

# Athena Meets Venus: Visions of Women in Social Dance in the Teens and Early 1920s

Julie Malnig

In a 1915 editorial of *The Ladies Home Journal*, social commentator Dorothy Mills pondered the issue of the “woman question,” and in a few vivid sentences summed up much of the public’s reaction to women’s readjusted place in society during the Progressive era. What was one to make of the fact that women were declaring the right to vote, divorcing their husbands at a greater pace than ever and demanding fulfilling work outside of marriage? Said Mills:

The “New Girl” that some of us proclaim, and many of us don’t believe in at all and more of us dread, is not a fantastic creature, a third sex, a super-woman. She is the eternal woman, with her love for man and child her eternal necessity, plus perhaps only one thing: a certain awkward realization of herself as more of a personality, a unit. Do you see how that can be the starting point of an infinite variety of developments, of activities, of theories? (Mills 1915, 3)

Mills grasps for an image that illustrates how contemporary women were assuming new professional responsibilities and greater public roles, but she is clearly conflicted. Could women assert themselves publicly yet retain some vestige of their traditionally feminine roles? Were women metamorphosing beyond recognition? This clearly was an anxiety expressed in much of the popular journalism of the time. And the images, as well, reflected a profound ambiguity regarding women’s status. Flipping through the pages of a contemporary women’s magazine, just what might a woman reader of the 1910s and early 1920s have encountered? Might the images and iconography have conveyed anything about her desires and dreams? Might she have found an image that would accurately represent her, or at least offer her the possibility of a self she could conceivably inhabit?

One striking motif, in particular, came to dominate the imagery of these popular magazines: images that were drawn rather freely from both Greek and Roman antiquity but were updated (and often misconstrued) for a contemporary audience. The way these mythological references were placed into service reflected competing cultural views of contemporary wom-

---

Julie Malnig is an assistant professor in the Gallatin School of Individualized Study at New York University where she co-directs the Gallatin Interdisciplinary Arts Program and teaches courses in theatre and dance performance. She is the author of *Dancing Till Dawn: A Century of Exhibition Ballroom Dance* and numerous articles on the history of social dance in the U.S. She has served as Editor-Designate of *Dance Research Journal* for 1999, and will assume the editorship in 2000.

anhood. Ubiquitous in the teens were Grecian images of models wearing Greek-inspired designs, or sketches of contemporary women in ancient settings, symbolic of one version of the “modern” woman as cultured, refined, genteel. Typically graceful and smart, this image suggests a modern-day Athena who was at once clever and judicious, cultured and well-rounded, a woman who could as easily grow magnolias as she could manage the household finances or conduct a tango tea. Venus, her counterpart, was most often depicted as a young, sprightly woman, who prefigured the early twenties flapper. Often a working woman, she possessed a restless enthusiasm for life and connoted a new type of female sexuality, characterized by a healthy and buoyant physicality. From promotional advertisements for movies such as *The Temple of Venus* (featuring “200 classic dancers”), to corset ads featuring “America’s Venus,” the images represented an engagingly playful sexuality. Both of these typologies, drawn from images of antiquity and mythology, expressed an ongoing tension regarding expectations for women in American middle-class culture and underscored the often dichotomous roles women were asked to serve.

In order to discern what popular periodicals and their images suggested to a new generation of American, primarily middle-class women, who were grappling with the enormous cultural transition from nineteenth- to twentieth-century values, I analyzed selected dance magazines of the teens and early twenties, including *The Modern Dance Magazine* and *Dance Lovers Magazine* (1), alongside some of the most popular and prominent women’s fashion and general interest magazines of the same period, such as *The Ladies Home Journal* and *McCall’s*, two of the so-called “Big Six” women’s publications. Although women’s magazines had been popular since the late nineteenth century, by the second decade of the twentieth century, they had come to assume a particularly prominent place in the lives of primarily urban, white, middle-class women, serving as social, cultural and even moral guideposts for their functioning in the expanding economy of leisure and commodity consumption (2).

Dance magazines, of course, served an appreciably smaller audience, and by today’s standards could be considered “niche” publications, designed for specialized markets. *Modern Dance Magazine* catered to a decidedly middle- to upper middle-class reader; and *Dance Lovers*, in the category of “pulp” magazines—which were typically theme-oriented publications built around action stories, with a great emphasis on visuals (see Gaw 1942, 120-121)—may have appealed to a combined readership. *Dance Lovers* was launched on the wings of *True Story*, a highly successful confessional magazine established by Bernarr Macfadden in 1919. It contained many of the standard characteristics of the pulp magazine, although it aspired toward a more elevated style. (At twenty-five cents a copy on the newsstand, and \$3.00 for a subscription, *True Story* was slightly more expensive than most pulps and presumably reached an audience of slightly higher means.)

What I have found particularly striking is how the dance magazines, though few in number and shorter lived, came to mirror the styles, strategies and trends of the women’s consumer magazines, through advertising and articles appealing to socially debated issues of the day—such as women’s suffrage, health reform, sexuality and the new leisure culture—as well as through alluring visual designs and romantic serial fiction. At the same time that dance magazines promoted dance and informed readers of the latest dance practices, they also became tools in the dissemination of the “new” and evolving concepts of womanhood that were already being discussed in the culture at large. Placing dance magazines side-by-side with the women’s and fashion consumer publications facilitates a clearer understanding of how dance magazines got swept up in an increasingly consumer-oriented culture and how they came, in effect, to “sell” dance. Indeed, I argue that the reason the ballroom dance phe-

nomenon flourished as it did in the early decades of the century had to do with its widespread commercialization in newspapers, books and magazines. Part of my discussion, then, concerns precisely how “new” or evolving concepts of womanhood, that were widely discussed in American culture at this time, became tools in promoting dance to women readers.

Three closely linked phenomena overlap in this essay: a burgeoning interest and change in social dance practices, resulting in the social dance “craze” of the teens; the rise of the “new woman,” who was symbolic of women’s fuller emergence into public life (particularly into those spheres traditionally belonging to men); and the ascendancy of the mass subscription magazine. My aims, then, are to explore the points of intersection among these phenomena and to demonstrate how they worked together to create composites or “types” suggestive of new roles, postures and behaviors for women. I examine how dance magazines, as cultural vehicles, assisted women readers in imagining themselves as “new women,” and I illustrate what the images and iconography revealed about women’s changing roles in dance. The ideas of cultural historian Martha Banta, in *Imaging American Women*, are instructive here. Particularly relevant is her analysis of how the typology of the female image became pronounced in the early decades of this century, as Americans were struggling to situate and identify themselves within a new culture. Beyond merely confining women to stereotypes, however, Banta explores how the “type” might have actually assisted women in locating themselves within what she refers to as the “confusion of cultural signs that threatened to engulf her” (Banta 1987, xxx) in the heightened, visual consumer culture of the early twentieth century.

The central methodological underpinnings of this essay bear some explanation. Determining with any true accuracy the attitudes, behaviors and preferences of a reading audience—in this case a female, white, largely urban middle-class population—some seventy years after the fact is a difficult proposition. For one, ascertaining verifiable statistics proves difficult since marketing data from the period is scarce, especially since publishers were not required to list circulation and subscription figures. Further, as magazine historian Christopher Wilson notes, “We cannot account fully for readers’ prior expectations or competing environments; nor can we assume that readers adopted editorial wisdom uncritically” (1983, 41). While it may be true that we can’t know with certainty how women may have responded or, indeed, changed their lives as a result of these illustrations, the researcher can, however, ascertain information by piecing together several strands of information: how the magazines conceptualized the “new woman” (through advertising, image and prose); the cultural presumptions magazine editors drew on; and how the magazines positioned the woman as a reader.

In considering the effect of magazines on readers, the ideas of cultural theorist John Fiske have been particularly useful. In discussing popular culture “texts” (of which the magazine is one), Fiske contends that their appeal lies as much in what readers bring to the texts as in what they contain. As Fiske notes, “In popular culture, the text is not an object of reverence to be understood in all its coherence and completeness, but a resource to be used...it remains at the level of cultural potential until it is selectively taken up and inserted into the social circulation of meanings” (1990, 332). Applying Fiske’s model of culture enables us to consider how magazines may have engaged the reader in a process of self-identification, whereby the reader might measure himself or herself against the images in the text, according to gender and class background, as well as social interests. Rather than a static product whose images readers merely copied, the magazine can be seen as a more malleable artifact, whose images might incite or prompt a multiplicity of readings. If, as Fiske contends, cultural meanings are created “out of the conjuncture of the text with the socially situated reader” (1987, 80), then by examining a range of images—including photographs, illustrations, advertisements and nar-

rative text—along with or even against cultural ideologies, we can begin to imagine more effectively what a reader may have seen or what she may have brought to the text.

### **The Culture of Looking and the Progressive Era**

Some brief background on the “culture of looking” is useful here, to better understand this emphasis on the visual and how it gave rise to the image of the new woman as well as the images appearing in the magazines. The period under discussion—the Progressive era, which lasted from about 1890 through 1920—saw the culmination of massive social and cultural changes which were wrought primarily as a result of industrialization, including huge shifts of population from rural to urban areas, increased technological advances, an ever-growing middle class and the emergence of women in public life (3). These developments, in turn, led to a wide-ranging re-evaluation of social values and mores, including relationships between the sexes, women’s role in society and concepts of morality and sexuality. As the cities became meccas for industry and commerce, a host of new social institutions emerged there—cabarets and hotels, dance halls, theaters, movies and amusement parks—where people might test and develop new rules and modes of social conduct. At the same time, a proliferation of visual images saturated public and private life—in the form of commercial advertising, billboards, posters, illustrated books and magazines—encouraging many Americans to make these social adjustments. Cultural theorist Stuart Ewen notes that these new means of communication and display “pressed themselves on people’s attention and created a new visual landscape of possibility” (1982, 82). This emergent visual iconography appealed precisely to people’s desire to purchase goods and to participate in new leisure pursuits, which were now available to more working Americans (4).

The magazine was one of the primary modes of transmission of cultural values during this time, in part because of its ability to communicate its message in such bold, visual terms. Technological advances, such as high-speed presses, the transition from wood-engraving to two- and four-color illustration, and the use of rotary photogravure (a form of mechanized photoengraving in which photographs could be integrated into the text) all hastened the speed with which the magazine became a major popular-culture force. This new technological capability, coupled with an increasingly public culture (that included more women), provided new venues for artists and illustrators. The social dance “craze” of the early to mid-teens, for instance, with its spate of animated dances—from fox-trots and tangos to hesitation waltzes, which were performed at romantic, stylish clubs—was a regularly featured subject in both the women’s and dance magazines of the early teens. Edward Bok, famed editor of *The Ladies Home Journal*, promoted women as exhibition ballroom dancers, in particular as arbiters of a new era in social dance, and often devoted entire stories, in full-color illustration, to the creation of their latest dances. Bok used women dancers to promote an array of merchandise, from dance corsets to designer gowns. As Banta notes of this period, it was generally an era not only of rampant pictorialization but also of the widespread reproduction of images (through the new technologies) that had the power to communicate and promote “ideal” concepts of femininity. These mass-produced images of women, circulating in a variety of contexts, became part of the visual “vocabulary” by which women could come to see and know themselves. As Banta explains (1987, xxxi-xxxii), the aesthetic rendering of women to project national ideals actually has a long history. But during the Progressive era, American muralists, illustrators and portrait artists—many of whom were employed by the emerging magazine industry—were using the female form even more liberally to inscribe the ethos of buying. Historian William Leach describes a 1911 Wanamakers millinery display which featured a beautiful, genteel woman in the style of a John Singer Sargeant paint-

ing. The image purposefully uses a beautifully clothed woman, he notes, “to convey the idea of luxury or of abandon to sensual desires,” a desire to which the new consumer economy was now catering (Leach 1993, 67).

### **The New Woman**

Who was she, this so-called new woman? Was she a fictional creation of designers, advertisers and magazine publishers? A convenient marketing tool? A parody of the late nineteenth-century woman activist? In fact, the new woman represented not one but several groups of women who were experiencing actual changes in their lives. For middle-class women, the rise of urban culture, which afforded greater physical and social mobility and increased entry into the workforce, spurred profound social, economic and political changes. From 1860 to 1920, significant numbers of women entered the job market, usually as the result of economic necessity. In 1900, 5.6% of American wives held jobs; by 1910 this number had increased to 10.7% (Harris 1978, 104). Major advances occurred in education as well; by 1910 close to 40% of students enrolled in college were women (Filene 1974, 238). Middle-class women were becoming politically educated, through their involvement with Progressive reform movements, which resulted in an increase of women’s forums, clubs and suffrage and civil rights groups; and many working-class women became key figures in labor organizing (Evans 1989, 148-49; Rudnick 1991, 71-72).

Several types of new women became configured in the dance and women’s magazines. One was the generation of young, college-educated women, the daughters of abolitionists and reformers, “new women” in their own right who argued “for woman’s moral superiority and her natural right to citizenship” (Rudnick 1991, 69). While advocating women’s participation in social programs and change for women in general, many of these middle-class women were tied to a bourgeois ethos of responsibility, duty and morality, and still viewed women’s strengths as a result of their capacities as nurturers and caregivers. Historian Carol Smith-Rosenberg notes that a second group of women, who were educated in the 1890s, encompassed women writers and artists (such as Isadora Duncan), and while they were “political as the first generation ... placed more emphasis on self-fulfillment ... and a great deal more on the flamboyant presentation of self” (1985, 177). Yet another group constituted what may be termed the “athletic woman,” a physically and mentally agile young woman symbolized by the Gibson Girl—the ubiquitous female figure on a bicycle (5).

A final new woman image was that of the chorus girl whom cultural historian Lois Banner calls a “lower-class competitor to the Aristocratic Gibson Girl” and a precursor to the 1920s flapper (1983, 176). A figure from both the worlds of the Broadway stage and the movies, her image becomes more popular in the early 1920s, when she is depicted as financially and sexually independent, and dogged in pursuit of her career goals (Banner 1983, 183-84). *Dance Lovers*, as well as movie magazines of the period, are filled with stories of her rise to triumph from the ranks of poverty or despair.

According to Banner—and indeed as the magazine images bear out—the new woman cut across class lines: she might be a married, upper middle-class woman, a product of the increased economic expansion of the late nineteenth century, with greater leisure time; a middle-class “modern” housewife becoming skilled in “efficient” housework, as depicted in *Ladies Home Journal*; or a single, working woman in the business, health or teaching professions. What united them, suggests Banner, was their response to “a new self-assertion and vigor, and a new sensual behavior, a desire for pleasure that flew in the face of the Victorian canons of duty and submissiveness” (1983, 187) (6).

## Modern Dance Magazine

*The Modern Dance Magazine (MDM)*, edited by noted New York City dance teacher G. Hepburn Wilson, ran from approximately January 1914 to November 1918. With its focus on social dance steps and music, dance schools, tips on etiquette and newsy stories of “society,” *MDM* resembled *The Director*, which was issued for one year in 1898 and was considered the first American dance magazine. However, the influence of the early twentieth-century general women’s and mass subscription monthlies was unmistakable in *MDM*’s emphasis on advertising of products that ranged from custom-made corsets to permanent wave treatments to Gidding & Company gowns. Like the women’s monthlies, *MDM* also contained inspirational editorials (on the role of dance in culture, among other subjects), illustrated articles and serialized fiction (on dance and dancers). Its appeal was in large part directed to women readers with new purchasing power, to make them feel part of a community of like-minded readers. *MDM* was more expensive than the women’s magazines; the cover price began at fifteen cents, the same as *Ladies Home Journal*, but rose to twenty-five cents after a few months (the subscription price rose as well, from \$1.50 to \$2.50). This price increase suggests that a specialized magazine of this sort had some difficulty meeting its costs (7); however the fact that *MDM*—a definite niche publication—lasted as long as it did should not be overlooked.

*MDM* featured a variety of dance forms, from ballet to modern dance. The term “modern,” as used in *MDM* (and in other dance literature of the time), however, referred not only to the dance associated with the early premodern dance pioneers, such as Isadora Duncan, but to other forms of dance as well, such as interpretive and aesthetic dance, Delsarte and social dance, all of which were considered part of a modern ethos of movement. Essays on Isadora Duncan, Ruth St. Denis, touring stars such as Russian ballet dancers Lydia Lopoukova and Mikhail Mordkin, and various folk dance forms all figured into the magazine (8). Much fanfare heralded the early issues, which referred to dance in eloquent, apocalyptic terms reminiscent of the writings of Nietzsche, whose ideas were circulating during this time. “Joy is strength, and the modern dance is the intelligent expression of the divine life at play,” exclaimed one editorial (March 1914). The Progressivist spirit of renewal, ambition and material progress was reflected in the magazine’s subtitle, “A New Spirit in Art and Life.”

At its inception, discussion of social dance, as well as iconography of the “modern” social dancer, dominated the pages of *MDM*. Wilson capitalized on the massive popular appeal of ballroom dance during this time and promoted some of the best-known exhibition ballroom dance teams of the day, among them Irene and Vernon Castle, Maurice and Florence Walton, and Joan Sawyer and Wallace McCutcheon. In fact, he cast them (as did *Ladies Home Journal* editor Edward Bok) as symbols of a refined yet distinctly “modern” twentieth-century etiquette. In their greater use of the waist and upper torso, and in the intimacy made possible by the closeness required of partners to effect the steps, exhibition ballroom dancers symbolized a significant break in social dance practices in this country. Many of the early forms of the social dances, however, such as some versions of the Turkey Trot and the Grizzly Bear, with their ungainly arm flaps and awkward, jerky movements, had earlier provoked outcries from conservatives and some Progressive reformers. But once the dances had been “tamed” by the Castles and other teams into elegant and streamlined couple dances, Wilson promoted ballroom dance as a symbol of cultivation and grace, and as a seemingly timeless, ancient form of beauty. It was an image that served well to assuage any remaining fears that contemporary social dances might be uncouth.

A prime target for advertisers of the women’s magazines was now the “educated” woman. She might be the young, single college graduate striking out on her own or starting her own

business, or a married, middle-class woman who had become increasingly “educated” in the use of modern appliances and home technology. In an instance of what cultural theorist Stuart Ewen has called “commercialized feminism,” advertisements drew on the new woman ideology to teach women how to make the best use of the surfeit of market products now available for the home (Ewen 1976, 160). *The Ladies Home Journal* took the lead in marketing and advertising techniques, making extensive use of color illustrations and featuring full-page ads rather than grouping them at the back, as practiced earlier in the century (Gaw 1942, 77). The Athenian iconography becomes increasingly pervasive in many of these ads, as young women in sculptural poses sport airs of confidence and cool intelligence. *MDM* followed this lead and projected to a similar type of educated woman reader. Ads ranged from those for cabarets and clubs (presumably in which to hold dance parties) to dresses, skin-care products and typewriters. Many ads in *MDM*, such as those exhorting readers to become *MDM* subscription agents, appealed to the self-enterprising woman. In one ad directed toward women of the “new bourgeoisie,” readers are told: “Decide upon what you want to do, grit your teeth and go to it.” Reflecting the rise and influence of the new corporate manager, the ad continues: “It isn’t brains as much as push that tells” (December/January 1916-17, 42).

Whether a strong businesswoman or hard-working career woman, the reader might have been at the same time one of the “natural” women frequently envisioned in the magazine. The sources for these depictions can be traced back to the late nineteenth-century dress reform movement and the influence of Delsarte practices, then standard training for young women of the middle class. Although structured in its drill-like form, Delsarte exercises were designed to facilitate natural movement in accordance with breathing and the body’s organic form. The ultimate goal was to achieve a freedom of movement that would both tone and energize the body, while promoting an invigorated spiritual life (9). As Lois Banner notes, the general Progressive-era reform mentality, and the concerns of both feminists and reformers with the healthfulness of women’s dress also “heightened the appeal of naturalness” (1983, 202). While the S-curve contour—a look accentuated by a jutting bustline, a small, curved waist and a protruding bustle—was the predominant look in women’s dress in 1900, by the end of the first decade, women began to shed layers of petticoats and their figures appeared more symmetrical (plate 1). The advent of the shirtwaist blouse (a blouse-like shirt worn with a skirt) and the influence of the empire-styled gowns of Paul Poiret coincided with the idea that clothing could serve an active, moving, dancing body (Banner 1983, 148; Hollander 1978, 150). These designs were evident in the dress styles worn (and advertised) by many exhibition ballroom dancers, such as the Corticelli silk gowns with elevated waists and soft draperies modeled by Irene Castle, or the “tango-visite” of Joan Sawyer, consisting of a transparent bodice and midlength, layered skirt. In each case the clothing effected a more natural line, contoured to the shape of women’s bodies (plate 2).

The concept of the “natural” body suggested different modes of behavior for women. In reality, women’s dress had become more “natural,” less encumbered with wires, slips and other physical paraphernalia, so that women might actually achieve a greater sense of their own “natural” body. The Venus prototype of the healthily sexual woman that would figure more prominently in the twenties emerged, in part, from these changes in women’s clothing. But the idea of the natural, as conveyed in the magazines of the early to mid-teens, largely signaled that new women were morally and spiritually “elevated” from the rest of humanity. As Banner notes, both feminists and beauty experts at the end of the nineteenth century argued that spiritual qualities were more important to beauty than were physical attributes (1983, 206). In *MDM*, this belief in women’s spiritual capabilities became aligned with the Progress-

236, 237 Left, spring dresses  
trimmed with silk braid and with  
lace, May 1900

238 Straight-fronted corset,  
February 1902

239 Chiffon dress, 1901

240 Evening dress, September 1901



*Plate 1. Sample dresses and lingerie from the early 1900s, illustrating the "S" curve figure characterized by an arched-back and small waist. From *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History*. Revised, expanded and undated edition by James Lever. Copyright Thames and Hudson, Inc., New York, 1995. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.*





*Plate 2. Irene Castle in a prototypical dance dress of the period of chiffon-like material with layered skirt and loose bodice for ease of movement, ca. 1913. The Billy Rose Theatre Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.*

sive-era notion of Progress to produce a concept of new women as inherently instinctual and attuned to the rhythms of nature. The notion of the instinctual harkens back to nineteenth-century essentialist ideologies of women as spiritual matriarchs, an image and idea that could support a conservative agenda but that still might successfully lend itself to the Progressive philosophy of the spiritually liberated individual. The “progress” espoused in *MDM* (“No progress means retrogression and death,” proclaimed one of Wilson’s editorials [January 1914, 3]) referred not only to increased material benefits, but also to a renewed emphasis on self and on the pleasure ethos, in part a reaction to the routinized conformity of the machine age (10). “Natural” women, who were physically fit and psychologically and spiritually balanced (as well as committed to the self-improvement of society through their settlement house and reform work), were viewed, in many ways, as well-equipped to temper some of the more destructive, life-taking qualities of urban life. Many articles in *MDM* drew on these themes to appeal to women social dancers. In an essay entitled “Dancing the Source of All Human Art,” *MDM* notes that “modern industrialism has tended to discourage expression, has made our pleasures passive” (March 1917). Citing Havelock Ellis to support its claims, the essay lauds the birth of the dance craze and decries the “monotony” of movement of late nineteenth-century social dances.

The natural women illustrated in *MDM* were often associated with a healthier, more civilized life, presumed to be characteristic of ancient Greek society. Whether images of young women in tunic shifts striking Delsarte poses or photographs of Greek sculpture on frontispiece pages (as in a photograph of Paul Phillipe’s statue “Greek Dancer and Flute Player”), this Hellenist ideal reinforced the utopian cultural yearning for a return to a simpler, less hectic way of life. Greek revivalism was still a popular art form in the United States, and Greek imagery and philosophy were frequently invoked in the beauty literature of the time. But perhaps most significant, interweaving these images of antiquity in a magazine devoted largely to the newer-styled social dance forms helped create legitimacy for the dances and the dress styles they fostered. As Banner has noted of the effects of the classical revival generally, since it was viewed as “grand and asexual,” it enabled artists to “cloak sensual subjects with respectability” (1983, 110). Similarly, the social dance body depicted in *MDM* conveys a sense of the “nobility” of the body in its symmetrical form. A photo spread in the January 1914 issue featured models of regal, Athenian bearing, wearing “Grecian drapes” of long flowing panels, layered and loose at the hips for ease of dancing comfort. The text defends the slit skirt and notes that it was actually “introduced and made compulsory by Lycurgus, the reform mayor of Sparta,” for “free-limbed Spartan Maidens practiced in athletics” (11).

The images described thus far represented the various types of “ideal” beauty and behavior deemed acceptable for women of this time. More interesting and relevant to consider than whether or not women followed these prescriptions, which is difficult to discern, is how these images illuminated the ways in which women were taught to view themselves through the media. Writing about women’s didactic literature of the nineteenth century, historian Frances Cogan notes that study of a popularly promulgated “ideal” (concept or image) can actually illuminate “the way that women are taught by popularly held assumptions to think of themselves and their capabilities, duties and just rewards” (1989, 16). Three prevalent images or “ideal beauties” that Martha Banta (1987) has identified of the so-called turn-of-the-century “American Beauty Illustrators” surface in the magazines and give us possible clues as to women readers’ own self-expectations; these include Harrison Fisher’s “Beautiful Charmer,” J. Alden Weir’s “New England Woman” and Robert Wildhack’s “Outdoors Pal.” As Banta notes, “the Charmer charms, the New England Woman thinks, the Outdoors Girl cavorts” (1987, 46) (plates 3 and 4).



*Plate 3. "The Beautiful Charmer," a popularized image from the turn of the century, based on an illustration by Harrison Fisher. From *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History*, by Martha Banta, Columbia University Press, 1987.*

1.6. J. Alden Weir, "A Gentlewoman"  
(1906).

1.7. Robert J. Wildhack, *Collier's*  
*Weekly*, December 17, 1910.



NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ART

Plate 4. "The New England Woman," as Banta calls her, was based on J. Alden Weir's portrait, "A Gentlewoman" (on the right). To the left is an image of the so-called "Outdoors Pal" depicted by Robert J. Wildhack in the December 17, 1910 edition of *Collier's*. From *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History*, by Martha Banta, Columbia University Press, 1987.

It is the way they were evolving, however, that is noteworthy: While the images were "modern," they continued to reinforce pre-existing late nineteenth-century values regarding women's "duties" and roles.

The ambiguous nature of many of these depictions suggests a profound ambivalence about how to present the new women of social dance. For instance, on the cover of the March 1917 issue of *MDM*, Irene Castle, in a cameo portrait, appears as a cross between two of Banta's types: the dignified (one might also say matronly) "New England Woman" and the "Beautiful Charmer." With her bobbed hair and agile form, Castle was on one hand the quintessential preflapper-era model; on the other, she was a vision of nineteenth-century purity, virtue and goodness (plate 5). Indeed, in this photoengraving she looks quite serene, with her nearly beatific gaze and her short hair pulled back severely from her forehead. This image stands in stark contrast to any number of the other images of Irene Castle, such as one in a series of illustrated articles in *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper* from the spring of 1914, where she demonstrates the Tango Argentine with her husband, Vernon. Here, she is sporting a stylish cap highlighting her fashionable "bob" and an impish smile (plate 6). While, as historian Lewis Erenberg has discussed, Castle was to a large extent positioned as the all-American girl, who sublimated the eroticism of the social dances into a healthy sexuality (1975, 164-66), she was also some-

March

APR 1 1917

Price, 25 Cents

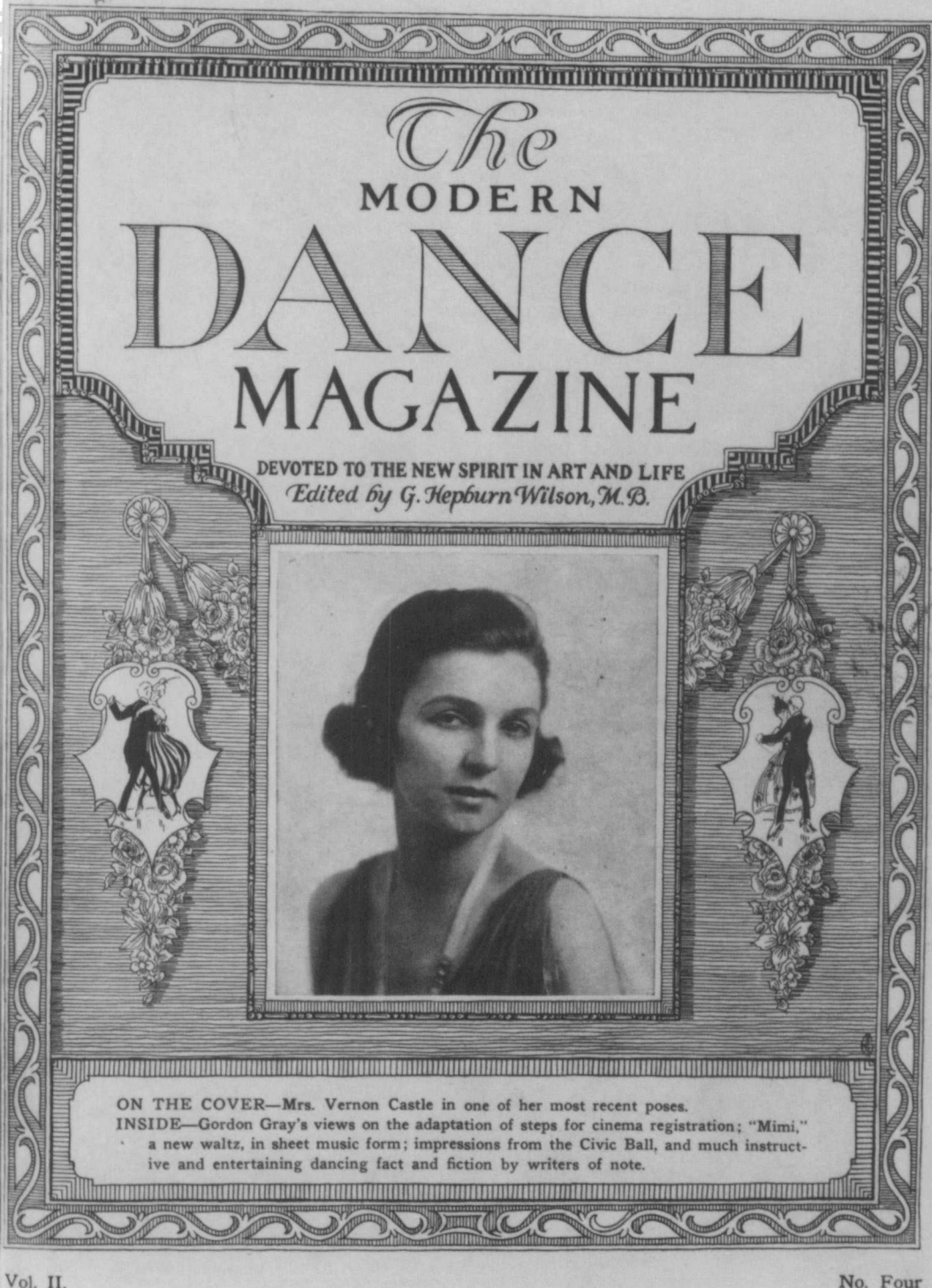


Plate 5. Irene Castle, depicted in a more sedate pose, on the cover of the March, 1917 issue of *The Modern Dance Magazine*. *The Dance Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.*

# An Epidemic of Dance Madness

Photographs copyrighted, 1914, by Mallet Studio

*A few steps in the modern dances that are fascinating all races, creeds and classes*

*Exemplified by Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle, New York's well-known dancing instructors*



STEP OUT IN THE ONE STEP



DIP IN THE ONE STEP



EL CARRON STEP TANGO ARGENTINE



LA MARCHER TANGO ARGENTINE



ANOTHER STEP IN THE TANGO ARGENTINE



TWO STEP IN MASTIK SPANJENNE



METERS OF MAYOR



MEDIA LUNA, INNOVATION TANGO



PROMENADE STEP IN TANGO ARGENTINE

Plate 6. Irene and Vernon Castle posing for a photo spread in Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper, March 12, 1914. Here, Irene Castle possesses the youthful exuberance of the "Outdoors Pal" (see plate 4). General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

thing of a reflecting mirror: Different aspects of her demeanor might be accentuated, depending on the nature of the publication and the audience. At once, she was a spry American girl, an engaged marriage companion and a maternal guardian of “proper” social dance, dispensing intelligent etiquette advice (12).

The “Outdoors Pal,” the “Beautiful Charmer” and perhaps another stock image of the “Greek Goddess” came together in the image of Australian champion diver-cum-movie star Annette Kellermann, who, during the mid- to late teens, frequented the pages of both dance and general women’s magazines. Kellermann presaged the spirit of the chorus girl, who became more dominant in the 1920s, in her less abashed presentation of the body. But she is decidedly an exemplar of the new athleticism and of a vision for women readers of a kind of timeless beauty and grace, which was also embodied by Irene Castle. She was a darling of physical culture enthusiasts, and, according to Dudley Allen Sargent, the renowned exercise specialist and medical professor at Harvard University, she was “the most beautifully formed woman of modern times” (Kellerman 1915, clippings). Many considered Kellermann a perfect Hellenistic model of broad-shouldered beauty and vigor (13) (plate 7). Though she was not a ballroom dancer, Kellermann might have easily served as a role model for the many *MDM* readers interested in social dance.

The way Kellermann appealed to readers was through prescriptions for physical exercise, proper diet and a positive attitude in rhetoric, all of which fit well with both Progressive-era reform and Darwinian ideas of self-refashioning (14). She (or her astute editors) made appeals to several constituencies that cut across class lines: for the middle-class homemaker, the businesswoman and the young working girl alike, such perfection of body was attainable through hard work and discipline. Said Kellermann in the March 1915 issue of *Physical Culture*: “True grace of movement is the result of thorough bodily control—of making housework or any work an aid in securing this” (1915, 23a). There is no question, however, that Kellermann’s image is more sexualized than some of the other new woman representatives. To promote a then-current film, *A Daughter of the Gods* (1917), Kellermann appeared wrapped in a light body sheath so that she appeared bare-breasted, with her long hair cascading sensuously down her body, like that of a pre-Raphaelite maiden (plate 8). While in another type of magazine the image may have been risqué, in the context of *MDM*—whose editors promoted the graceful dancing body as eternal, timeless and essential to superior health—the image was appropriate and instructive. While other publications emphasized her athletic sexuality, here Kellermann’s body is used to depict correct dance form and, once again, womanhood is aligned with an elevated sense of art and culture, to assuage fears of her potentially excessive sexuality.

Featured alongside Kellermann and Castle in the pages of *MDM* was Isadora Duncan. Although Duncan herself actually disdained the ragtime dances (Daly 1995, 217), her discussion of the “modern” dances (referring to her brand of expressive dance) melded with the magazine’s emphasis on social dance as expressive, natural and harmonious in form. Duncan was also positioned as a type of ideal woman (15)—the grande dame of an interpretive dance style that upheld the idea of the integrity of the body as a source of knowledge and inspiration. That dance could serve women’s greatest ambitions was a theme of her rhetoric. In an article in *MDM* entitled “What Modern Women Want”—a delightfully ironic play on Freud’s famous question—Duncan extols modern dance as “perhaps the highest esthetic expression of the Woman Movement [*sic*]” (1916/17, 11). In a photograph accompanying the article, Duncan bears a beatific smile, a placid gaze and erect countenance, evoking the physically perfect “New England” typology. On one hand, Duncan represents the ideal of late nineteenth-century feminism, equating women’s essential, innate connection to the maternal with her source

*a l'Alhambra*

**La Fameuse Annette KELLERMANN**  
*"La Femme la mieux faite du temps moderne"*

Dr DUDLEY SARGENT, de l'Université d'Harvard  
(États-Unis)

❁❁

**La plus forte Nageuse et Plongeuse du monde**  
dans ses  
**DANSES CLASSIQUES**  
et sa PRODUCTION AQUATIQUE  
intitulée  
**"LA DRYADE"**  
Assistée de M. FRANK PARKER  
et d'une troupe de Danseuses

---

Miss Annette Kellermann arriva en France en 1905 pour traverser Paris à la nage, et se classa troisième derrière Paulus et Burgess. Encouragée par ce beau succès, elle tenta la traversée de la Manche. Entre temps elle fit des exhibitions de plongeurs et de courses de vitesse où elle obtint un énorme succès.

En 1906 elle traverse à nouveau Paris à la nage et fait *dead heat* avec l'Australien Trauendorfer.

C'est une nageuse extraordinaire et une femme exceptionnelle.

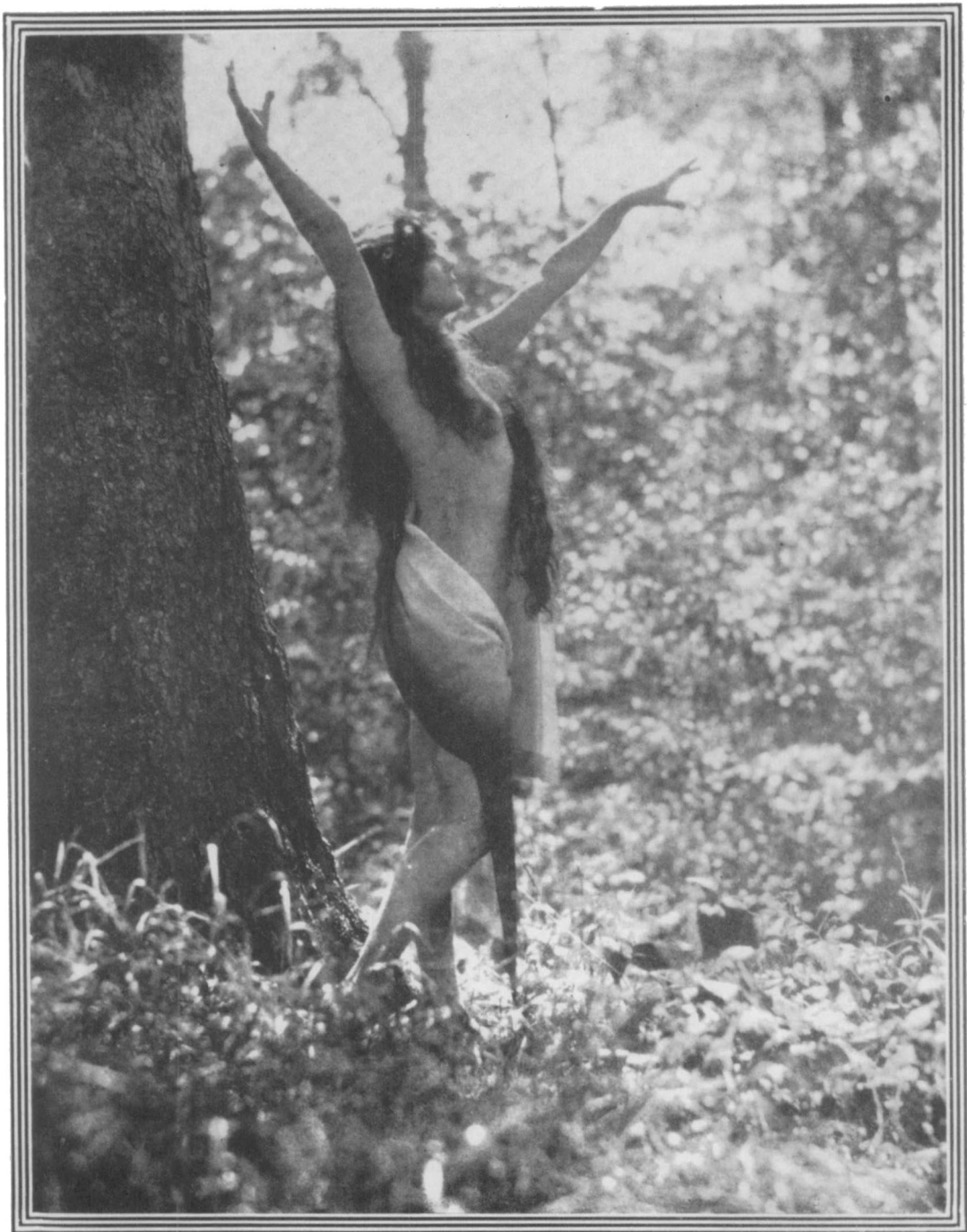
Donnons d'ailleurs, à titre de curiosité, les mesures presque incroyables de celle que le professeur Dudley-Allen Sargent de l'Université d'Harvard, salua « la femme la mieux faite du monde » et que tout Paris ira acclamer à l'Alhambra.

	ANNETTE KELLERMANN	VÉNUS DE MILO	LA DIANE
Hauteur.....	1 m. 62	1 m. 62	1 m. 60
Tête.....	0 m. 54	0 m. 54	0 m. 48
Cou.....	0 m. 317	0 m. 316	0 m. 281
Poitrine.....	0 m. 842	0 m. 840	0 m. 890
Taille.....	0 m. 664	0 m. 660	0 m. 685
Hanches.....	0 m. 961	0 m. 965	0 m. 940
Cuisse.....	0 m. 593	0 m. 570	0 m. 609
Mollet.....	0 m. 327	0 m. 331	0 m. 327
Cheville.....	0 m. 193	0 m. 185	0 m. 202
Bras.....	0 m. 302	0 m. 317	0 m. 378
Avant-bras.....	0 m. 237	0 m. 238	0 m. 275
Poignet.....	0 m. 148	0 m. 148	0 m. 150

ANNETTE KELLERMANN

*Plate 7. Movie star and champion diver Annette Kellermann in her athletic mode. Although this notice was for one of Kellermann's appearances in France, this same image was prevalent in movie and women's magazines in the United States during the late teens and early twenties. The Dance Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.*





ANNETTE KELLERMANN

The Star of the Fox Film Spectacle "A Daughter of the Gods" is a Devotee of the New Spirit in Art and Life.

*Plate 8. A more suggestive Annette Kellermann posing for her film "A Daughter of the Gods," in The Modern Dance Magazine, March, 1917. The Dance Collection, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.*

of strength. Yet her image and rhetoric also suggested that women had the power and potential to harness this sense of beauty and to use it to affect their everyday lives (16).

Together, Duncan and Kellermann provided contrasting views on the new womanhood, each drawing on new and old ideals. For Kellermann, perfection of form might be attained through manipulation of the external body, in the form of diet, exercise and muscle building. For Duncan, women might draw on their internal self, using dance to connect to their bodies and thus propel them outward, into the world, with exuberant self-confidence.

### **Into the 1920s**

By the late teens and into the early 1920s, the image of the chorus girl began to play a dominant role in the available typologies of new women being depicted in the magazines. The chorus girl had shed her nineteenth-century voluptuousness and had gradually metamorphosed into a zestier and somewhat more enterprising version of the nineteenth-century “Outdoors Pal.” She sported a look that became typical for the time: dresses just above the knee with a short, flounced skirt, and cropped hair adorned with a small hat or band. Although the chorus girl appealed particularly to working-class and lower middle-class women, many of whom were themselves partaking of urban amusements in the form of dance halls, movies and amusement parks (Banner 1983, 175-77), she had potency for middle-class women as well. The February 1917 issue of *Modern Dance Magazine*, for instance, featured Lucille Lee Stewart, “the attractive star” of the Ince Film Corporation, modeling the latest Gidding gowns. With a noticeably higher hemline and definitely “peppy” look, she bears the typical marks of the chorus girl. The essay, noting the dress’s divided skirt and “zephyr-weight” petticoat of accordion chiffon, noted that it will surely be adopted by “the social belles of America,” so as to spare the sight of them “cavorting in front of the camera in habiliments which remind us of Catherine di Medici or Mary, Queen of Scots!” (“The Costume of the Dance”).

It was in *Dance Lovers Magazine (DL)*, the major dance magazine of the early 1920s, that the chorus girl image took full hold. *DL* was a lively and curious mix of interviews with dancers from the stage and screen; serialized fiction about dance, dancers, dance liaisons; and essays and articles about health and beauty, peppered with inspirational advice (17). *DL* covered a wide spectrum of dance activity that was popular at the time—the beginnings of modern dance as we know it today, dance in Broadway shows and in the movies, and forms of ethnic dance—although there was still a decided emphasis on social and exhibition ballroom forms. Ballroom dancing had experienced a temporary setback during the first world war; it had lost its steam, in part, because of the breakup of so many renowned exhibition partnerships and the incursion of new dance fads from the Broadway stage. Yet by the early twenties, the way had been paved for the new, “modern” forms of ballroom dance that had been introduced in the teens. Additionally, the new dance franchises that had emerged, such as Arthur Murray’s studios, which advertised heavily in the pages of *DL*, created a new supply of social dance participants and kept the form alive.

*Dance Lovers* was the brainchild of health and fitness guru Bernarr Macfadden, who was a product of the health-reform movement of the late nineteenth century and the publisher of the highly successful *Physical Culture* magazine. Macfadden was a fascinating and enigmatic historical crossover figure, a man imbued with Progressive-era zeal who, by the 1920s, had transformed his health credo into a million-dollar business. His philosophy of health, which he geared in the early years to the development of strong, brawny men, was in part liberationist in its desire to free the body from debilitating cultural constraints and prohibitions (18). His ace editor at the time, Vera Caspary, noted that Macfadden’s magazines “endorsed sex in

much the same way that Hearst's *Good Housekeeping* gives its seal of approval to kitchen appliances and foodstuffs" (1979, 90). *Dance Lovers*, in fact, may have been inspired by Mary Macfadden, Bernarr's wife, who was interested in Delsarte. Macfadden's daughters, known as the "Macfaddenettes," were also often featured in the magazine, posing in their Greek-like chiffon tunics (Ernst 1991, 83). During its two-year life span, from November 1923 to December 1925, *DL* had a base of approximately 80,000 readers, an appreciable number for a "niche" market (19).

According to Marxist historian Richard Ohmann, mass magazines—particularly those from the beginning of the new century—appealed to "people aspiring to respectability," making them feel like a part of "the mainstream of culture" (1982, 90, 91). If this was indeed the case, we can see how *DL* conformed to a pattern established by the general monthly magazines of carrying matters of practical concern to readers. Descriptions and discussions of social dance, in particular, served as a means of instructing the reader on one's social, personal and professional life. In the mail-order advertisements that proliferated during the '20s—which included Arthur Murray's home courses in dance ("How I Became Popular!" declared one transformed wallflower)—young working women who were unable to afford dance classes were assured the rewards of confidence, poise and popularity within just a few weeks' time (20). Because it is a common publishing practice to print editorials and essays serving the nature of the products advertised (see Gaw 1942, 120-21), alongside such mail-order ads, the reader might also see an article by Murray himself, posing with a film ingenue or demonstrating the latest fox-trots. Many advertisements in *DL*, whether for bunion removal or for better skin, were matched by articles that supported the theme of women's health, such as perky Broadway specialty dancer Ada Mae Weeks—with a head of healthy curls bouncing around her face—telling readers how she danced her way "Out of Nervousness and Into Health!" (Weeks 1924).

In his visualization of the female form, Macfadden still seemed to yearn nostalgically for a more idealized, voluptuous nineteenth-century body type. On one hand, Macfadden strove for a new realism in his female figures; some of the stark photographs of star-crossed lovers or sparring spouses worked well as dramatic accompaniments to the real-life stories. On the other hand, his aesthetic preference for the magazine's dance photos "ran to ladies with enormous thighs," often tinted in bright pastels (Casparly 1979, 92). *Dance Lovers*, as well as the women's and general subscription magazines, actually promoted a type of female beauty that was coming into vogue in post-World War I culture. Without the steady drumbeat of Progressive reform that had promoted health legislation within the cosmetics industry, the Duncanesque notion of beauty as reflecting inner strength and soul devolved into more of an emphasis on attractiveness and appearance. In the post-suffrage era, beauty became less associated with women's moral superiority and the notion of the "natural woman," and more concerned with glamour (Banner 1983, 207).

A culture increasingly fixated on consumer products as the means to personal and professional success comes to claim beauty as an entity every woman might own—and purchase. As Banner points out, with regard to 1920s styles, "The notion that every woman could be beautiful was a dangerous concept, just as easily adapted to the ends of business as of reform" (1983, 207). Writing to the editor of *The Ladies Home Journal* in February 1921, a married woman from Pawtucket, Rhode Island, who was disturbed by these trends, noted:

Now that women have the vote and are getting into Congress and the House of Commons...and are becoming bank presidents, captains of industry, doctors, lawyer and dentists, isn't it about time they adopted a different attitude

toward dress and self-adornment? Surely it isn't as important for them now to be beautiful or astonishing or dazzling?... We have lived long enough in a phantasmagoria of Zazas and Theda Baras.

Certainly the rise of the movies, and of the new female role models created as a result, had placed new emphasis on external beauty and glamour. But outward adornment was also in part an expression of women's desire for fuller sexual expression, a desire bolstered, for instance, by the circulation of the ideas of Sigmund Freud and Havelock Ellis, whose quotations liberally peppered the pages of *DL*.

In a sense, Venus had overtaken Athena. In part as a result of the need created by the movies for simple yet fashionably clothed moving bodies, the use of Greek iconography dissipated, as the image of the animated and healthily sexual "Venus" came to dominate the magazines—not a voluptuous Venus, but a sprightly, sometimes sassy one, wearing short dance frocks with low waists that flattened the hips (21). Readers of Macfadden's editorials in *DL*—among them, "Dancing as a Developer of Body and Mind" (November 1923) and "How Beauty Is Developed Through Dancing" (March 1924)—might still find sketches of young, loosely clad women, with garlanded hair, and bodies in curvaceous poses or gauzy Delsartian images. However, a predominating figure was now the bright-lipped, headbanded dancer, gaily dancing with her partner; or the young woman fending off unwanted gigolos, as in "The Romantic Adventures of a Dancing Venus," a serialized story which ran from November through December 1923. *The Ladies Home Journal* invoked a similar image in a March 1921 advertisement for "La Camille" corsets, by depicting "America's Venus"; the young woman, who was, apparently, a beauty contest winner, was attired in the latest corsetry (22) (plate 9). Eros had not supplanted logos, however. In part, as a way to deflect any potential charges of sexual impropriety, the chorus girl was also cast as a reasoned individual, capable of making independent choices about her life and career.

While the image of the stage dancer suggests a new emphasis on sexuality (cast as "charm"), the cultural criticism and issues in the magazines focus on the new woman's dilemma, either between marriage and career, or marriage versus the potential for premarital sex. Writing in 1923, *McCall's* health and advice columnist Winona Wilcox expressed some of this ambivalence and advocated strong marriages, yet not at the expense of women's emotional health. She noted that "marriage is too huge a price to put upon misplaced love...few modern girls would accept an unwilling mate in matrimony. Most of them would scorn the man who failed to be frank about his feelings before it was too late" (Wilcox 1923, 72). The happy image of Irene and Vernon Castle, in the teens, suggested that domestic harmony was indeed attainable, even simply achieved. But in the early 1920s, in light of suffrage, greater numbers of women in the workforce and new pressures placed on maintaining stable family lives, the theme of reconciling independence with marriage took on renewed force.

Thus in the magazines, the image of the chorus girl is typically featured alongside that of the young married woman (she might be a housewife or have a job). The idea of the so-called "companionate marriage" of the time was depicted in many of the stories and images (23); in this arrangement, men tended to look toward the home as a place of leisure and pleasure, as an antidote to the business world. With the popularization of ideas from Freudian psychology, both husband and wife came to view marriage as a site for harmonious sexual union (May 1991, 547). Predicated on the breadwinner husband and the helpmate wife, the companionate marriage upheld conservative values—on the surface. But the idea that a husband and wife could be friends and companions was modern in conception. An etiquette manual from the

America's  
Venus  
wears and  
endorses  
"La Camille"  
FRONT LACE  
CORSETS

Miss Keating says. "I  
recommend very highly  
"La Camille" Corsets,  
giving the figure the best  
possible lines" — and  
praises the exclusive  
"La Camille" features:

*Ventilo* BACK—  
Preventing pressure on  
spine. Ventilo Front  
Shield.

**LOX-IT**  
Trade Mark  
NON-TILTING Clasp.  
Insist on "La Camille."

Catalog and name of nearest  
dealer gladly sent.  
Please mention this magazine.

Sold in New York by  
"La Camille"  
CORSET STUDIO  
543 Fifth Avenue  
Near 45th St.

International Corset Company  
112 to 130 Union Street  
Aurora, Ill.

Miss Agnes Josephine Keating, winner of N. Y. News  
E. O. Hoppe contest. Her measurements rival  
closely those of the famous Venus de Milo statue.

Plate 9. One of the many examples of the "Venus" motif from a corset advertisement in *The Ladies Home Journal*, March, 1921. General Research Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

twenties urged couples to “meet each other’s moods halfway” and noted that “the work of adjusting the labors of each to those of the other, so that there shall be time for recreation and social life together, should be a matter of mutual effort” (Ordway 1920, 23, 25). It was still the wife, however, who provided emotional fulfillment—an idea carried over from the teens—and as the magazines suggested, she might achieve this through her love of dance. In an article in *DL* (“My Wife Wanted to Dance, I Thought It Was Wrong”), signed by “a reformed husband,” a young man discusses his abhorrence of social dancing and of his wife’s protestations of his recalcitrant behavior (“Only elderly ladies have husbands who don’t dance,” she complains) (Douglas 1923, 60). Through a humiliating social encounter, he comes to realize the benefits of dancing, and husband and wife are mutually united.

In many respects, domestic life in the early 1920s strained under unrealistic expectations for both women and men. As historian Elaine Tyler May notes, “new desires for leisure, excitement and sexual fulfillment” dominated images of family life, and with the continuing rise of consumerism and the new youth culture, couples looked to home life to fulfill many needs and moods (1991, 555). For some young married women, keeping the home front happy was a constant preoccupation. The divorce rate had skyrocketed between 1880 and 1920, and anxious wives took pains to hold onto husbands who could potentially be lured by the pleasures of urban nightlife. Social dance, suggested *DL*, might be the glue to hold a marriage together. In a 1923 article, “Married Life Is a Dance! Here’s How We Dance It and Keep Healthy and Happy,” Natacha Rambova and husband Rudolph Valentino extol the virtues of domestic companionship. Says the couple: “Dancing is the outward, artistic symbol of the perfect marriage. For, like marriage, the dance ‘a deux’ is a partnership. It is proximity. It is keeping in tune and in time. It is the mutual sense of rhythm. It is ‘sex’” (Valentino 1923, 19). Combined with the text, the accompanying photograph, in which the couple face one another, hip-to-hip in a tango pose, exemplified the attainment of harmonious companionship through ballroom dance proficiency.

Illustrated in numerous stories and essays is the notion that post-suffrage women, in their revised feminine roles, are now capable of “handling” their men. Potentially threatened husbands, however, are seen defending and demonstrating their masculinity. In “Why a Perfect Dancer Makes a Perfect Lover,” Latin ballroom dancer Ramon Novarro explains, “At first I thought dance was sissified, but I discovered that it gives a man strength, poise, and teaches one pantomime” (Novarro 1924, 56). In these and similar articles, ballroom dance is the rallying point around which domestic and sexual issues become negotiated. Considering that *DL* was still a predominantly female-read magazine, the “message” here was that women themselves could do much to assuage male fears of women’s career success (or sexual interest) by cultivating this most natural interest in dance and self-expression (24). Women readers might “learn” from the discoveries made by these male dancers, and might educate and inspire their own husbands about the physical, psychological and sexual benefits of social dance.

## Conclusion

Dance magazines, like the general and women’s magazines on which they were modeled, clearly functioned to educate readers, particularly women readers, in new styles of dance, and to situate them within an evolving code of manners and cultural beliefs that was characteristic of the Progressive era as a whole. In *Modern Dance Magazine*, a publication that made an early foray into advertising, images of dancing women in tango dips or Delsarte poses became engulfed in the entire cultural language and rhetoric of Progressivist thinking; both women and dance were legitimized by being part of the new values of democracy, freedom

and “Progress.” In the early 1920s, the female-dancer typology fell into two main categories: the winsome girl-woman, filled with vitality and vigor, and the young wife, backed by a popularized version of Freudian psychology, trying to meld glamour and grace. Both suggest a struggle between two poles: respectability and sensibility on one side, sexuality and pleasure on the other.

This dichotomy, which was embodied in many ways in the images of Athena and Venus, ran deep throughout the Progressive years, as women struggled with definitions of self in a new, urban, industrial culture. Sweeping changes that had brought about women’s entry into public and business life, along with new sexual and social mores permitting greater sexual expressiveness, were at the same time accompanied by a strong conservative force. Consequently, cultural reformers, as well as image makers, reverted to nineteenth-century ideals of piety and purity. The rhetoric used to describe the new social dance styles as graceful and refined reflected the general cultural anxiety about the presentation of the female body (25). Appeals to health, hygiene, “personality” and Grecian etherealism all served to present women and women dancers within the acceptable boundaries of their culture.

Several specific conditions account for the type of visualizations seen in many of the magazines at this time: the rise of professional illustrators, who depicted the inhabitants of the new urban nightlife; an already entrenched artistic tradition of depicting women as national icons; and, not least, a new class of businessmen, aware of the power of image and illustration in their efforts to sell products (Meyer 1978, 25). Magazines, of course, possess their own unique way of creating social reality. As Richard Ohmann contends, “Magazines must project a strange mixture of anxiety and optimism. If people have no anxiety, they will not need magazines. If magazines offer no hope of solutions, accommodations, improvement of the self or reform of society, they will be too depressing to read” (1982, 101). Many of the images, of course, undeniably reflected and expressed the preferences of the magazine editors, publishers and advertisers who used them to impress their own understanding of (women’s) reality. However, in reading between reality and representation—between the realities of women’s lives during this time and the images borne from those circumstances—we can discern a perceptible evolution in image-making that may have offered women readers the idea of change.

It was a dizzying array of images for sure: from goddess, nymph and quick-witted charmer to athletic Spartan and modern, companionate wife. While on the surface these images may have seemed proscribed, predictive and limited in their range, they can perhaps be read in a variety of ways, within the context of their culture and the images that preceded them from the nineteenth century. The image of the healthy outdoors girl, for instance, was certainly an improvement over her nineteenth-century neurasthenic counterpart. Even the types presented in advertising—those images tied to ideas of health, confidence and self-improvement—did indeed represent how public attitudes about women’s lives might be changing, which, in turn, might affect women’s own self-perceptions. Also, as magazine images began to circulate within other available consumer communication channels, they gradually acquired a life of their own and, as a result, came to signify a range of acceptable, adoptable behaviors and stances. For instance, as Banta says about the ubiquitous Gibson Girl image that saturated the contemporary media, while she “might not raise a finger to urge the vote for women...her image as the type of American Girl became *part of the process* [emphasis mine] that altered social perceptions and formed new conceptions of what it was possible for females to do and to be” (1987, 7).

Whether or not women readers literally modeled themselves on these images is less at

stake than what those images may have suggested to readers about possibilities for future behavior. It is precisely in these subtle shifts in representation that opportunities for new meanings emerged; potential moments of interaction between reader and text, in Fiske's sense, where readers might insert and create their own, personalized interpretations. Indeed, as Banta pointedly notes, young women of the period had to be "agile, imaginative persons" (Banta 1987, 37) to keep up with the various types and make sense of them all. Irene Castle as the "new woman" was often "disguised" as the old; Kellermann, the athletic "pal," was also the sexy screen star. But perhaps it was precisely within these evolving images, particularly malleable during the Progressive era, that young women readers, and potential social dancers, may have profitably experimented, as they adjusted to the perils and pleasures of the emergent century.

## NOTES

1. Throughout this essay these periodicals will be referred to as *Modern Dance Magazine* and *Dance Lovers*. Issues of both are housed at the Dance Collection of The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

2. In addition to the *The Ladies Home Journal* and *McCall's*, the other "Big Six" periodicals included *Woman's Home Companion*; *Delineator*; *Pictorial Review*, and *Good Housekeeping*. These periodicals served largely as guides for women to keep abreast of the latest consumer products and developments in childcare and homemaking. The magazines did engage with topical social and political issues of the days, including women's suffrage, although each periodical adopted a slightly different editorial stance (Endres 1995, xiv).

3. There is, of course, a large body of literature on the Progressive era. For more on the history and politics of the period see Carl N. Degler, *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America* (1959); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (1955); Arthur Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (1954); Henry May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time, 1912-1917* (1959); John Whiteclay Chambers II, *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900-1917* (1980); and Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (1967). For more on cultural and social aspects of the Progressive era see Steven J. Diner, *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era* (1998); Lewis Erenberg, *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture* (1981); John Higham, "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s," in *The Origins of Modern Consciousness*, ed. John Weiss (1965); and William Leutenber, "The Revolution in Morals," in *The Perils of Prosperity* (1958).

4. For more on the new urban, visualized culture see William Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (1993), 44-45.

5. For some of the most useful sources on the history of the "new woman" see: Carol Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (1985); Lois Rudnick, "The New Woman," in *1915: The Cultural Moment* (1991); Sara Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (1989); and Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (1982). For an interesting perspective on working-class women's experiences see Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (1986).

6. Banner (1983) makes the point that, despite differences in social, cultural and economic experiences between middle- and working-class women during the Progressive-era years, each in unique ways was affected by the general changes in expectations for women during this time.

7. Unfortunately, circulation figures for *Modern Dance Magazine* were not available from the primary sources for this information—*Standard Rate and Data Service* and *N.W. Ayer's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*. Publishers during this time were not required to list circulation and subscription figures.

8. *Modern Dance Magazine* also contained a variety of articles and editorials dealing with dance and education. For an interesting account of folk and ethnic forms of dancing in the Progressive era see Linda J. Tomko, "Fete Accompli: gender, 'folk-dance,' and Progressive-era political ideals in New York City," in *Corporealities*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster (1996).

9. For more on the history of Delsarte see Nancy L.



Chalfa Ruyter, *Reformers and Visionaries: The Americanization of the Art of Dance* (1979) and Elizabeth Kendall, *Where She Danced* (1979, 24 and 61). For an interesting discussion of the ways Delsarte became incorporated into middle-class women's lives, see Judy Burns, "The Culture of Nobility/The Nobility of Self-Cultivation" in *Moving Words: Re-writing Dance* (1996).

10. T. J. Jackson Lears, in *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (1981) provides a cogent discussion of the strand of thinking during the Progressive years—an antimodern one in his estimation—that worked against many progressive, modernist tendencies. It was a belief that society had become "overcivilized," and as a result people sought "more intense forms of physical and spiritual experience embodied in medieval or Oriental culture" (1981, xiii). Of course this philosophy took many different forms, from a cultish emphasis on health to a proliferation of materials, books, magazines, ads, etc., devoted to the renewal of the self.

11. Dance historian Ann Daly notes several other sources for the inspiration of the Greek motif, among them the Greek games at various American colleges and the influence of the neoclassical architecture of the 1893 World Columbian Exposition. Discussing Isadora Duncan, who used a strategy to justify her interpretive dance similar to the one *Modern Dance Magazine* employed to promote social dance, Daly notes that "the status of dance in Greek culture gave dancing a legitimacy it desperately needed for acceptance by her [Duncan's] audiences." Daly continues: "Hellenistic enthusiasm indicated the renewed aspirations of a burgeoning nation, without a pedigreed past" (both quotes in Daly 1995, 103).

12. Irene Castle's numerous published pronouncements on social dance form and etiquette supported this image. These statements appeared in newspapers and magazines of the time. They were prescribed, as well, in her book written with Vernon Castle, *Modern Dancing*, which served as both a dance manual and etiquette handbook. See Mr. and Mrs. Vernon Castle, *Modern Dancing* (1915).

13. Typical for the time, both health reformers and beauty experts frequently compared good-looking, healthy women to the Venus de Milo. Banner notes that it "runs like a leitmotif throughout the beauty literature of the nineteenth century" (1983, 110 and 139). This means of comparison continued into the early twentieth century, as well.

14. These ideas and theories about beauty attributed

to Kellermann also reflected the contemporary interest in eugenics (which was related to current theories about mind-body control). Banner refers to the early twentieth-century eugenicist Cesare Lombroso who believed that "facial types reflected individual character" (1983, 204).

15. It is worth noting here that by the teens Duncan herself had disassociated herself from ideas and rhetoric about the Greek ideal that had formed a cornerstone of her dance philosophy in the 1900s (Daly 1995, 178). But *MDM* still invoked her name and image in service of this ideal, which assisted them in legitimizing ragtime and jazz dances. For a discussion of the alternative models of female beauty that superseded Isadora Duncan (namely Irene Castle and Annette Kellermann), see Daly 1995, chapter 7.

16. Daly notes that Duncan was an enthusiastic follower of Ellen Key, a Swedish reformer and author of *Love and Marriage* and *Renaissance of Motherhood*. Also, after the tragic death of her two children, in 1913, Duncan was "enshrined by the press and the public as a great, grieving mother" (Daly 1995, 168). In "What Modern Women Want," in *MDM* (1916/1917, 17) Duncan is quoted as extolling women's capacity for motherhood, which she considered an illustration of women's internal strength and beauty. Daly explains that Duncan's feminism cannot be seen as necessarily representing a schism between "nature" and "culture," a concept known to contemporary feminism, since culture at the turn of the century "was not necessarily coded as masculine" (1995, 172). Relevant here is the fact that, for Duncan, nature was allied with a notion of the transcendent. As Daly states, explicating Duncan's philosophy, "dance is not about mere self expression; it is about the expression of the transcendent... through the self, which she conceptualized as not just the individual but the individual interconnected with the cosmos" (1995, 136).

17. *Dance Lovers* was the precursor of *Dance Magazine*, also owned by Macfadden, which started publishing in 1926. Although the data is sketchy, it appears that Macfadden published the magazine until its demise in 1931. For more information on later dance magazines see Rita Kirk Powell (1976).

18. For more on Bernarr Macfadden see Robert Ernst, *Weakness is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr Macfadden* (1991); Vera Caspary, *The Secrets of Grown-ups* (1979); John Tebbel, *The American Magazine: A Compact History* (1969, 238-39); and James C. Whorton, *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers* (1982).

19. By comparison, in the same year *Movie Magazine*, a popular film monthly, listed a circulation figure of 100,000, while the circulation for *Dreamworld*, another of Macfadden's pulps, was listed at 150,000. *Dance Lovers*, and its successor, *Dance Magazine*, were probably able to stay in existence for as long as they did because they rode on the coattails of Macfadden's publishing empire.

20. This advertisement for Arthur Murray's home dance lessons appeared in the January 1924 issue of *Dance Lovers*. The mail order advertisements began to proliferate in the mass subscription women's magazines during this time as well, notably in *McCall's*. For a discussion of the attainment of social dance prowess as means of assimilating into middle-class culture, see my article, "Two-Stepping to Glory: Social Dance and the Rhetoric of Social Mobility" (1997).

21. For a fuller discussion of the influence of the motion pictures on women's dress styles of the twenties see Anne Hollander, *Seeing Through Clothes* (1978, 153-55). Hollander, discussing the penchant for the thin physique of the twenties, notes that "[h]ealthy innocence, sexual restlessness, creative zest, practical competence, even morbid obsessiveness and intelligence—all seemed appropriate in size ten" (1978, 155-56).

22. The evolution of the corset is perhaps one of the most intriguing barometers of changing concepts of femininity. As the solar plexus area began to assume greater visibility in social dance, the nature of corset advertisements changed. As Hollander notes, "Corsets, famous for being discarded, were in fact simply remodeled" (1978, 338). As early as the teens,

exhibition ballroom dancers (Irene Castle, Joan Sawyer, Mae Murray and others) led a quiet revolt against the traditional, heavy corset favoring looser-fitting clothing to reveal the body's line. See *The History of Underclothes*, C. Willett and Phillis Cunningham ([1951] 1992).

23. Many movies during this time depicted themes of the "modern marriage" in various plots such as stodgy husbands being transformed by their new, modern wives, or young wives transforming themselves (using the chorus girl image) to keep the attention of their potentially errant husbands. See Elaine Tyler May, "Myths and Realities of the American Family," in *A History of Private Life* (1991, 551-52).

24. For a fascinating account of the twenties as a time of metaphoric matricide (when the mother became the symbol for women's cultural ascendancy) see Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s* (1995), particularly chapter six, "The 'Dark Legend' of Matricide."

25. As dance historian and sociologist Helen Thomas notes, drawing on the ideas of Elizabeth Kendall and Nancy Ruyter: "To enable dance to become an occupation in which 'respectable' middle-class women could engage, traditional attitudes about the body—particularly the female body—had to be broken down" (1995, 47). I would suggest that this attitude, while particularly prevalent among the middle classes, also affected working-class women who participated in social dancing. While working-class women's social reality was different, they still labored under similar proscriptions and prohibitions regarding the body and dancing.

## REFERENCES

Banes, Sally. *Dancing Women: Female Bodies on Stage*. London and NY: Routledge, 1998.

Banner, Lois. *American Beauty*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983.

Banta, Martha. *Imaging American Women: Idea and Ideals in Cultural History*. NY: Columbia University Press, 1987.

Burns, Judy. "The Culture of Nobility/The Nobility of Self-Cultivation." In *Moving Words: Rewriting Dance*, edited by Gay Morris. London and NY: Routledge, 1996.

Caspary, Vera. *The Secrets of Grown-ups*. NY: McGraw Hill Company, 1979.

Castle, Mr. and Mrs. Vernon. *Modern Dancing*. NY: The World Syndicate Company, 1915.

Chambers II, John Whiteclay. *The Tyranny of Change: America in the Progressive Era, 1900-1917*. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Cogan, Frances. *All American Girl: The Ideal of Real Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

"The Costume of the Dance: As Interpreted By The Fashion Shop of America." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (February 1917): 25.

Daly, Ann. *Done Into Dance: Isadora Duncan in America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995.

- "Dancing the Source of All Human Art: With Modern Dance Symbolizing the New Spirit of Self-expression." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (March 1917): 9.
- Degler, Carl N. *Out of Our Past: The Forces That Shaped Modern America*. NY: Harper and Row, 1959.
- Diner, Steven J. *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era*. NY: Hill & Wang, 1998.
- Douglas, Ann. *Terrible Honesty: Mongrel Manhattan in the 1920s*. NY: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1995.
- Douglas, Edgar. "My Wife Wanted to Dance, I Thought It Was Wrong, Here's What Happened!" *Dance Lovers Magazine* (November 1923): 29; 30; 31; 60.
- Duncan, Isadora. "The Ideal Form of Woman." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (December 1916/ January 1917): 22.
- Duncan, Isadora. "What Modern Women Want." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (December 1916/ January 1917): 11; 17.
- "Effect of the Modern Dance on Women's Dress." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (January 1914): 14-15.
- Endres, Kathleen L. and Therese L. Lueck, eds. *Women's Periodicals in the United States (Consumer Magazines)*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1995.
- Erenberg, Lewis A. "Everybody's Doin' It: The Pre-World War I Dance Craze, the Castles, and the Modern American Girl." *Feminist Studies* (Fall 1975): 155-70.
- Erenberg, Lewis A. *Steppin' Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Ernst, Robert. *Weakness is a Crime: The Life of Bernarr Macfadden*. NY: Syracuse University Press, 1991.
- Evans, Sara M. *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America*. NY: The Free Press, Macmillan, Inc., 1989.
- Ewen, Elizabeth. *Immigrant Women in the Land of Dollars: Life and Culture on the Lower East Side, 1890-1925*. NY: Monthly Review Press, 1985.
- Ewen, Stuart. *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*. NY: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1976.
- Ewen, Stuart. *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness*. NY: McGraw Hill Publications, 1982.
- Filene, Peter G. *Sex Roles in Modern America*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Fiske, John. *Television Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1987.
- Fiske, John. "Popular Culture." In *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, edited by Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
- Gaw, Walter A. "Some Important Trends in the Development of Magazines in the United States as an Advertising Medium." Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1942.
- Harris, Barbara J. *Beyond Her Sphere: Women and the Professions in American History*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978.
- Higham, John. "The Reorientation of American Culture in the 1890s." In *The Origins of Modern Consciousness*, edited by John Weiss. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1965.
- Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955.
- Hollander, Anne. *Seeing Through Clothes*. NY: Viking Press, 1978.
- Kellermann, Annette. "The Perfect Woman." a promotional card from the Hyperion Theatre, ca. 1915. Annette Kellermann Clipping File, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Billy Rose Theatre Collection.
- Kellermann, Annette. "Why Women Lack Health, Grace and Beauty of Form." *Physical Culture* (March 1915): 23a.
- Kendall, Elizabeth. *Where She Danced*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979.
- Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. NY: Vintage Books, 1993.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920*. NY: Pantheon Books, 1981.
- Lears, T.J. Jackson. "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of The Consumer Culture, 1880-1930." In *The Culture of Consumption*, edited by R.W. Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears. NY: Pantheon Books, 1983.
- Leutenberg, William. *The Perils of Prosperity*. Chicago: The University Press, 1958.

- Lever, James, ed. *Costume and Fashion: A Concise History*. NY: Thames and Hudson, 1995.
- Link, Arthur. *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era: 1910-1917*. NY: Harper, 1954.
- Lissak, Rivka Shpak. *Pluralism and Progressives: Hull House and the New Immigrants, 1890-1919*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- Malnig, Julie. "Two-Stepping to Glory: Social Dance and the Rhetoric of Social Mobility." *Etnofoor X (1/2)* (1997): 128-50.
- Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.
- Maule, Frances. "The Woman Appeal." *Printers' Ink* (31 January 1924): 105-106.
- May, Elaine Tyler. "Myths and Realities of the American Family. In *A History of Private Life: Riddles of Identity in Modern Times*, edited by Antoine Prost and Gerard Vincent; translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- May, Henry. *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time, 1912-1917*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959.
- McGovern, James R. "The American Woman's Pre-World War I Freedom in Manners and Morals." *The Journal of American History* (September 1968): 315-353.
- Meyer, Susan. *America's Great Illustrators*. NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1978.
- Mills, Dorothy. "The New Girl's 'Goblin,'" editorial. *The Ladies Home Journal* (May 1915): 3.
- "The Modern Dance and Physical Culture." *The Modern Dance Magazine* (March 1914): 13.
- Mumford, Lewis. "From Revolt to Renewal." In *The Arts in Renewal*, edited by Sculley Bradley. NY: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1951.
- N.W. Ayer & Sons: *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*. Fort Washington, PA: IMS Press, 1913-1930.
- Novarro, Ramon. "Why a Perfect Dancer Makes A Perfect Lover." Interview with Nanette Kutner. *Dance Lovers Magazine* (April 1924): 30; 56.
- Ohmann, Richard. "Where Did Mass Culture Come From? The Case of Magazines." *Berkshire Review* 17 (1982): 85-101.
- Ohmann, Richard. *Making and Selling Culture*. New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1996.
- Ordway, Edith B. *The Etiquette of Today* (revised and enlarged). NY: George Sully and Company, 1920.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986.
- Peterson, Theodore. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964.
- Powell, Rita Kirk. "Cultural Patterns as Revealed by the Content of Selected Dance Magazines." Ph.D. Dissertation, Texas Women's University, 1976.
- Reed, David. *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the U.S.: 1880-1960*. London: The British Library, 1977.
- "The Romantic Adventures of a Dancing Venus (As Told By Herself)." *Dance Lovers Magazine* (November 1923): 11; 24; 56.
- Rosenberg, Rosalind. *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982.
- Rudnick, Lois. "The New Woman." In *1915: The Cultural Moment*, edited by Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1991.
- Ruyter, Nancy L.C. *Reformers and Visionaries: The Americanization of the Art of Dance*. Brooklyn: Dance Horizons, 1979.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carol. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Standard Rate and Data Service*. Wilmette, IL: Standard Rate and Data Service, 1913-1930.
- Stein, Sally. "The Graphic Ordering of Desire: Modernization of a Middle-Class Women's Magazine, 1914-1930." *Heresies* 18 (1985): 7-16.
- Tebbel, John and Mary Ellen Zuckerman. *The Magazine in America: 1741-1990*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Tebbel, John. *The American Magazine: A Compact History*. NY: Hawthorn Books, 1969.
- Thomas, Helen. *Dance, Modernity & Culture*. London and NY: Routledge, 1995.
- Tomko, Linda. "Fete Accompli: gender, 'folk dance,' and Progressive-era political ideals in New York City."

In *Corporealities*, edited by Susan Leigh Foster. NY and London: Routledge, 1996.

Valentino, Mr. and Mrs. Rudolph. "Married Life is a Dance! How We Dance It *and* Keep Healthy and Happy." *Dance Lovers Magazine* (November 1923): 19; 63.

Weeks, Ada Mae. "I Danced My Way Out of Nervousness *and* Into Health!" *Dance Lovers Magazine* (January 1924): page numbers obscured.

Whorton, James C. *Crusaders for Fitness: The History of American Health Reformers*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982.

Wiebe, Robert H. *The Search for Order, 1877-1920*. NY: Hill & Wang, 1967.

Wilcox, Mrs Winona. "Glands and Conduct." *McCall's* (January 1923): 72.

Willet, C. and Phillis Cunnington. *The History of Underclothes*, 1951. Reprint. NY: Dover Publications, 1992.

Wilson, Christopher P. "The Rhetoric of Consumption: Mass-Market Magazines and the Demise of the Gentle Reader, 1880-1920." In *The Culture of Consumption*, edited by Richard Wrightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears. NY: Pantheon Books, 1983.

Wilson, Elizabeth. *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.