and legs made, as it were, a mountain of motion.

Appia designed the Descent scene quite exactly with the score, so that there are specific places for each aria to be sung. After carefully studying the score with the design, I found that the scene simply blocked itself. The timing of when Orpheus should progress from one level down to the next is intrinsic in the relationship between the music and Appia’s great scenic concept.

Since we only had ten dancers from the University of Warwick, there simply weren’t enough people to meet the challenges of scale posed by the recreation of this monumental set. Even with the addition of four of Karin Greenhead’s students from London, pre-professional dancers from the Central School of Ballet, we have had to work very hard to muster sufficient energy to carry this scene. It is a set designed for a truly large ensemble, with many figures grouped in opposition to the huge flights of stairs.

For the Elysian Fields, Appia’s set as reconstructed here taught us through our feet and legs what to do, where to go. From descriptions of the scene (which at Hellerau had seven groups of eight girls, compared to our much smaller
ensemble), it seems that the movement was basically a heavenly promenade. Certainly the design shows the three-dimensionality and beauty of the human figure against a landscape of classic serenity. Upton Sinclair’s novel gives an exquisite vision of this scene:

In the midst of the rejoicing came the Eurydice to meet her spouse. Rapture seized the limbs now shining in bright light; they Wove patterns as intricate as the music, portraying not merely melody but complicated harmonies. Beautiful designs were brought before the eye, counterpoint was heightened through another sense. It was music made visible....

The interweaving of patterns is what guided our scene.

Later when Eurydice is led up to Orpheus, Annie Beck, as the dancer who guided her, moved in a way which her father described in a letter written at the time “as sublime and full of grace.” Another writer noted the same passage as one of the most beautiful moments: “While the chorus sings and leads his wife to Orpheus, Orpheus kneels and Eurydice places her hands on his head.” These are just some of the many written sources which have directly informed my work.

Our choreography has been a group effort. It has been built from improvisation and a collective study of the key facts and impressions described by those who saw or took part in the production. To our rehearsals I took my files of collected images and what I thought were the most helpful written sources. Every working session sent me back to the score and the sources with new questions, and I’m still finding new answers. We never could have
attempted this without such a process of shared practical investigation.

At this point we have developed scenes based on the models we studied, but more time would be needed, as well as more stage rehearsal with the orchestra and more detailed, subtle lighting, to achieve true intensity of performance and the kind of harmony which I believe was present in the Hellerau original. The production in 1913 was the result of a deep and sustained educational experiment, at a time of wonderful discoveries about the significance of human movement.

Our look into the past perhaps teaches us most of all about ourselves, what we can and cannot do. Yet I know that the opportunity to learn this way has given us experiences we have never met before, and with luck some entirely new collaborations will come from this in the future.
The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

EJD  Emile Jaques-Dalcroze
IJD  Institut Jaques-Dalcroze, Geneva
CIDJD Centre International de Documentation Jaques-Dalcroze, at the IJD

Titles of frequently-cited books by Jaques-Dalcroze are shown by the following abbreviations:

GR  Gymnastique rythmique (Neuchâtel, 1906)  [Vol. 1 of Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze]
MN  La Musique et nous, notes sur notre double vie (Geneva, 1945)
NB  Notes bariolées (Geneva, 1948)
RME  Rhythm, Music and Education (London, 1921)  [Translation by Harold F. Rubinstein of Le Rythme, la musique et l'éducation (Lausanne, 1920)]
SNC  Souvenirs, notes et critiques (Neuchâtel, 1942)

Full listings for these and other works by EJD are given in the Bibliography.

References are given in shortened form after the first entry, for example:
Short form: Brunet-Lecomte, Jaques-Dalcroze, 16.

All quotations from French sources are my translations unless otherwise indicated. Underlining is used to show emphasis only if given in the original source.

Chapter 1. In Search of Teachers and Teaching

1. "Concerts," The Times, 10 Dec. 1907, 12. Gustav Holst was responsible for music teaching at St. Paul's Girls' School at this time.

2. Punch, 160 (4 May 1921), 360.


4. Biographical information is summarized here from Hélène Brunet-Lecomte, Jaques-Dalcroze: sa vie, son oeuvre (Geneva, 1950); from Alfred Berchtold, "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps," one of the five major essays which comprise Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: l'homme, le compositeur, le créateur de la rythmique, by Frank Martin et al. (Neuchâtel, 1965); and from Tibor Dènes, "Chronologie," in the latter volume. I deal with these and other biographical sources in more complete detail in the following chapters.

6. The Musical Times, 49 (1 Nov. 1908), 734.

7. EJD, "Couplets et choeur de la 'Gymnastique Suédoise,'" On restaure! (Geneva, 1895), 15.


9. EJD, SNC (Neuchâtel, 1942), MN (Geneva, 1945), and NB (Geneva, 1948).

10. The clipping files vary in the completeness of references, and page numbers for newspapers and journals are often missing. I have not been able to check elsewhere for complete information in all cases.


13. Full references for the works discussed in 1.4 Survey of Secondary Literature are given in the Bibliography.


16. Irwin Spector, Rhythm and Life: The Work of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze (Stuyvesant, New York, 1990), 206. The words which he attributes to de Valois on "her debt to Jaques-Dalcroze" are actually Beryl de Zoete's, in an article which he has misread and also cited incorrectly.


24. I am especially grateful to Margaret Rodman of York University, who allowed me to audit her course on Research Design and Qualitative Methods in Social Anthropology.
Chapter 2. A Teacher's Beginnings

1. Biographical information is based on Brunet-Lecomte's *Jagues-Dalcroze* and Alfred Berchtold's "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps" in F. Martin, *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze*, as well as Tibor Dénes's "Chronologie" in the latter volume. Berchtold's intellectual history *La Suisse romande au cap du XXe siècle* (Lausanne, 1963) offers chapters on EJD and many of his contemporaries. Brunet-Lecomte explains that her brother chose the pseudonym after meeting Vaclav, and that he subsequently had the name Jaques-Dalcroze legalized (60). Berchtold, in "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps," gives the detail of the Bordeaux music publisher's request (41). However, before EJD went to Algiers, he had begun to sign letters to his friends Louis Duchosal and Philippe Godet as "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze," which suggests that he later did not remember just when and where he took the pseudonym. It is also interesting to note that he continued to publish songs as "Emile Jaques" as late as 1893. An unidentified article in a scrapbook of clippings dating from the 1890s at the CIDJD is the source of his remark about distinguishing himself from the other "frères Jaques of creation."

2. EJD, "The Place of Ear Training," RME, 5.


4. Burdet gives little information on the family background of EJD's mother. Unfortunately, the Jaques-Dalcroze family and the local records offices of Geneva and Yverdon have not been able to provide any further details about her. Robert M. Abramson states that she was "a Pestalozzian music teacher" in "The Approach of Emile Jaques-Dalcroze," *Teaching Music in the Twentieth Century*, Lois Choksy et al. (Englewood Cliffs, 1986), 27, but this seems to be a misreading of Berchtold, who states that Julie Jaunin was a native of Yverdon, where Pestalozzi taught (see "Emile Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps" in F. Martin, *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze*, 30).


8. Unidentified source quoted by Berchtold, "Jaques-Dalcroze et son temps" in F. Martin, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, 32. See also [Théodore Aubert and Alfred Privat], Ecole Privat: souvenirs publiés à l'occasion de son centenaire 1814-1914 (Geneva, 1914)

9. EJD, NB, 195.


14. Henry James, "The Théâtre Français, 1876," The Scenic Art (New York, 1957), 82. See the Journal de Edmond Got, sociétaire de la Comédie-Française 1822-1901, published by his son Médéric Got in 2 vols. (Paris, 1910), for a rich memoir of the French theatre of this period. Samuel Jaques (1862-1919) was Director of the Théâtre de Lausanne from 1906 to 1919, according to his obituary in the Gazette de Lausanne, 11 May 1919. Stravinsky’s L’Histoire du soldat was premiered there 28 Sept. 1918. Samuel Jaques directed and acted in several productions of the innovative Théâtre du Jorat of René Morax at Mézières.


18. EJD, "Premiers maîtres, premières œuvres," (see note 5).

19. Conflicting accounts make it difficult to determine exactly when and for how long EJD studied with each of his music teachers in Paris. He often refers to his study in Paris as a single time period, but Dénes, working from letters and reviews, establishes the two separate periods of 1884-86 and 1889-90 in F. Martin, *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze* (13-15). Because EJD was not at first accepted by Fauré, and because he returned from Algiers to study in Vienna and then Paris with Fauré, Delibes, and Lussy (NB, 21), it seems correct to assume that he studied with Fauré in the later period. Brunet-Lecomte corroborates the view that he studied with these three teachers during his return to Paris (*Jaques-Dalcroze*, 54). According to H. Kling, "Les Musiciens à l'Exposition," (see note 5), 179, EJD studied piano with Félix Le Couppey, a leading teacher of the Conservatoire known for his many books on the piano and on teaching. This study definitely occurred between 1884 and 1886, since Le Couppey (1811-1887) died before the later study of EJD in Paris. It is likely that he studied in the earlier period with Antoine François Marmontel (1816-1898), the outstanding teacher of Bizet, d'Indy, and Débussy, because Marmontel retired from teaching at the Conservatoire in 1887. Author of six books on piano, performing style, and aesthetics, Marmontel had been a close friend of François Delsarte. Marmontel's student Albert Lavignac (1846-1916), teacher and musicologist, wrote many books on teaching, including several books on the solfège courses for which the Conservatoire was famous. Until his death he edited the great reference work *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris, 1920-31).

20. Many years later EJD reflected, "Leaving the hearth of Geneva, my first studies in Paris revealed the spontaneity of Parisian musical youth, and my contact with it diminished my inborn reserve" (in "Influences," SNC, 40).


22. EJD, "Influences," SNC, 39.

23. EJD, NB, 119.

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26. EJD, *NB*, 189. Born in Prague, Adolf Prosnitz (1829-1917) taught in Vienna from 1869 to 1900. His books *Handbuch der Klavier-literatur* (Vienna, 1884) and *Kompendium der Musikgeschichte bis zum Ende des XVI Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1889) were probably important sources to EJD for his later lectures on the history of music. His other teachers included Robert Fuchs (1847-1927), a noted organist who taught theory and counterpoint, and Hermann Grädener (1844-1929), teacher at the Konservatorium from 1877 to 1913 who was a leading conductor of choral music in Vienna.

27. EJD, "La Rythmique, l'enseignement du piano et de l'improvisation," *MN*, 192. During this period he became good friends with Friedrich Klose, later a noted composer, whose memoirs provide a vivid picture of Viennese musical life in the 1880s: see *Meine Lehrjahre bei Bruckner* (Regensburg, 1927). Klose also offers several interesting recollections and comments on EJD: 56-58, 314-316, and 411-417.

28. Programme in a scrapbook of clippings dating from the 1890s at the CIDJD.

29. *Journal de Genève* (7 Mar. 1889), quoted in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: extraits de critiques* (1896), 9. The reviewer was probably Ferdinand Held, under whose direction EJD later taught at the Conservatoire.


32. EJD, "Influences," *SNC*, 40. For further discussion of Lussy (1828-1910), see Chapter 3.


34. *Gazette de Lausanne* (n.d. [1890]), quoted in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze: extraits de critiques* (1896), 16. In addition to his background with Prosnitz, EJD probably relied on Amédée Méreaux, *Les Clavecinistes de 1637 à 1790* (Paris, 1867), an illustrated volume of biographical portraits of the composers he chose as examples. A copy of Méreaux from EJD's personal library is at the CIDJD.


37. On Held see Bochet, Le Conservatoire, 75-112 and Tappolet, La Vie musicale... (1814-1918), 92-99.

38. EJD, "The Place of Ear Training," RME, 3.


40. G. H., Gazette de Lausanne, 25 July 1895.

41. EJD, "The Place of Ear Training," RME, 4-5.

42. Brunet-Lecomte, Jaques-Dalcroze, 62.


44. Printed announcement in a scrapbook of clippings dating from the 1890s at the CIDJD. Joseph-Ferdinand Bernard’s method is explained in La Gymnastique pulmonaire, ou l'art de respirer dans tous les actes de la vie physique (Paris, 1875).

45. Tappolet, La Vie musicale... (1814-1918) discusses Chassevant, 94-95. See also Frank Choisy, "La Musique à Genève au XIXème siècle," Nos centenaires, ed. Jules Carrara and Victor Pasche (Geneva, 1914), 315.


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52. *Tribune de Genève*, 29 May 1896. It is interesting to note that it was during this production that Jaques-Dalcroze and the Italian-born soprano Nina Faliero (then making her Paris debut at age nineteen) decided to marry. From 1897 they frequently gave concerts together. When they presented selections from *Poème alpestre* in London, *The Musical News* (15 May 1897) reported that "Miss Faliero has a perfectly trained and really magnificent soprano voice, full and rich in quality." For the next twenty years she would tour independently throughout Europe to perform her extensive repertoire, which ranged from Lully and Pergolesi to Schumann (her favorite) to the new composers she liked best such as Grieg, d'Indy, and Duparc. She had been singing Marguerite in *La Damnation de Faust* of Berlioz when she returned from a tour of Germany to marry Jaques-Dalcroze the day after Christmas, 1899.

53. The dances of Benjamin Archinard (1828-1905) are described in several reviews (see note 51). Biographical facts are based on [Jules Cougnard], "Benjamin Archinard," *Le Nouveau panthéon* (Geneva, 1908), 36-39, and several obituaries in the Geneva biography clipping files of the Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Geneva.

54. Archinard's bacchanales and Gautier's admiration are mentioned in an unidentified obituary (see note 53). For discussion of Archinard and the Fêtes des Vignerons, see Burdet, *La Musique dans le canton de Vaud au XIXe siècle*, 236-249. Despite his local fame, Archinard is never mentioned by historians of nineteenth-century ballet such as Marian Hannah Winter and Ivor Guest.

55. Burdet, *La Musique dans le canton de Vaud au XIXe siècle*, 250-257, gives a clear general account of the *Festival vaudois*. My description of the work's structure is based on *Festival vaudois, fêtes du centenaire 1803-1903: album officiel* (Lausanne, 1903). See also Combe, "Le Festspiel," 223.


58. G. Pfeiffer, "La Fête des Narcisses à Montreux," *La Patrie Suisse*, 5:122 (May 1898), 130–131. Karin Saxer kindly referred me to this collaboration. Rita Rivo (ca. 1865–1949) was later known as Rita Missol-Rivo or Missol-Rivaux. For many years she taught dance at the Comédie de Genève and in her home.


60. EJD, *Tribune de Lausanne*, 17 June 1928.
Chapter 3. The Making of the Dalcroze Method


3. Nina Gorter later wrote Rhythmus und Sprache (Berlin, 1915), a study of the rhythms of language. EJD referred to her brother Herman, the symbolist poet, in "A la memoire de Nina Gorter," Le Rythme, No. 10 (Nov. 1922), 4. This identification enabled Hettie van Manen to confirm other biographical details through consultation with Enno Endt of Amsterdam, who has done research on Herman Gorter. Nina Gorter died 18 Oct. 1922 at the age of fifty-three. She was thus approximately four years younger than EJD.

4. EJD, Six chansons de gestes: études callisthéniques, Op. 58, (Neuchâtel, 1904). This collection is dedicated to Gorter. The songs; "La Petite muette" (hand movements), "Tique-toque" (stepping), "La Jolie poupée" (expression—head and eyes), "Jolie bras blancs" (arm movements), "Les Petites filles de pierre" (torso movements), "L'Ondine" (plastique générale).

5. Six chansons callisthéniques: mise en scène de E. Jaques-Dalcroze et de Mlle Nina Gorter, 3.

6. Six chansons callisthéniques, 3-4. See also Dix nouvelles chansons avec gestes: études callisthéniques, Op. 60 (Lausanne, 1906). Several of these songs require specific costumes, props, and lighting. "Les Statues," for example, calls for white, blue, red, green, and yellow light (11), while "Celles qui passent" uses white light for measures 1 to 20, green for 20 to 24, and "Loie Fuller combinations for 24 to 32" (47).

7. Albert Dresdner quoted by EJD and Gorter, Six chansons callisthéniques, 3.

8. Albert Dresdner, "La Danse considérée comme art plastique," La Musique en Suisse, 2:38 (15 May 1903), 218-221; 2:39 (1 June), 233-235; 2:40 (15 June), 247-249. From 1896 until 1904 EJD edited the most important music journals published in French Switzerland. During the late 1890s he edited the Gazette Musicale de la Suisse Romande, which became Le Journal Musical. In 1901 he founded La Musigue en Suisse, which appeared twice a month from Sept. 1901 to Jan. 1904, the only musical journal published in Geneva at this time. It included substantial articles on music performance, education, aesthetics, and history of music by both Swiss and German contributors, including the young composer Ernest Bloch.

9. J.-E. Roberty, "La Musique de Beethoven dansée par Isa-
10. Jean d'Udine, "Isadora Duncan," La Courrier Musical, 7:10 (15 May 1904), 340. Among other French reviews of Duncan see Louis Laloy, "Isadora Duncan," La Revue Musicale, 4:10 (15 May 1904), 250-253. A photograph of Duncan appeared on the cover of this issue. Laloy wrote that her dancing "is the harmony of her body and the plastic expression of her thought; it is a true art, which, like other arts, reveals to us the most beautiful secrets of life; it is mute music and sculpture in movement" (250). He quotes Duncan's program note: "Such music gives different impressions to each listener;... my dances express nothing more than what I experience myself;... my movements respond to the impulses which music awakens in me" (251).

11. EJD concluded the "Introduction" of GR by "publicly thanking Mlle Nina Gorter, our devoted and talented collaborator... for the precious assistance she gave to the definitive classification of our exercises and the didactic account of our system" (xiii). He later wrote that she "saw the birth of the method" and "took part in all my experiences, with tireless devotion and an intelligence always on the alert," in "A la memoire de Nina Gorter," Le Rythme, No. 10 (Nov. 1922), 2. He went on to characterize her notation and organization of his exercises, "She excelled at this work for which her sense of order, her fine sense of analysis and her prodigious perseverance prepared her." EJD dedicated "The Initiation into Rhythm" (1907), RME, to Gorter.

12. Procès-verbal du Congrès de l'enseignement musical tenu à Soleure, le 1er juillet 1905 (Lausanne, 1906), 3. See La Méthode de gymnastique rythmique de E. Jaques-Dalcroze: Extraits de critiques parus à la suite du Congrès de Soleure sur "L'Enseignement musical à l'école" (Neuchâtel, [1905]), and EJD, La Réforme de l'enseignement musical à l'école (Lausanne, 1905). Extracts from this pamphlet and EJD's article "Les Etonnements de M. Quelconque," Revue Musicale S.I.M., 1:7 (15 Aug. 1905), 273-287 were later included in RME as "An Essay in the Reform of Music Teaching in the Schools" and "The Young Lady of the Conservatoire and the Piano."

13. Procès-verbal, 4-5. For background on participants see L'Association des musiciens suisses 1900-1950 (Zurich, 1950).

14. EJD confided to composer Hans Huber in Basel, "as for rhythmic gymnastics, it continues to develop, thanks to the zealous collaboration of my dear students whom you have not met, all of whom are improving. We are at the threshold of a new art which I approach with religious fear and trembling. ...I am certain that after my death, others will continue my work and will find what I have only been able to indicate. For now, I realize that what I am doing
is a reconstitution of an integral music where all that is rhythm and movement has its source in our organism. People make out that I am looking for attitudes and plastic gestures, for love of plastic gestures in themselves; oh no, I am searching much more deeply into the human being and I claim that these gestures must be anemic exteriorizations of our movements and our emotions, from which come the necessity of creating, thanks to rhythm, a current between the two poles of our being. But that education must be entirely created, and I understand that the preliminary exercises will not be able to convince anyone. Rhythmic gymnastics is above all a personal experience." EJD letter to Huber, 26 Feb. [1906], Universitäts-bibliothek, Basel.


16. Adolphe Appia, letter to EJD, May 1906, quoted by Edmond Stadler, "Jaques-Dalcroze et Adolphe Appia," in F. Martin, Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, 418. My work on EJD’s biography has benefited from the work of Stadler and other theatre historians who have studied Appia and his association with EJD. The main publications on Appia since the 1960s are by Edmond Stadler, Walther R. Volbach, Gernot Giertz, Marie-Louise Bablet-Hahn, and Richard C. Beacham. References to their works are given in the Bibliography.


18. GR was published as the first part of Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: pour le développement de l'instinct rythmique, du sens auditif et du sentiment tonal (Neuchâtel, 1906-1909), a series which was originally projected to have five parts in eight volumes, including Étude de la portée musicale; Les Gammes et les tonalités, le phrasé et les nuances; Les Intervales et les accords; and L’Improvisation et l’accompagnement au piano, along with two supplements, La Respiration et l’innervation musculaire and two volumes of Marches rythmiques. However, three volumes of the planned series apparently did not appear. The three volumes of Les Gammes et les tonalités ..., expand on the earlier solfège teaching.

19. EJD, GR, vi.

20. EJD, La Réforme de l'enseignement musical à l'école, 43-45. These ideas are repeated in GR, xi.


accents, nuances et mouvements dans la musique vocale et instrumentale (Paris, 1874); Le Rythme musical: son origine, sa fonction et son accentuation (Paris, 1883); and L'Anacrouse dans la musique moderne (Paris, 1903). Traité de l'expression sets out the "laws" of metrical, rhythmic, and expressive accentuation on which EJD based many of his exercises; however, only Le Rythme musical is cited in GR.


26. J. Ballet, De la gymnastique suédoise: son introduction en Suisse (Geneva, 1896). Mme Ballet described the gymnasium of the Ecole de Malagnou as an "absolutely Swedish" hall with the most modern equipment available (12). As the gymnastics inspector for girls in Geneva primary schools, she referred to EJD's songs in her Jeux et rondes populaires pour petits et grands (Geneva, 1910), 3. EJD wrote in 1905, "The value of Swedish drill was only appreciated after a campaign extending over 15 years" ("An Essay in the Reform of Music Teaching in the Schools," RME, 21). For a helpful general survey of the development of national gymnastics systems in this period, see Margaret C. Brown and Betty K. Sommer, Movement Education: Its Evolution and a Modern Approach (Reading, Massachusetts, 1969).


28. Karl Storck, E. Jaques-Dalcroze: Seine Stellung und Aufgabe in unserer Zeit (Stuttgart, 1912), 24. EJD was presumably the source of biographical information used in this early book. It would have been possible for EJD to have studied...
with the noted Delsarte teacher Alfred-Auguste Giraudet (1845-1911), who taught privately and at the Paris Conservatoire during the 1880s. See the announcement for Giraudet’s course in *Le Ménestrel*, 50:42 (14 Sept. 1884), 336, and the listings of teachers in Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris, 1900), 433.

29. EJD, GR, xi. In essays and lesson plans EJD referred to Delsarte a number of times. His library included Angélique Arnaud, *François Del Sarte; ses découvertes en esthétique, sa science, sa méthode* (Paris, 1882), with many passages marked in red and blue pencil; and A. Giraudet, *Mimigue, physionomie et gestes; méthode pratique d’après le système de F. Del Sarte* (Paris, 1895).

30. EJD, GR, ix. This statement appears near the end of "Principles and Goal of Rhythmic Gymnastics" (viii-ix):

I) To regulate and improve movements is to develop the rhythmic mentality.

II) To improve the force and suppleness of the muscles by regulating the proportions of time, is to develop the rhythmic musical sense and the feeling for form.

III) To improve the force and suppleness of the muscles by regulating the proportions of space (combined movements and stationary attitudes), is to develop the sense of plastic rhythm.

Rhythmic gymnastics has as its aim to improve the force and suppleness of muscles in the proportions of time and space.

31. EJD, GR, xii.


33. EJD, GR, xii-xiii.

34. EJD, GR, 3-24. For example, the balance exercises, which are a preparation for rhythmic walking, help to develop precise control of body weight so that the student can move "freely and strongly," able to execute without hesitation every gesture or attitude in the space and the time and with the force, suppleness and elasticity wished" (15). One year later (1907) EJD summed up the interconnection of these factors, "A properly executed rhythm requires ... complete mastery of movement in relation to energy, space, and time" in "The Initiation into Rhythm," RME, 83.

35. EJD, *La Respiration et l’innervation musculaire*, [3].


38. EJD, GR, xi.

39. EJD, GR, 3. Because the reader is assumed to have direct personal experience with the method, few details of this kind are included. The fact that teachers are expected to improvise music throughout their lessons is never really explained, for example, yet we know from the teaching tradition that piano improvisation was pervasive, essential to the work. In GR only exceptions to this unstated rule are mentioned, such as exercises to be sung or performed in silence, and those to be done to the teacher’s counts, to the time-beating gestures, or (with backs turned) to the sound of other students’ steps.

40. EJD, GR, 121.

41. EJD, GR, 10.

42. EJD, GR, 34.

43. EJD, GR, 1-2, 26-28, 34, et passim. The most difficult examples are on 224-228.

44. EJD, GR, 5, 32, 40, 49, et passim. These pages refer to EJD, *84 marches rythmiques pour une voix moyenne avec accompagnement de piano* (Neuchâtel, 1906).

45. EJD, GR, 4-5, general explanation, and 29-32, 35-40, et passim.


48. Claparède’s thesis was titled *Du sens musculaire, à propos de quelques cas d’hémiataxie posthémiplégique* (Geneva, 1897). Victor Henri cited Claparède’s extensive bibliography as the basis for his own (of 391 entries) in "Revue générale sur le sens musculaire," *L’Année Psychologique*, 5 (1899), 399-557. Interest in neuro-muscular functioning culminated in the work of British physiologist Charles Sherrington, who put the field on a new basis in 1906 with his synthesis of the reflex arc. See also Christian A.
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49. Robert Dottrens, "Edouard Claparède et les progrès de l'éducation publique," Annuaire de l'instruction publique en Suisse, 32 (1941), 12-13. In 1912 Claparède founded the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau to further research in child psychology and its application to pedagogy. It was there, beginning in 1921, that Jean Piaget worked as director of research and wrote his first five books.

50. EJD's reading is indicated by the bibliography of Der Rhythmus als Erziehungsmittel für das Leben und die Kunst: Sechs Vorträge (Basel, 1907), his lectures as published by Paul Boepple. In addition to Lagrange and Delbruck, whose works are cited in GR, he lists writings of Bernard Perez, Théodule Ribot, Frédéric Queyrat, Angelo Mosso, Alexander Bain, Charles Fére, Paul Souriau, and Georges Hirth.


52. EJD, GR, viii.

53. EJD, GR, 229.

54. EJD, GR, 239. The detailed explanation of "lying down" begins on 238 and continues to 240.

55. EJD, GR, 229. A note explains that girls, not little children, were chosen for the photographs because their gestures and attitudes offer clearer and more convincing models (EJD, GR, x).

56. EJD, GR, pp, 245-247 and 250-251. Related exercises are described on 253-269.


59. Gabriele Brandstetter introduced me to this subject through her paper "Psychologie des Ausdrucks und Ausdruckstanz ..." (Thurnau, 1986) based on Albert Freiherr von Schrenck-Notz-
ing, Die Traumtänzerin Magdeleine G. Eine psychologische Studie über Hypnose und dramatische Kunst (Stuttgart, 1904). Claparède and his cousin-teacher Théodore Flournoy became interested in Magdeleine when she visited Geneva in 1903. Flournoy quotes their newspaper articles in his detailed "Chorégraphie somnambulique: le cas de Magdeleine G.," Archives de Psychologie, 3 (1904), 357-374, which explains the involvement of Magnin and Boissonnas (358-359) and gives Magdeleine's family background (364). Berchtold provides portraits of both Flournoy and Claparède in La Suisse romande, 156-183.


64. EJD, manuscript notebooks, "Rythmique 1908" and "Gymnastique corporelle, dessins anatomiques 1908," passim. These and all other EJD lesson plans cited are in the collection of the IJD.

65. EJD, "Rhythm as a Factor in Education," in John W. Harvey, et al., The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze (London, 1912), 20. This essay is a translation by Percy and Ethel Ingham of excerpts from "L'Education par le rythme," Le Rythme, 1:7 (1909, first series), 63-70. The word "subconscious" is emphasized only in the original (67).
Chapter 4. Dalcrozians and Educationists


12. Die Bildungsanstalt für Musik und Rhythmus E. Jaques-Dalcroze in Dresden-Hellerau (Jena, 1910), 7. Subsequent information is based on material included in the school yearbooks, the journal Der Rhythmus, and various other school publications; on unpublished lectures by EJD to students; on the memoirs of former students; and on my
interviews with Elsa Findlay, Suzanne Perrottet, Annie van Deventer, Nathalie Tingey, and other Dalcrozians.


16. de Zoete, "A Tribute," 18. Other Hellerau students corroborated this view.

17. Isa Freeman, "Impressions at the Jaques-Dalcroze College," The Dalcroze College Journal (Special English Number of the Berichte der Dalcroze-Schule), Nov. 1913, 15.


25. For further information see Gerda Wangerin and Gerhard Weiss, Heinrich Tessenow, Ein Baumeister 1876-1950 (Essen, 1976), 25-31. School publications as well as most pamphlets on the Werkbund and Gartenstadt Hellerau contained photographs and drawings of this building and its setting.

27. These people sometimes met in the early mornings according to Suzanne Perrottet (interview, 7 May 1979). I am grateful to Walter Sorell for arranging this interview.


31. EJD, Lesson plans for the years 1910 to 1914 at the IJD.

32. See the volume of lesson plans titled "G.R. [Gymnastique rythmique] 1911," 57: "Exercices divers de do à mi avec les bras."


36. Alan Dent, ed., Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Patrick Campbell: Their Correspondence, (New York, 1952), 139-140.


40. Sally Graham, "Dalcroze Eurhythmics," in Jean Henderson et
There is an extensive bibliography on Sadler, including Lynda Grier, *Achievement in Education: The Work of Michael Ernest Sadler, 1835-1935* (London, 1952); J.H. Higginson, comp., *Selections from Michael Sadler: Studies in World Citizenship* (Liverpool, 1979); and O.S. Pickering, comp., *Sir Michael Sadler: A Bibliography of His Published Works* (Leeds, 1982). Particularly helpful for my research is Hilary Diaper et al., *Michael Sadler* (Leeds, 1989), the catalogue of an exhibition at the University Gallery Leeds (27 Apr.-16 June 1989). Shown in the exhibition, among the photographs and documents presenting "Sadler in the University," was the printed announcement for a "Class in Eurhythmics": "It is proposed to form at the University a class of women for the study of the expression of rhythm by movement, on the plan of Jaques-Dalcroze. The class will be taken by Miss Marian Clegg, from the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics. The course will consist of 12 weekly lessons each of one hour. The classes will be held in the Great Hall of the University on Wednesday afternoons at 2:30, from November 11th to December 9th, 1914, and from January 20th to March 3rd, 1915 (inclusive)." After stating the fee for registered students (£1) and others (£1.50), the announcement concludes: "A pattern of the costume to be worn at the classes can be seen at the University. Applications should be sent to the Vice-Chancellor of the University, not later than Friday morning, November 6th. Unless a minimum of 10 students apply, the class will not be held."


43. Sadler, Letter to Mary Harvey Sadler in Sadleir, 244.


50. M.T.H. Sadler, 63-64.

51. M.T.H. Sadler, trans., The Art of Spiritual Harmony, by Wassily Kandinsky (London, 1914); the republication of this edition used the title Concerning the Spiritual in Art (New York, 1977). Here M.T.H. Sadler offered several reflections on EJD and Nijinsky in his notes about Kandinsky's writing on Isadora Duncan (50-51).

52. EJD, "Rhythm as a Factor in Education," 21.

53. EJD, 23.

54. EJD, 25.


56. Percy Ingham, 47.

57. Ethel Ingham, "Lessons at Hellerau," 48-54.

58. Ethel Ingham, "Life at Hellerau," 55.

59. Ethel Ingham, 58.

60. There were direct references to The Eurhythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze in The Manchester Guardian (21 Nov. 1912), The Graphic (23 Nov. 1912), and The New Age (28 Nov. 1912).

61. Ernest Read, "Dalcroze Eurhythmics: Some Reminiscences," Music in Education, 13 (Nov.-Dec. 1949), 136. Stewart Macpherson led what was known as the "musical appreciation" movement of the early twentieth century, which encouraged people to learn to listen intelligently to fine music.

62. "The Eurythmics of Jaques-Dalcroze," The School Music Review, 21 (Dec. 1912), 145. This is an example of the frequently-found alternate spelling "Eurythmics" (as opposed to "Eurhythmics"). This comprehensive article included the complete report which "was circulated at the various meetings as representing the substance of M. Jaques-Dalcroze's preliminary address" (147-148).

63. I have located fourteen different accounts of the 1912 tour. The Inghams handled the publicity masterfully, as indicated by a notice which appeared in the Nov. issue of The Dancing Times: "An important forthcoming event is the lecture-demonstration to be given by M. Jaques-Dalcroze at a special meeting of the Music Teachers' Association at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Friday, November 15th at 8 p.m. Seats 4s. (numbered and reserved) and 2s. may be obtained from the honorary secretary, Mr. Arthur J. Hadrill.... An early application should be made as the demand for tickets is expected to be large" (95). The Inghams
probably benefitted from Wolf Dohrn's advice on dealing with the press, along with Prince Sergei Wolkonsky's experience in promoting the method in Russia. The former Director of the Imperial Theatres was studying at Hellerau in 1912 and undoubtedly met the Inghams. Wolkonsky had already coordinated a lecture-demonstration tour by EJD in Russia; he also had set up extensive teaching of the method in his country's schools.

68. Athenaeum, 23 Nov. 1912.
69. "Rhythm and Education," The Manchester Guardian, 21 Nov. 1912. This writer was obviously attracted to the beauty of the movements demonstrated, however, and observed, "We believe the chief delight of the spectators in the illustrations yesterday lay in their discovery that a more strict, more elaborate, and more refined relationship between music and the movements of the body was natural and easy."
72. Edith R. Clarke, "The Dalcroze College at Hellerau, Dresden" in Tingey, A Record, 5-6.
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3. Quoted in R.J.W. Selleck, The New Education 1870-1914 (London, 1968), 104. Selleck, in his English Primary Education and the Progressives, 1914-1939 (London, 1972), sums up the situation in 1914: "The narrow curriculum and rigid methodology of the early payment by results period was widely discredited. Schooling had come to mean more than the three Rs, rote learning was not enough. But, many educationists asked, how much more than the three Rs should be taught? What emphasis should be placed on 'play' or 'interest' or 'correlation' (favourite concepts of the New Education)? .... Whatever their differences, pre-World War I educationists were optimistic: the old had been discredited and something good, even if it were not possible to say what, would replace it. They were exciting, fruitful, anxious times" (24).

4. The CIDJD in Geneva has extensive files of correspondence from the Inghams and the London School to EJD and his associates, covering the period 1913 to 1952. The collection includes carbon copies of letters from Geneva to London. Since no comparable files have survived in England, this material gives a valuable and detailed record of the London School's administrative history. The earliest contract is dated 14 June 1915. It states, "THE FOUNDER agrees to assign to the Company the exclusive right and license ... of his system of Eurythmics or Rhythmic Gymnastics for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the British Colonies and Dependencies. .... THE FOUNDER undertakes to visit England at least once in every year and agrees to inspect the working of the Company's schools and to give at least one lecture-demonstration." Subsequent notes refer to this correspondence as the London File, CIDJD.

5. I compiled these approximate figures from reports in the Journal of the Dalcroze Society of the period and from Appendix III, "List of English Speaking Graduates" (106-114) in Tingey, A Record.

6. For information on Joan Ward-Higgs Bottard and Nathalie Ward-Higgs Tingey, see Tingey, A Record, 56, 59-61, 89, and 98-99. See also Tingey's contribution in Hettie Van Maanen, comp., La Rythmique Jaques-Dalcroze: Stories Yesterday and Today (Geneva, 1981), a FIER publication, 88-89. Laura Campbell compiled a special number of the Dalcroze Newsletter (Summer 1988) in tribute to Tingey. In the Department of Sound Records of the Imperial War
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10. Josephine Ransom, Schools of To-morrow in England (London, 1919), vi. Elizabeth Billaux Ruegg described the Store Street atmosphere as follows: "How well I remember going in at the door of Wolfe & Hollander’s Furniture Store, up the narrow staircase past the welcoming Miss Weber and Miss Howard, up to the dressing rooms--into "tricots" and kimonos--and talking and eating sandwiches in what was rather inaptly called "The Reading Room!" All this looked ordinary enough, but to me, going into the two big rooms, one with "steps" [based on Appia’s designs], one without, it was like opening a door, a magic casement onto my world of music, movement and happy student days" (in Tingey, A Record, 75-76).


12. Among the twenty-two schools listed in this report are Queen Anne’s, Caversham; The Ladies’ College, Cheltenham; Wycombe Abbey, High Wycombe; and The Francis Holland School, London. It concluded, "At least one thousand persons in England are studying the method" (19).


16. Tingey, A Record, 85.

17. Tingey, A Record, 88; and Marie Rambert, Quicksilver (London, 1972), 85.

18. Quoted in Tingey, A Record, 11.

London File, CIDJD. This document states that they should also be able to "give evidence of normal breathing and of ability to detect faulty breathing in others."

Joan Bottard and Désirée Martin both told me that they convinced Percy Ingham to admit them before they reached the required age. Interviews with Désirée Martin, 17 Oct. 1986 and Joan Bottard, 17 June 1987.


Tingey, *A Record*, 86. See also Beryl de Zoete’s Introduction to Ethel Driver’s *A Pathway to Dalcroze Eurhythmics* (London, 1951), 2-4.


"Miss Ramberg" and the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics were mentioned in the Dec. 1914 issue of *The Dancing Times* in a column by Violet Denzel, a dancer performing with Lydia Kyasht at the Coliseum. Denzel, having visited Hellerau, outlined the basics of Dalcroze study. She suggested that "a one or two years’ course of rhythmic exercises would be an ideal preparation for the ballet dancer. I am firmly convinced that until people realise that brains and not feet make a ballet dancer, dancing will not take its rightful place as an equal art to music and painting" (88).

This photograph, which Rambert includes in *Quicksilver* (opposite 64), is dated 1920 by Beryl de Zoete in "The 1,000,000 Mile Journey: V" (the first version of her "A Tribute to My Master Jaques-Dalcroze"), *Ballet* 10:2 (Sept.-Oct. 1950), 37. I believe it may have been taken as early as 1917 or 1918, however, before Thévenaz moved to the United States. The photographer may have been Percy Ingham or Douglas van Schnell, neither of whom is included in the picture.


Percy Ingham, "Outside Classes" Memorandum, 2 Feb. 1916, London File, CIDJD.

Rambert, *Quicksilver*, 85.


34. "Barefoot Eurhythmics on the Lawns," *The Times* (date and month illegible, 1916), in a scrapbook of clippings at the CIDJD.

35. Report following inaugural meeting, July 1915, in the first Dalcroze Society Minutes Book. Their greeting to EJD stated, "With you we recognize that even during the stress of war it is our sacred duty to provide a complete education for the young. Your presence among us gives us stimulus and encouragement..." Early records of the Dalcroze Society and the Dalcroze Teachers' Union are currently located at the residence of Patsy James in West Byfleet. She kindly enabled me to study these materials at length on several different occasions.

36. J.J. Findlay, Professor of Education at the University of Manchester, was described as "a voluminous author, both before and after his retirement in 1925, and an active worker in many fields of educational thought and practice" (Obituary, *The Manchester Guardian*, 10 June 1940). He wrote several articles on the Dalcroze method including "Eurhythmics" (1916), which was reprinted as a pamphlet.

37. Sylvia Meyrick, "The Dalcroze Teachers' Union," *Journal of the Dalcroze Society*, No. 11 (May 1929), 12. By 1929 the Union had seventy members and was the largest national section of the international teachers' union.


40. London File, CIDJD. After a long exchange the right to examine in England was extended in 1918 for a year and then again for six years from June 1, 1919. Further negotiation took place in 1925-26, and eventually the right was again extended.

41. Percy Ingham covered Ethel Driver's fees when she studied for a term in Geneva in Autumn 1917. Copy of letter to Ingham, 10 Oct. 1917, in the London File, CIDJD.

42. Percy Scholes, "Personally Speaking," *The Music Student*, 12:3 (Dec. 1919), 119. Sir W. Henry Hadow, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sheffield and President of the
Dalcroze Society, led with "Notes on Rhythm," an erudite article on rhythm in music and poetry, in which he observed that "the whole art of dancing is now being remodelled from many sides, and in its reconstruction the work of the Dalcroze School will hold an honourable place" (123).


44. Honourable Secretary's Report, Mar. 1919, in the first Dalcroze Society Minutes Book.


46. See, for example, Ernest Read's "Paper Read at the Seventeenth Annual Conference of Educational Associations, 31 Dec. 1928," Journal of the Dalcroze Society, No. 11 (May 1929), 3-9. Read explains that when Dalcroze Eurhythmics "was first introduced in this country, the friends of the method felt it was advisable to present only the movement side of the work. Aural training and sight-singing classes were already established in the good up-to-date secondary schools, and the tonic sol-fa method was all sufficient for the needs of the elementary schools; hence it was considered unnecessary to force yet another method on teachers when they were reasonably satisfied with their own" (3). He then sketches the historical background for various approaches to the training of absolute pitch and relative pitch, trying to show their respective merits. Before discussing Dalcroze work in solfège Read claims it "is something much deeper and broader" than most systems: "It includes training in tonality, keys, intervals, modulation, sight-singing, musical dictation, aural harmony and counterpoint, phrasing and expression, vocal improvisation, melody composition, appreciation of style; in fact, everything that goes to the making of a musician" (7).

47. "Report from the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics," Nov. 1921, in the London File, CIDJD.


49. Ruegg in Tingey, A Record, 76.

50. Laura Campbell still has the papers she wrote in 1938-39 on fifteen Dalcroze subjects. A 1949 Syllabus listed eight basic subjects.

51. Elinor Finley-Archer in Van Maanen (see note 6), 100-101.
52. EJD, Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: La Rythmique (Lausanne: Vol. 1, 1916; Vol. 2, 1917) appeared in English as The Jaques-Dalcroze Method of Eurhythmics: Rhythmic Movement (London: Vol. 1, 1920; Vol. 2, 1921). The important related volume Exercices de plastique animée (Lausanne, 1916) was not published in English. The statement by EJD about the purpose of these books is in Vol. 1, where he also cautions the reader, "Only those who have personal experience of this special form of education can make use of the book, for Eurhythmics is above all a matter of practical experience, and readers who have not had this experience, under the direction of a fully trained and certificated teacher, cannot claim the right to teach the method" (5).


54. In fact few Dalcrozians owned or seemed familiar with these books, which perhaps went out of print fairly soon. They were not reprinted. I am grateful to Madeleine Boss Lasserre and Elizabeth Morton for lending me personal copies of the French and English versions respectively.

55. It is curious to note that over the entire period 1915 to 1939 the number of students who successfully completed the course tended to be seven or eight per year, regardless of whether the entering class size was as large as fifteen or as small as eight. Possibly the staff became more adept at identifying students who would succeed in passing their examinations, or possibly Ingham had to limit the number of students for financial reasons.

56. [Percy Ingham], "Salaries" Form letter to the staff, Jan. 1921, London File, CIDJD.

57. Tingey, A Record, 15.

58. These figures are compiled from reports in Le Rythme from this period.


60. Margaret Nicholls in Van Maanen (see note 6), 94.

61. "United States and Canada February, 1920" circular issued by the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics. This document gives detailed space and piano requirements, fees, and other information pertaining to lecture-demonstrations.

62. Tingey, A Record, 18.

63. For MacCarthy see note 13; see also Clark M. Rogers, "The Influence of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in the Contemporary Theatre," Ph.D. Diss. Louisiana State University 1966.
64. Professor Harrower of Aberdeen quoted by G. Goldie Killin in "Grace McLearn," *Journal of the Dalcroze Society*, No. 12 (Nov. 1929), 10. The music for this production was an original score by W.G. Whittaker, later Director of the Scottish National Academy of Music in Glasgow, who made Dalcroze work an integral part of the curriculum as well as concert and opera production there (see Chapter 7).

65. "'Antigone' at Glasgow," *The Times Educational Supplement*, Mar. [date missing, 1922], in a scrapbook of clippings at the CIDJD.


67. The Dalcroze Society published his address along with others by Edward Lyttelton and A. Clutton-Brock as Paper No. III.

68. See note 26 as well as Alice Weber, "What is Eurhythmics," *The Dancing Times*, Feb. 1921, 440-441.


72. Tingey, *A Record*, 18-19. The other Council members were Ethel Ingham, Gertrude Ingham, Edward Brentwood Maufe, Cecilia John, Mona Swann, and Alice Weber.


77. "Editorial," *Journal of the Dalcroze Society*, May 1934, 3; and Ethel Elizabeth Driver, "Music and Movement as a Career," leaflet reprinted from an article in *Women's
Employment, [c. 1934].


84. Tingey, A Record, 87.

85. See especially André Levinson, La Danse au théâtre (Paris, 1924) and La Danse d’aujourd’hui (Paris, 1929).

86. EJD letter to Gertrude Ingham, 23 May 1932, London File, CIDJD.

87. EJD letter to Gertrude Ingham, 11 June 1932, London File, CIDJD.

88. EJD’s statement (with his letter of 11 June 1932) began: "Too often people confound our method with a system of dance. That stems from our use of body movement to reinforce our physical sensations, and transform them into feelings. For that we have our own technique, which consists of a deep knowledge of the diverse conditions of possible movement of the organism. We know how to move in all degrees of slowness and speed, of impulse, of continuity and of elasticity. We learn to orient ourselves easily in the space around us, which we think of as a collaborator, as an accomplice of movement. We know also all degrees of muscular energy, and the way to grade dynamics."

89. Driver’s works were regularly reported in the Journal of the Dalcroze Society and in the minutes of the Dalcroze Society and the Dalcroze Teachers’ Union. A number of her former students mentioned rehearsing and presenting her studies in Tingey’s A Record, as well. Elizabeth Billaux Ruegg, for example, wrote that Driver "worked out music in movement with us varying from Holst’s Ballet, Earth, Air, Fire and Water from The Perfect Fool to Bach Inventions and Fugues, Debussy’s Nuages or gentle little cradle songs played on her Virginals" (76). It is interesting that Douglas van Schnell, shortly before he left the School in
1926, anticipated the controversy over performing plastic music in his "Eurhythms and Ling's Gymnastics" in The London Dalcroze Teachers' Union Annual News Sheet, 1924-25 (5-9). He raises the following questions: "...It is necessary, in the near future, to find and settle clearly what is Eurhythms. What is the aim? Music? Plastic? Dancing? Is it an artistic one? or a so-called pedagogical one? Is it a remedial system for abnormal people? If it is all these indiscriminately according to the person into whose hands it falls then surely there will soon be as many branches of the method as there are creeds in England to-day, with the same inevitable ineffectiveness. If, on the other hand, there is one Truth, one Big Ideal, then the sooner we find it, concentrate on it and study it the better" (6-7).

90. For information on dance teaching in London in this period see Arnold Haskell and P.J.S. Richardson, eds., Who's Who in Dancing 1932 (London, 1932). Anny Boalth and Anny Fligg were Laban-trained teachers active at this time. Antony Tudor studied Central European Dance with Anny Boalth, for example, and he took (and did not like) classes in Dalcroze Eurhythms with Marie Rambert, as he explained in lectures at York University (Toronto) in Oct. 1972.


92. EJD letter to Cecilia John, 27 Apr. 1936, London File, CIDJD.

93. In 1932 Geneva objected to the London School's admission of American students. Alice Weber wrote (8 Sept. 1932) to explain that these students chose to study in London because they did not speak French. She also asked whether they might do the course in two rather than three years, but Geneva would only allow them to do their second year in London; the third would have to be completed in Geneva or New York. Any other arrangement would "create a dangerous precedent" (letter from Mlle Cochard to Alice Weber, 22 Sept. 1932). This exchange is in the London File, CIDJD.


95. She points out the key problem that "Monsieur Dalcroze's initial work has had such a vital influence on education, on music, on physical training, on the dance, on choreography, on the drama, on speech-training, in short, on every subject connected in any way with Music, Art and Education, that it is rapidly becoming absorbed into the life-blood of the community, the people benefiting from his ideas as often as not completely ignorant of the fact" (3).

96. Minutes of informal meeting, 11 Feb. 1940, in the Dalcroze Teachers' Union Committee Meetings Book, 1936 to 1948.
Chapter 6. The Teaching Expands


15. Tingey, "A Tribute to Winifred Houghton," 18-21. Houghton also taught theatre and ballet students at the Old Vic and Sadler’s Wells during the early 1930s. The topic of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in professional training schools is discussed in Chapter 7.


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35. John, "Whither?" 13. Despite the Hadow Report, which advocated the change to "primary" and "secondary schools" in 1926, there were still many "elementary schools" when she was writing in 1935.

36. Tingey in *A Record* identifies Constance Boyle (61), Phyllis Crawhall-Wilson (91), Catherine Tosh (99) and Constance Willoughby (99) as having led the work in state schools.

38. Robert Skidelsky, for example, begins his English Progressive Schools (London, 1969) with the question "What is progressive education? The term conjures up various phrases from history's scrap-book: learning-by-doing, Arts and Crafts, Dalcroze eurhythmics, self-expression, free discipline" (13). John Stevenson, in British Society 1914-45 (London, 1984), wrote that the numbers in "efficient" independent schools in England and Wales "rose from 22,000 in 1914, to 82,000 in 1930, reaching 204,000 by 1950" (254). Josephine Kamm, in Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (London, 1965), points out that the early twentieth century was also a period of unprecedented growth in the numbers of girls receiving significant educations. She provides the information that "in 1897 only 20,000 girls were being educated in recognized secondary schools; but in a little over twenty years the number had grown to 185,000" and "by 1936 the number had increased to 500,000; but even so, girls attending recognized secondary schools were far outnumbered by boys" (233).

39. Stevenson, British Society 1914-45, 256. He continues, "these progressive experiments were only a tiny portion of even the private educational sector, but nevertheless illustrated a tendency shared by an increasing number of educationalists to liberalize children from pointless discipline, encouraging rather than enforcing character development and, often, displaying a more open attitude to sexual matters."


41. D.J. Foxon, History of Moira House: A Progressive School (Eastbourne, n.d.), 3. Wordsworth numbered among her many famous pupils feminist Margaret Cole and two company founders, Ninette de Valois (Royal Ballet) and Gweneth Lloyd (Royal Winnipeg Ballet).

42. Gertrude Ingham, "Moira House: As It Was, As It Is, As It May Be," The Shuttle, 1925, 13.

43. Madge N. O. Baily, "Impressions that Remain," The Shuttle, 1925, 23.

44. Gertrude Ingham, "The Place of Dalcroze Eurhythmics in the School Curriculum," Compte rendu du 1er Congrès du rythme (Geneva, 1926), 163.


47. Gertrude Ingham, "The Place of Dalcroze Eurhythmics," 167.


50. Swann, in "A Sower Went Forth . . . " in Journal of the Dalcroze Society, No. 12 (Nov. 1929), 13-14, discussed three other methods of verse-speaking: Marjorie Gullan's "Rhythmic Movement to Spoken Poetry," Rudolf Steiner's "Eurhythmies," and Mrs. Acton Bond's "Euchorics." She also mentioned the Socialist speechchoirs of Northern England and Germany, as well as John Masefield and the Scottish Association for the Speaking of Verse. Dalcroziens disliked the frequent confusion of the term "Eurhythmics" with "Eurhythmie," the "Art of Movement" which Steiner initiated around 1912 at Dornach, Switzerland. An editorial in the Journal of the Dalcroze Society, No. 2 (Nov. 1924), stated, "It has been suggested that, as we link the founder's name to that of the system and speak of Dalcroze Eurhythmics, it would be courteous of the supporters of Dr. Steiner to do likewise, and to avoid confusion by defining his method as Steiner Eurhythmie" (2).


52. Margaret Nicholls in Hettie Van Maanen, comp., La Rythmigue Jaques-Dalcroze: Stories Yesterday and Today (Geneva, 1981), 94. Nicholls, whose mother founded The Garden School in 1917, trained in London and returned to teach the method beginning in 1929; other notable Dalcroziens joined her at various times before the school closed in 1965. There, as at Moira House, rhythmic mime and choral speaking became a tradition, along with presentations of music, drama, and poetry composed by the pupils.

53. Marjory M. Bates and Jean M. Henderson, comps., Miss Gilpin and the Hall School: A Record of Adventure and Achievement in Education (London, 1949), 5. Subsequent notes refer to this book as Miss Gilpin.


55. John Harvey letter quoted by Sally Graham in "Dalcroze Eurhythmics," 30. Sally Graham, John Harvey's niece and also a relative of Eva Gilpin and Michael Sadler, has met me frequently, lent materials, and generously facilitated
my research on both Hellerau and the Hall School.


57. Among Gilpin's productions were the medieval French musical plays Aucassin et Nicolette (1917) and Amis et Amiles (1919), The Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens (1920), The History of Don Quixote (1922), Une Nativité (1923), Jeanne d'Arc (1924), The Rime of the Ancient Mariner (1926), The Lay of Sir Orpheo and Dame Erodys (1928), and The Water Babies (1931). They are discussed at length in both Miss Gilpin and A Lasting Spring. Sally Graham kindly lent me copies of the books of the productions, which were published in small editions and are extremely rare. Complete sets are held by the British Library, the Bodleian Library, and the Brotherton Library, University of Leeds.


61. See Geoffrey Whitworth's Introduction to Miss Gilpin, 9-10, as well as the reviews from London newspapers quoted by Mary Vear in the chapter "The Plays" in A Lasting Spring, 59-84.

62. Forster's review from The Times Literary Supplement is quoted in full by Vear in "The Plays," 67-68. This phrase and the two quotations which follow are taken from 68.


64. Mary Pelloe quoted in the chapter "A Liberal Education" in A Lasting Spring, 108. Pelloe, later educated at the Royal College of Music and at Oxford, taught for many years at Barr's Hill School in Coventry. Sally Graham kindly arranged for me to interview Pelloe on 29 Nov. 1987.


68. A. S. Neill, "Hellerau International School," The New Era 3:9 (Jan. 1922), 32. I have found no indication that Eurhythmics was later taught at Summerhill, perhaps the most famous of England's progressive schools.


72. Quoted in Daniel, Frensham Heights, 12.

73. Jonathan Hughes kindly arranged for me to view this film during my visit to Frensham Heights on 5 June 1989. I first learned about Frensham Heights from Charlotte Blensdorff MacJannet, former President of FIER, during meetings in 1981 and 1983 in Geneva. She taught at Frensham Heights for a year in the late 1920s.

74. Winifred Edwards, "Dartington Hall, Devonshire," Journal of the Dalcroze Society, May 1934, 37. Margaret Barr, who had trained with Martha Graham, produced a number of works in the American modern dance idiom at Dartington, as described and shown in photographs in various issues of Theatre Arts during the early 1930s. Her work is mentioned in Michael Young's The Elmhirsts of Dartington: The Creation of an Utopian Community (London, 1982), 223-225. Barr later worked in New Zealand. Louise Soelberg's career is traced in detail in Ellen Van Volkenburg Browne and Edward Nordhoff Beck, eds., Miss Aunt Nellie: The Autobiography of Nellie C. Cornish (Seattle, 1964). Although I visited Dartington Hall, the Archives could not locate documents relating to Eurhythmics teaching there.


76. For this remarkable history, see Leila Rendel, The Caldecott Community: A Survey of Forty-eight Years (Ashford,
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77. See Margaret McMillan’s *The Nursery School* (London, 1921), 213-216 for her discussion of music and dancing. She quotes EJD at length and refers to the work of Marie Salt, an English precursor, whose approach to teaching rhythmic movement was recommended by Stewart Macpherson.

78. Désirée Martin kindly gave me a copy of the *King Saul* flyer. Martin produced this play in the tradition of Beck with Caldecott children on 25 Feb. 1939 at the Rudolf Steiner Hall, London.

79. Quoted in the flyer for *King Saul*.


84. "From the Manchester Education Committee," 5.


88. M[arjorie] Storr, "Modern Educational Theories and Their Application to the Teaching of Dalcroze Eurhythmics," *Journal of the Dalcroze Society*, May 1935, 17. Although she was not a Dalcroze specialist, Storr knew and understood the method well. Her father, Francis Storr,
former editor of *The Journal of Education*, had been a friend and colleague of Percy Ingham at Merchant Taylors’ School. She herself published several books on music education.

89. *Recent Developments in School Music* (London, 1933), Board of Education Educational Pamphlet, No. 95, in the section on "Rhythmic Work," states, "It must regretfully be recorded that much poor teaching which has come under observation is the result of inadequate training; inefficient pianoforte playing and in particular unskilled extemporisation at the piano is also to blame. This is all the more unnecessary because there is plenty of good music available" (31).

Chapter 7. Endings and New Beginnings

1. Tingey, A Record, 33.

2. Ann Driver was virtually expelled from the London School according to one source, and several others confirmed that the circumstances of her departure were unhappy. Ann Driver probably did not get along well with Cecilia John, who had a difficult personality. Many others such as Tingey and her sister Joan Bottard had serious problems in working with John, whereas Ethel Driver and John seem to have had a solid partnership which lasted until John’s death in 1955.


8. Lester Ward Parker, School Broadcasting in Great Britain (Chicago, 1937), 29.

9. BBC Music Handbook for Teachers (London, 1935), 34. See other years, particularly 1937, when a separate handbook was published for Driver’s programmes: Notes on Music and Movement for Infants and Juniors by Ann Driver.


14. A draft of the letter which was sent to ten newspapers and three music journals is appended to the Minutes for 5 Dec. 1934. At the next meeting (3 Jan. 1935) it was reported that "the Morning Post and Telegraph had acknowledged receipt of this letter but regretted there was no space to publish it. The Musical Opinion had published it and the Manchester Guardian wrote saying they would put a paragraph of the letter into their wireless notes." Not surprisingly, Driver changed the name of her private studio at this time from School of Applied Eurhythmics to Ann Driver School of Music and Movement (Driver Correspondence, BBC Written Archives).

15. A collection of Driver's scripts and handbooks is located at the BBC Written Archives. I listened to a number of her recordings at the National Sound Archive. I viewed Lessons from the Air (1944), a 35 mm. newsreel about BBC schools broadcasts, at the British Film Institute.

16. Script for a recording made before 24 Nov. 1936, BBC Written Archives.


19. Ann Driver, "Music for Young Children through Radio," *FIER Bulletin*, 1979 (No. 2), 3. This is a memoir of her pioneering work, filled with many fascinating details. Heather Gell and Jean Wilson Vincent, also early graduates of the London School, gave similar broadcasts for many years in Australia (Interview with Jean Vincent, 16 June 1987).

20. Ann Driver, *Music and Movement* (London, 1936), 107. She goes on to say, "the lasting value of the work lies in the power the child develops to work out things for himself spontaneously and without fear."


23. Phyllis Bedells, *My Dancing Days* (London, 1954), 207; and Ann Driver and Rosalind Ramirez, *Something Particular* (London, 1955). The latter is an account of teaching "Their Royal Highnesses the Princes of Gloucester and their friends." Ramirez, who was a teacher and H.M.I., met Driver during the 1930s and was a very close friend. She was working with her on the "Words and Music" concerts they gave until shortly before Driver's death in June 1985 (Interview with Rosalind Ramirez, 1-2 June 1989).
24. Laura Campbell, "Ann Driver," Le Rythme, (Dec. 1985), 15, for example. Campbell wrote that she "was one of the very greatest Rythmicians and probably the teacher with the most extensive influence, through her BBC broadcast lessons over many years. Unfortunately these were just called 'Music and Movement', not Dalcroze Eurhythmics, which is what they were: had they been called that, Dalcroze work in Britain would doubtless be in a stronger position than it is today, as widely known as the names of Kodaly and Orff."

25. Driver was unable to work during the long illness of her husband, the poet Trevor Blakemore, who died in 1953. She later contributed music for programmes such as Listen with Mother, Listen on Saturday, and Let's Join In.

26. S. Thornton, A Movement Perspective of Rudolf Laban (London, 1971), 184. He explains that "Vera Gray, who, as well as being the producer, also selects and arranges the music, attended many courses by Laban, whilst Rachel Percival, responsible for the movement content of the programmes, was trained by him."


28. Vera Gray and Rachel Percival, Music, Movement, and Mime for Children (London, 1962), 1-15. Gray chose music from the works of established composers and also advocated the use of hand-held percussion; piano improvisation is not part of her approach. These BBC broadcasts continued in 1970 under the changed titles Movement and Music and Movement, Mime and Music, the former providing "over 90 per cent of infant schools with general imaginative stimulus as well as experience in movement and music," according to the BBC Handbook (London, 1970), 75.


music, the latter states a position which is essentially against work such as Dalcroze Eurhythmics and Driver's Music and Movement: "It is sometimes assumed that all children can move easily and spontaneously to music, but some only do so with difficulty, while a few are reluctant to do so at all; and it should not be forgotten that to ask young children to move in strict accordance with the music is to demand much both of their powers of listening and of moving" (21). In another Ministry pamphlet, Story of a School (London, 1949), a headmaster discusses experiences in his school based on Laban work. At first, he wrote, a "mistake we made was that we superimposed a rhythm by a too definite direction from the piano," but once that was corrected "the children were beginning to express themselves in movement without any fear" (14).

32. Fletcher, Women First, 92 and 97. Among others who have studied Laban's influence in English education are S. Thornton, A Movement Perspective of Rudolf Laban; John Foster, The Influence of Rudolph Laban (London, 1977); and John Hodgson and Valerie Preston-Dunlop, Rudolf Laban: An Introduction to his Work and Influence (Plymouth, 1990). Fletcher's useful study suggests that the process by which Laban was taken up, in combination with other economic and social changes, later had a critical bearing on physical education, so that a profession which had been created and defined by women until the 1950s was thereafter essentially dominated by men.


36. "Dalcroze Eurhythmics," undated mimeographed leaflet. "What is Dalcroze?" is a more recent information sheet which states, "Dalcroze is both music and movement. Using bodily movement, all aspects of music are explored and developed. It is both music education and education through music. It can also be pursued purely as recreation, being suitable for all ages, and it is used in therapeutic work."

37. Violet Bruce, for example, has led movement sessions for Dalcroze courses; see her Dance and Dance Drama in Education (Oxford, 1965). Bruce's chapter "Movement and Dance" is included in J.P.B. Dobbs, The Slow Learner and Music: A Handbook for Teachers (London, 1966). Dobbs is the current President of the Dalcroze Society.

38. I learned about this connection at a Weekend of Music and


40. Mary Seaman, "A Reply to People who say we have No Technique of Movement," Journal of the Dalcroze Society, No. 17 (May 1933), 15.

41. Seaman, "A Reply," 16. Years later, Mary Seaman May wrote, "Movement interested me so much, not only for myself, but because in our work we require our pupils to move in many different ways and at many different speeds. I became aware that one must know as much as is needful, and the more the better, about the instrument (in this case the body) which is being used. I spent a good deal of my spare time in following other physical methods, dance, classical ballet or Central European, remedial gymnastics such as Mensendieck, etc., etc. I also did Yoga classes. The approach to movement in each case was very different, aesthetic, athletic, remedial or spiritual...." (May in Tingey, A Record, 72). In our interview, Hawkins stressed, "the necessity of a trained body" for Dalcroze teachers. Several others have mentioned in interviews that they felt insecure in movement work, saying they wished they had studied one or another additional approach.

42. Cecilia John letter to EJD, 17 Feb. 1938, London File, CIDJD. Tingey says that EJD last visited England in 1937 (in A Record, 22), but correspondence in the London File indicates that he definitely visited in the summer of 1938. Laura Campbell is certain that he also came and examined in 1939, when she completed her training.

43. Cecilia John letter to EJD, 28 Sept. 1939, London File, CIDJD.

44. Excerpt from Cecilia John letter to Winifred Houghton quoted in the short, war-time version of the Dalcroze Teachers' Union News Sheet, Nov. 1942, 1.

45. Note about Martin, Dalcroze Teachers' Union News Sheet, Nov. 1942, 2. "She continued all through the blitz and never arrived late," it adds.

46. Tingey, A Record, 26.

47. [Cecilia John], "Editorial. 1913--1943," The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics: The Record of Thirty Years, 1913-1943, [1943], 3.

48. Money was still owed on the Fitzroy Square building when it was destroyed by bombing. Apparently, when the war damage claim was settled several years later, the money
and the value of the land went to the bank (see Tingey, *A Record*, 22). I have not been able to find out how the large Milland Place property was financed.

49. Gertrude Ingham letter to EJD, 26 Mar. 1946, London File, CICJD. Ingham commented that John was right to keep the School going, whereas Tingey and Bottard had both worked on the war effort. Tingey continued her WVS work after the war. As head of food services, she developed the whole concept of organized meals-on-wheels, for which she was widely recognized and honoured.

50. Ernest Read letter to EJD, 28 Feb. 1948, London File, CICJD.

51. Tingey, *A Record*, 25-27, explains this development, which is also extensively discussed in meetings and correspondence between 1946 and 1950. Désirée Martin in our interviews (17 Oct. and 3-5 Nov. 1986) clarified several details in Tingey's account, and explained that it was she (Martin) who asked the group of colleagues if they would each contribute money to get it started.


55. Minutes of meeting, 12 July 1951, in the Dalcroze Teachers' Union Minutes Book, 1948 to 1952.


57. Minutes of meeting, 2 Apr. 1955, in the Dalcroze Teachers' Union Minutes Book, 1953 to 1959. The minutes from this period indicate how uncertain they were about what actions to take.

58. The teachers worked incredibly hard because they wanted so much to continue offering Dalcroze training, according to
Patsy James, who was a student in the early 1950s (Interview, 30 Nov. 1987). Her mother, Vera Bideleux James, taught at the Centre in this period. From three to six students completed their studies each year during the 1950s.


60. Report of Annual General Meeting [of the Dalcroze Society?] dated 15 Apr. 1967, in the Dalcroze Teachers' Union Minutes Envelope, 1965 to 1967. By this time the Dalcroze Society and the Dalcroze Teachers' Union were becoming more or less one and the same. They later tried to merge formally but could not do so because of a legal technicality.

61. They were unable to renew the lease at Newton Road, and their financial situation was the major concern according to minutes of various meetings of this period.


64. Events as reported in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze Centenary*, 9. Rambert spoke at the Little Missenden Festival of Arts, 10 Oct. 1964.

65. Clarke's address to the Hastings National Council of Women Meeting, 5 Nov. 1964, was titled "Modern Trends in Physical Education." Clarke had suggested several times, at meetings of the Dalcroze Teachers' Union during the 1930s and 1940s, that if Dalcroze teachers could add a second subject such as dancing they might more easily find employment in secondary schools in the public education system.

66. As reported in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze Centenary*, 14.

67. As quoted in *Emile Jaques-Dalcroze Centenary*, 12. Vivien Soldan Molteno showed me photographs of this and another original Frensham Heights production called *The Road*, which was also well received (Interview, 27 Nov. 1987). Her work in the 1950s and 1960s was, in a sense, similar to the earlier Hall School approach, except that she worked with older children and contemporary issues.


69. At this time the Dalcroze Society offered an examination for the "Specialist Qualification" for teachers or students
of subjects such as music, dance, or physical education, after a minimum of thirty hours study under a Dalcroze graduate and participation at one intensive course (Tingey, A Record, 127). An "Elementary Qualification" was also available for "State qualified teachers wishing to add Eurhythmics to their ordinary work," after ninety hours of study and three intensive courses. More advanced work at the "Licentiate" level was also arranged according to individual capability and interest. None of these gave "State qualified teacher status" according to Tingey (128). Despite the training which developed in the 1970s and 1980s, the qualification problem continues today. In 1990 the lack of a full, accredited course to train Dalcroze teachers who can be recognized by the Department of Education and Science was considered to be one of the Society's most important problems.

70. When I first met Vanderspar in 1966, she suggested many ways of pursuing research on Hellerau. In 1978 she put me in touch with Tingey. I studied with Vanderspar in Geneva (July 1981) and had several chances to meet her then and again in July 1985. At Roehampton I observed her classes on 30 Oct. 1986; we met on 7 and 12 Nov. 1986 for more detailed discussion of the English history.

71. Sandra Nash, then a student from Australia, where she had first studied with Heather Gell, went on to Geneva for her diplôme before teaching at Laval Université in Québec for several years. In May 1982 we worked together at Laval and at York University (Toronto) on a video documentation of early Dalcroze exercises and studies.

72. Helen Read at the Dalcroze Society Annual General Meeting (1982) as quoted by Bill Eltham in a letter in the Dalcroze Society Newsletter, Summer 1982, 2. Helen Read was a student at the London School when she met Ernest Read in the 1920s, and they were both very active in the Dalcroze Society for many years. After his death in 1965 she directed the Ernest Read Music Associations, which administered the youth orchestras, courses, and other activities he established.

73. Interviews with Karin Greenhead, 11 Nov. 1990 and 3-6 Jan. 1991. These meetings were very important in helping me to understand developments since 1980.


75. Elizabeth Vanderspar, talk at Southlands College, 30 May 1987.

76. Taylor, Music Now, 11-12.

77. Taylor, Music Now, 45. See also 47-49. Orff work
is quite familiar to me because several of my colleagues are trained in this method and use it in their teaching.

78. This view of the three methods compared has been expressed to me in various ways by many people on both sides of the Atlantic. I had the opportunity to study Kodaly privately in 1982-83 with Edith Lantos, who trained with Kodaly in Hungary.


80. Interview with Gwen Rabinowitz, 3 June 1987, during which she kindly showed me her video Eurhythmics in the Primary School (taped in 1983), which is intended as a resource for teachers. Two groups of East Croydon school children are shown in a variety of typical Dalcroze exercises. In her thesis the five settings studied are Flexlands School, an independent school in Surrey where Patsy James teaches; East Hertfordshire LEA Nursery, Infant, and Junior Schools taught by peripatetic music specialists; Buntingford Music Centre in the same LEA; the Guildhall School of Music and Drama; and the Royal Ballet School. Patsy James gave me a delightful and informative tour of Flexlands School, where she runs the entire music programme; I watched her teach a lesson also (6 June 1988).

81. Tingey, A Record, 41.


84. Interviews with Désirée Martin, 17 Oct. and 3-5 Nov. 1986. Martin had recently attended a performance at Covent Garden as the guest of Dowell, Director of the Royal Ballet.

85. Letter received from Ninette de Valois, 1 Nov. 1983. She stated that her choreography for Rhythm (1927) was influenced by this background.

86. Interview with Priscilla Barclay, 23 Oct. 1986. Other Dalcroze teachers who have recently worked in therapy include Pam Hook and Betty Rayment. Rayment worked for a number of years at the Caldecott Community.

87. Priscilla Barclay in Tingey, A Record, 79.

89. Barclay was involved in founding the British Society for Music Therapy. Her work was shown in Juliette Alvin’s film *Music and the Mind* for BBC television. In our interview Barclay said that she thinks a key difficulty with Dalcroze training today is that people will not put up with the job combinations and heavy schedules which the earlier teachers accepted; they now expect professional recognition and salaries.


93. Rabinowitz is now Chair of the Dalcroze Society. I am grateful to Rabinowitz, Stewart, and Taylor for many valuable suggestions and helpful discussion during the period of our concurrent research.


95. Elizabeth Vanderspar, talk at Southlands College, 30 May 1987.
The Bibliography lists books, articles, reviews, and published music. A separate section called Additional Sources follows with information on unpublished writings, ephemera, films and videos, sound recordings, and interviews.

The Bibliography is in two parts. The published writings and music of Jaques-Dalcroze used for this study appear first under Works by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze. This listing represents only a selection of his many published works.

The listing of Works by Other Authors follows. I cross-reference the authors of chapters in certain books to the full entry under the editor or compiler's name, for example:


Works by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze

"A la memoire de Nina Gorter." Le Rythme No. 10 (Nov. 1922), 4.

Le coeur chante. Geneva: Ch. Eggimann, [1900].


Chansons callisthéniques: mise en scène de E. Jaques-Dalcroze et de Mlle Nina Gorter. [Geneva, 1904].


Exercices pratiques d'intonation dans l'étendue d'une dixième et solfèges avec paroles. Geneva: Ch. Eggimann, 1894.


Méthode Jaques-Dalcroze: pour le développement de l'instinct rythmique, du sens auditif et du sentiment tonal. Neuchâtel: Sandoz, Jobin, 1906-1909. This series was originally projected to have 5 parts (in 8 vols.) but 3 vols. of the planned series apparently did not appear. The published parts included Gymnastique rythmique; Etude de la portée musicale; Les Gammes et les tonalités, le phrasé et les nuances; Les Intervalles et les accords; L'Improvisation et l'accompagnement au piano; two volumes of Marches rythmiques; and La Respiration et l'innervation musculaire: planches anatomiques en supplément à la méthode de gymnastique rythmique.


"Music and the War." The Musical Times 56 (1 Nov. 1915), 656-657.


"On the Art of the Circus." The Educational Times (Jan. 1921), 17.


"Réflexions d'un vieux musicien." *Journal de Genève* 23 Apr. 1946.

*La Réforme de l'enseignement musical à l'école.* Lausanne: Payot, 1905.

*Refrains bellettriens.* Vevey: Roth, 1891.


*La Rythmique.* Lausanne: Jobin, 1916 and 1917.

*Solfège rythmique vocal.* Lausanne: Jobin, 1925.

*Souvenirs, notes et critiques.* Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1942.
Works by Other Authors


"'Antigone' at Glasgow." *The Times Educational Supplement* Mar. [date missing, 1922].


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Clarke, Edith R. "The Dalcroze College at Hellerau, Dresden." Tingey, 4-8.


Dalcroze, Emile Jaques-. References to publications by Jaques-Dalcroze are listed in a separate section at the beginning of the Bibliography.


"The Dalcroze Movement in England." *The Dalcroze College Journal* (Special English Number of the *Berichte der Dalcroze-Schule*) Nov. 1913, 18-19.


Driver, Ethel Elizabeth. "Music and Movement as a Career." Reprint of an article in Women's Employment [c. 1934].


"Le Festival vaudois." La Patrie Suisse 10:256 (15 July 1903), 164-166.


Flournoy, Théodore. "Chorégraphie somnambulique: le cas de Magdeleine G." *Archives de Psychologie* 3 (1904), 357-374.

Forster, E. M. Rev. of *The Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens.* Henderson. 67-68. Orig. in *The Times Literary Supplement.*


Freeman, Isa. "Impressions at the Jaques-Dalcroze College." *The Dalcroze College Journal* (Special English Number of the *Berichte der Dalcroze-Schule*) Nov. 1913, 11-17.

"From the Manchester Education Committee: Notes on Experiments in Eurhythmics in Manchester." *The London Dalcroze Teachers’ Union Annual News Sheet, 1922-23*, 4-5.


*Gazette de Lausanne* 25 July 1895. Review of *Exercices pratiques d’intonation* by Jaques-Dalcroze, signed "G. H."


Hall School (Weybridge). Books of the productions of Aucassin et Nicolette (1917), Amis et Amiles (1919), The Ballad of Sir Patrick Spens (1920), The History of Don Quixote (1922), Une Nativite (1923), Jeanne d'Arc (1924), The Rime of the Ancient Mariner (1926), The Lay of Sir Orpheo and Dame Erodys (1928), and The Water Babies (1931).


Ingham, Ethel. "Lessons at Hellerau." Harvey, 48-54.

Ingham, Ethel. "Life at Hellerau." Harvey, 55-59.


Jaques-Dalcroze, Emile. References to publications by Jaques-Dalcroze are listed in a separate section at the beginning of the Bibliography.


The London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics: The Record of Thirty Years, 1913-1943. [1943].


Macpherson, Stewart and Ernest Read. Aural Culture Based upon Musical Appreciation. London: Joseph Williams, 1912.


La Méthode de gymnastique rythmique de E. Jaques-Dalcroze: Extraits de critiques parus à la suite du Congrès de Soleure sur "L'Enseignement musical à l'école". Neuchâtel: Sandoz, Jobin, [1905].


*The Musical Times* 49 (1 Nov. 1908), 734. Note beginning: "The excellence of the system of musical rhythmic ...."


"Of the cult of Eurhythmics." *Punch* 160 (4 May 1921), 360.


Read, Herbert. Education through Art. London: Faber and Faber, 1943.

Recent Developments in School Music. London: Board of Education Educational Pamphlet No. 95, 1933.


Sadler, M. E. "The Educational Significance of Hellerau." Harvey, 11-14.

Sadler, M.T.H. "The Value of Eurhythmics to Art." Harvey, 60-64.

Salt, Marie. "The Realization and Expression of Music through Movement." Macpherson and Read, follows 112 (i-xv) as Appendix to Part I.


Seaman [May], Mary. "A Reply to People who say we have No Technique of Movement." Journal of the Dalcroze Society May 1933, 15-16.


"United States and Canada February, 1920." Circular issued by the London School of Dalcroze Eurhythmics.


"What Are 'Eurhythmics'?” The Graphic. 23 Nov. 1912, 808.


Additional Sources

Unpublished Writings

It would be impossible to make a complete listing of the many unpublished materials I consulted in libraries, archives, and private collections. Specific examples of such materials are cited in the notes. The main types are teaching notes, lesson plans, syllabuses; student notes; minutes and other documents of schools and organizations; letters and memoranda; musical notations and scores; and scripts.

Ephemera

Printed school announcements, lecture-demonstration programmes, posters, flyers, and photographs are among the other types of materials I consulted for this study.

Films and Videos


Frensham Heights School. [early 1930s]. 16 mm. black and white film of school activities, including Dalcroze Eurhythmics. Frensham Heights School, Farnham, Surrey.

Lessons from the Air. 1944. 35 mm. black and white news-reel about BBC schools broadcasts, includes segment on the work of Ann Driver. British Film Institute, London.


Van Maanen, Hettie. Videotaped lessons and interview. Made during Jan. 1984 when she was Artist in Residence in the Department of Dance, Faculty of Fine Arts, York University, Toronto. In my possession.

Sound Recordings

