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Constructing the idea of 'national ballet' in Britain during the 1930-50s

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I. Introduction

> The Royal Ballet in Britain started out as a ballet school in the 1920s and was acclaimed transnationally after the Second World War. The establishment of the Royal Ballet as a national ballet company thus corresponded with the weakening of Great Britain as a world power. This seems to have produced a combination of anxiety and guilt among the British, sometimes expressed in terms of an "intensified nationalism" which also came across in the ballet world.[1]

Ninette de Valois, the pioneer of British ballet, initiated her plans for a ballet school and a ballet company by establishing the Academy of Choreographic Art in 1926. This school became the foundation for the establishment of the Vic-Wells Ballet and Vic-Wells Ballet School in 1931, which became the Sadler's Wells Ballet and Sadler's Wells Ballet School during 1940-41, which in turn were the predecessors of the Royal Ballet, Birmingham Royal Ballet and Royal Ballet School, the names granted by Royal Charter in 1956.[2] As evident from the numerous name changes, mostly in

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1) H. Wullf(2002), Aesthetics at the Ballet: Looking at 'National' Style, Body and Clothing in the London Dance World, *British Subjects: An Anthropology of Britain*, N. Rapport(ed.)(Oxford: Berg Publishers), p.67.

2) After the company moved to the Royal Opera House in 1946, Sadler's Wells theatre was retained as the base of a sister company whose function was to undertake regional tours. This touring company later became the Birmingham Royal Ballet.

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reference to their premises, the 1930-50s was a crucial period for the company and the school in laying their roots to become nationally representative institutions. Here, Helena Wulff rightly points out the significance of the Second World War in elevating the status of the Royal Ballet, revealing both the nationalistic ideas inscribed in British society at the time and their effects on the ballet field. Her evaluation is noteworthy as ballet in early twentieth century Britain was hardly regarded as a serious or respectable art form; instead it was perceived more as mere entertainment.[3] The focus of this paper, accordingly, is an examination of the ways in which ballet in Britain was elevated to the status of a high art form during the 1930-50s, indeed so far as to become the core cultural medium standing for the nation and a source of national pride both domestically and internationally.

According to John Breuilly, separatist nationalism played out historically with 'the rise of nationalist movements in Europe by 1918 and beyond Europe, particularly after 1945', which 'made a major contribution towards establishing the nation-state as the basic political unit in the world'.[4] This is considered to be a crucial period for most of the world's major ballet centers in building the idea of national ballet, particularly in relation to state-led ideology and socio-politically intensified nationalism.[5] While particular countries followed somewhat different pathways in developing the idea of national ballet, the aims of elevating ballet to the status of a core cultural form and of increasing its popularity were widespread, and most predominantly evident in the three great Allied powers, namely Great Britain, the United States, and the Soviet Union. For instance, Sue In Kim cites Sally Barnes' observation that the Second World War 'served to isolate the already weakened battalions of the old Ballet Russes, and enabled indigenous ballet to prosper in both Britain and the United States'.[6] Tim Scholl also shows how the Soviet politico-ideological myth (namely, chauvinism) encouraged intellectuals and writers to extol the unparalleled brilliance of Russian ballet and to solidify its reputation based on its ability to reveal and consolidate national identity and thereby

3) B. Genné(2000), Creating a Canon, Creating the 'Classics' in Twentieth-Century British Ballet, *Dance Research: The Journal of the Society for Dance Research* 18(2), p.136. Beth Genné highlights the scant respect given to ballet dancers and the art form they practiced at the time, as ballet 'was associated in the minds of the public with the loose morals and the popular light entertainment of the turn of the century Empire and Alhambra Ballets – ballet to titillate the tired businessman'. Ballet Russes' London performances, from 1911 through the following two decades, contributed to raising the reputation of ballet and developed a valuable set of audiences who later became the supporters of ballet in Britain. Nonetheless, this was not enough to elevate the status of ballet in the minds of the public and the Ballet Russes was rather considered as 'a shining exception to a general rule'.

4) J. Breuilly(2005), Nationalism and the State, *Nations and Nationalism*, P. Spencer & H. Wollman(eds.) (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd), p.69.

5) S. I. Kim(2017), A study on the Socio-historical Construction of Ballet as Fine Art in Korea: focusing on its relationship with nationalism, *The Journal of Society for Dance Documentation and History* 45, p.19. Kim argues that, during this period, 'dance became a part of diplomatic policy and functioned as a representative tool for the nation-state', and quotes Gay Morris and Jens Richard Giersdorf, who argue that in the twentieth century dance was governed 'by its relationship to the state as a source of identity'.

6) Sally Barnes in Kim(2017), p.20.

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to enhance the pride and patriotic sentiments of the citizenry.[7]

In Britain, likewise, the Second World War was essential in building nationalism, as it provided abundant material for mythologization (memories of the "miracle of Dunkirk", the Blitz with its class unity, Winston Churchill's "V for victory" sign, etc.) and shaped much of the national rhetoric (gentlemanliness, heroic amateurism, democratic ideals, etc.) to create an atmosphere of national unity.[8] As Jen Purcell writes, 'the sense of unity associated with the war has been pivotal in the construction of national identity for the British ever since'.[9] Further, according to Andrew Sinclair, the war conditions 'provided a stimulus for the appreciation of national culture'; this led to the establishment in 1940 of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts – CEMA, which became the Arts Council of Great Britain after the war – which played a crucial role in creating and spreading national culture through various artistic productions including ballet performances.[10] In response, heated debates over the idea of national ballet were rehearsed in numerous writings of dance or dance-related critics (e.g. Arnold L. Haskell, Eveleigh Leith), particularly in the 1940s with the growth of the Sadler's Wells Ballet under the support of CEMA.[11]

This paper sets out to evaluate the ways in which the idea of national ballet developed in Britain during the 1930-50s, with a specific focus on three inseparable aspects: first, the socio-political conditions of wartime Britain, especially the influence of CEMA's policies and practices; second the writings and activities of the critical circle and their impact on the ballet field; and last but not least, the management vision and artistic efforts of de Valois' company, particularly during the Sadler's Wells Ballet period, before it became the Royal Ballet. Here, the paper aims to explore the official and private relationships between these political, critical and artistic fields; none functions in isolation, but rather each inevitably operates in a collaborative and interactive manner with the others in shaping and materializing the concept of national ballet. In doing so, the paper ultimately aims to evaluate the ways

7) T. Scholl(2004), *"Sleeping Beauty," a Legend in Progress*(New Haven and London: Yale University Press), pp.64-100. To this end, Scholl reveals the main intent of these Soviet-era writings, namely the promotion and securing of Marius Petipa's ballets as distinctively Russian work, while highly crediting Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky and Lev Ivanov as native talents.

8) M. Hendley(2005), Which People's War?: National Identity and Citizenship in Britain 1939-45 [book review], *Canadian Journal of History* 40(1), pp.129-131; J. Percell(2007), British National Identity and the People: Women's Ideas of the Nation during the Second World War, *University of Sussex Journal of Contemporary History* 11, pp.1-15.

9) J. Percell(2007), p.1.

10) A. Sinclair(1995), *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50years of The Arts Council of Great Britain*(London: Mackays of Chatham PLC), p.33.

11) The list as follows. J. Lawson(1942), A English School of Dance, *The Dancing Times* Nov, pp.60-62; E. Evans(1943), Nationalism and the Ballet, *The Dancing Times* April, pp.309-310; E. Leith(1943), Towards a National Ballet?, *The Dancing Times* April, pp. 311-314; A. Haskell(1943), The National Ballet(London: A&C BLACK); J. Lawson(1949), National Traits in Ballet, *The Ballet* Annual 3, pp.88-98; T. Karsavina(1949), British Ballet in the Twentieth Century, *The Dancing Times* August, pp.623-626; N. de Valois(1957), The English Ballet: Dame Ninette on Future Policy, *The Dancing Times* July, pp.437-438; and much more.

in which the construction of the idea of national ballet intensified and complicated British nationalism, demonstrating and further shaping the key traits of British nationalism.

The main sources of this research are primary texts such as newspapers, magazines and program notes, supplemented with the relevant academic historiographical work. The selection process involved searching the New York Public Library website using keywords such as "nationalism and ballet", "English ballet", "British ballet", and "national ballet", then sorting the results to isolate those sources that dealt with British ballet in the 1930s-50s.[12] Once the relevant sources were located, the primary texts, particularly old dance magazine articles, were gathered from various libraries in England.[13] They are difficult to find in Korea and are not available online. It should also be noted that as the paper focuses on the period of the 1930-50s, it does not address the critical debate over the terms 'national ballet' and 'national ballet style', as this debate only developed later, at the end of the twentieth century. Rather the paper focuses on the ways in which the idea of national ballet was constructed in Britain during this period, disregarding the question of whether what is called 'national ballet' really possesses or expresses 'authentic' national characteristics.

II. Nation, Nationalism and Britishness/Englishness

Benedict Anderson argues that modern capitalism, in particular the development of printing, was the driving force in forming the sense of nation (the sense of imaginary community) and thus in the spread of nationalism.[14] He puts forward the concept of print-capitalism as the key factor in spreading nationalism; this concept is employed here as a useful hermeneutic lens through which to examine the distribution of written texts that discuss ballet as a national art form or national ambassador, and consequently the ways in which both ballet and such texts formed a sense of connection, unity and pride among British people during and after the war. In doing so, the paper also attempts to reveal the continuing influence of print-capitalism in spreading nationalism in the early twentieth century.

In line with a long history in the literature of adopting a dualistic approach toward nationalism – i.e. West versus East, political verses cultural, civic versus ethnic – England can be seen as an exemplar of a Western civic nation. But as Philip Spencer and Howard Wollman point out, 'there are a number of major difficulties, both theoretical and empirical, with the dualistic approach which cannot be easily resolved'.[15] Using the ideas of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*, Spencer and Wollman argue that Britain,

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12) While the sources were accessed in England, the initial search was done via the New York Public Library website, as it holds a vast collection of materials including journals, magazines, newspapers etc.

13) I was a doctoral researcher at University of Surrey in Guildford, UK, from 2009 to 2015.

14) B. Anderson(1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*(London: Verso).

15) P. Spencer & H. Wollman(2005), Good and Bad Nationalism, *Nations and Nationalism*, P. Spencer & H. Wollman(eds.)(Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd), pp.197-198. They argue that the slipperiness in

particularly through successive revisions of its citizenship rules, has shown 'a great deal of confidence in the civic character of a nation that has felt impelled to define itself by keeping out so many others on such apparently uncivil grounds'.[16] In contrast to the dualistic approach, they suggest using hybrid concepts such as political/cultural and civic/ethnic nationalism, which, along with the ideas of *ius soli* and *ius sanguinis*, are more helpful for showing how the formation of the idea of British national ballet involved active negotiation and movement between these competing terms. Following their lead, this paper reveals the difficulty in describing Britain as a Western civic nation, and shows that these nationalist dichotomies perhaps exist only in the literature and not in the performance.

Moreover, their study reveals one of the key characteristics of British nationalism, namely, constant reformation of 'the appropriate categories to define who is and is not British'.[17] Similarly, Krishan Kumar cites Linda Colley's *Britons* (1992) to show how 'an overriding British identity was formed (mainly in opposition to the "old enemy", France) that subsumed the other identities − English, Scottish, Welsh − of Great Britain (Ireland she treated as a separate matter)', and thus was always ready to be discarded when external enemies fell away.[18] Kumar also questions the rigid distinction between the ideas of Englishness and Britishness, pointing out that systematic study of Englishness only emerged in the 1990s.[19] In doing so, Kumar draws attention to the ambiguous status of the often interchangeable terms Englishness and Britishness, as evident, for example, in Margaret Thatcher's commitment to "putting the Great back in Great Britain", arguing that 'like many others before and since [Thatcher]…"Britain" was often a stand-in for "England"'.[20]

The difficulty in separating the two concepts is evident in Colley's remark that 'England and Britain are two sides of the same coin'.[21] Kumar also reveals how the recent surveys of Arthur Aughey (2007, 2011) and Michael Kenny (2014) on Britain and England are mixed together, arguing that their meanings fade into each other.[22] In Kumar's view, the construction of British identity is 'largely a state-directed, top-down affair designed to bind the peoples of Great Britain together'. Thus 'English is something organic, British something mechanical'[23] − the latter can easily be altered or removed altogether when not wanted or needed, whereas the former is primordial or at least continual.

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this kind of theoretical division is evident 'as writers attacked for overdoing a distinction between, say, civic and ethnic nationalism can retreat into a defense that they are only making an analytical distinction and that of course most nationalisms are a combination of both'.

16) Ibid., p.211.

17) Ibid., p.209.

18) K. Kumar(2016), *The Idea of Englishness*(Oxon and New York: Routledge), p.4.

19) Ibid., p.2. Kumar questions the effects of nationalist challenges from the Scots, Welsh, and Irish since the 1960s with the end of empire, and also the Labour government's devolution measures of 1998, which threatened the unity of the United Kingdom for the first time since the secession of Ireland in 1921.

20) Ibid., p.4.

21) Ibid.

22) Ibid., p.12.

23) Ibid., p.15.

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He further explains that there is something exclusive about Englishness, but not so much about Scottishness or Welshness, and thus that the vast majority still want to identify as British as it entails 'being virtually a citizen of the world, a member of the world-wide British empire', with the sense of cosmopolitanism and a relatively secure future this implies.[24] Kumar points out, for example, that the majority of the people of Northern Ireland are British.

Kumar's concepts are accordingly useful for examining the ways in which the terms English ballet and British ballet are used within the selected literature, for example, whether they are simply used interchangeably (without much awareness of their semantical differences) or whether they perhaps entail (or even further enrich) the connotations that Kumar suggests. Nonetheless, it is important to clarify that this paper generally uses the term British ballet instead of English ballet in referring to the works of the Royal Ballet, as the research tries to reveal how the company aimed at the time to stand for Britain generally and not England specifically. This is not to undermine or overlook the ballet activities in Scotland, Ireland and Wales, but rather to focus on how a particular ballet company became the face of British ballet as a whole. Here, de Valois' position as an Anglo-Irish woman with British citizenship offers an intriguing twist. Accordingly, the paper examines how the ideas of *ius soli* and *ius sanguini*s played out in the construction and justification of her company as the institution for the national ballet. In doing so, the paper aims to assess the role of ballet in shaping and revising the boundaries of Englishness and Britishness generally, and thereby to bring the idea of national ballet of out the margins of academic studies on nationalism in general and British/English nationalism in particular.

III. CEMA and the Sadler's Wells Ballet

In early twentieth century Britain, art forms such as music, opera, theatre and dance were considered 'entertainments', which the state refused to consider funding on the grounds that 'entertainment, even in its more cultural aspects, was the business of the individual'.[25] Ballet was no exception in that it was regarded as 'popular light entertainment'.[26] Nonetheless, by the 1930s the state's attitude towards the funding of the arts began to change as the government started to accept its

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24) Ibid., p.17.

25) Ivor Brown in E. White(1975), *The Arts Council of Great Britain*(London: Davis-Poynter Limited), pp.19-20. Brown states that '[the] attitude of the state to popular entertainment in this country was for centuries one of detachment. It was none of its business to provide good entertainment, to assist the better against the worse, or to subsidize those forms of dramatic and musical art which private enterprise could not supply without suffering losses. While all other European nations founded, encouraged and sustained theatres and opera houses, national and municipal, on the ground that the provision of good drama and music was as much the duty of the State as was the provision of universities, colleges, schools, libraries, picture galleries and museums, Britain left these matters to chance or to private benevolence on the supposition that entertainment, even in its more cultural aspects, was the business of the individual'.

26) Genné(2000), p.136.

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responsibility for the welfare of the people, gradually building the ground for the support of arts in the pre-Second World War period.[27)]

With the declaration of the Second World War, the Entertainments National Service Association (ENSA) – initially set up during the First World War to provide entertainment for the armed forces[28)] – was immediately re-formed. At the beginning of the Second World War, the Sadler's Wells Ballet was among the various entertainments ENSA provided.[29)] However, as the war carried on and began to affect the whole population, civilians, armed forces and factory workers all started to be taken into consideration, as it was crucial to lighten the atmosphere and maintain national morale. Accordingly, the need for a more serious organisation was discussed at an informal conference at the Board of Education on 18 December 1939, resulting in the formal establishment of the Committee for the Encouragement of Music and Arts (the initial name for CEMA) on 19 January 1940.[30)] Initially the committee was made possible thanks to private funds donated by the Pilgrim Trust, established by American philanthropists.[31)] The committee was changed to a Council after three months, 'because the Treasury had decided to increase its matching grant to £50,000: eventually, grants from the Pilgrim Trust would equal that sum'.[32)] By 1941, CEMA was completely funded by the Treasury.[33)]

The fundamental goal of establishing the Council was to create a civilized country and provide education during wartime. CEMA members saw the arts as embodying the values of a civilized people, and as England was fighting for civilization and democracy, they believed that the government should show an intensive interest in the arts by including these as part of the national war policy.[34)] According to Upchurch, this belief in the civilizing role of the arts was influenced by Roger Fry and Clive Bell, two key members of the Bloomsbury Group.[35)] Fry, an influential theorist, argued

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27) White(1975), p.20. Citing Brown, White explains the changed vision of the government towards the arts, especially referring to 'the setting up of the British Council…the quota system that the government introduced to protect the British film industry, the subsidizing of amateur music and drama…, and the attempt to tackle some of the problems of increased leisure by encouraging activities under the Physical Training and Recreation Act in 1937' – all of which Brown interpreted as evidence of 'the government's willingness to accept an increasing degree of responsibility for the welfare of the people'.

28) bid., p.23.

29) J. Siddall(1999), The Evolution of Dance Management in Britain, *Managing Dance: Current Issues and Future Strategies*, L. Jasper & J. Siddall(eds.)(Tavistock: Northcote House Educational Publishers), p.12.

30) Sinclair(1995), pp.26-27, p.29.

31) A. Upchurch(2004), John Maynard Keynes, the Bloomsbury group and the origins of the arts council movement. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 10(2), p.212. Upchurch emphasizes that 'American money actually provided CEMA's initial grants'.

32) Sinclair(1995), p.30.

33) Upchurch(2004), p.213.

34) Sinclair(1995), p.27. This was for the sake of their own people and for the sake of British pride abroad.

35) Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bloomsbury_Group, 2018. 11. 2.>. The Bloomsbury Group was an influential group of English writers, intellectuals, philosophers and artists who lived, worked or studied together near Bloomsbury, London, during the first half of the twentieth century and were united by an enduring belief in the importance of the arts; Upchurch(2004), p.205. '[These] were not artists and intellectuals working in isolation; they debated ideas and examined each other's work in public'.

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that there are two types of human existence, the “actual life” and the “imaginative life”.[36] The former includes all the sundry aspects of daily life – making money, building a home, raising children, etc. The latter refers to a state of enthusiasm and objective observation that exposes commonalities and reveals the profound meaning of human existence. Fry argues that art is the product as well as the stimulus for the imaginative life, and the life of the imagination is the most desired way of life insofar as ‘the imaginative life is distinguished by the greater clearness of its perception, and the greater purity and freedom of its emotion’.[37] For Fry, such enhanced imagination and perception are definitive of a civilized way of being.

Bell extends Fry’s notion of the imaginative life in *Civilization*, written in 1928 when the Bloomsbury Group was at its peak. Bell argues that the measure of civilization is the existence of a leisured class, defined as a group of people endowed with sufficient time and money (granted, not earned) to read, think, discuss, appreciate art and pursue pleasure – all of which are the prerequisites and essential features of civilization.[38] Thus, creation of a civilized society requires the appropriate policies and social conditions for encouraging artists, scientists and others to flourish and innovate, thereby promoting the imaginative life over actual life. Similar themes were developed further in the 1960s through the influential writings and broadcasts of Kenneth Clark, one of the early board members of CEMA.

At first, the board members of CEMA disagreed over the ways in which the arts and education should be supported for the sake of civilization. For example, as Sinclair points out, the slogan for CEMA coined by Ivor Brown, “The Best for the Most”, ‘neatly fudged the conflict between helping the professional or the amateur, sending out to urban expert or aiding the local performer’.[39] The chairman Lord Macmillan and Clark both stood for retaining a professional standard of excellence in the major cities, rather than aiding amateur organizations in rural areas or sending arts teachers on tours. Nonetheless, the majority of the board, particularly Dr Thomas Jones (who as secretary of the Pilgrim Trust made the initial drive for the creation of CEMA and later became its first secretary and subsequently Vice-Chairman), were populists keen on the ideas of adult education and spreading the arts to the population at large. As Dr Jones was the driving force of the Council in its first two years, CEMA included amateur artists in its programs and focused on providing “social welfare” and education to the whole population.[40] Notably, ballet was ignored by CEMA during these initial years, and was only counted in the programs of ENSA as a form of entertainment.

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36) Upchurch(2004), p.205. Upchurch generally refers to Fry’s celebrated work “An Essay in Aesthetics”, written in 1909 and published in *New Quarterly*.
37) Craufurd Goodwin in Upchurch(2004), p.20.
38) Upchurch(2004), p.206.
39) Sinclair(1995), p.30.
40) Sinclair(1995), p.36.

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However, when John Maynard Keynes became chairman in 1942, CEMA's direction soon changed, bringing opportunities to the ballet field. Keynes had a different vision from Dr Jones, as Keynes was not interested in amateur theatricals but believed in artistic excellence.[41)] His intention was 'to form a policy for a national culture' and aimed for CEMA to survive after the war to support professional arts.[42)] In fulfilling his aims, Keynes is generally acclaimed as the founder of the Arts Council of Great Britain (which CEMA become after the war, with hardly any change). According to Upchurch, Keynes' emphasis on supporting professional artists and securing state support for the arts stemmed from his relationship with the Bloomsbury Group and the writings of Fry and Bell. The Bloomsburys generally distrusted bureaucracy and state-supported cultural institutions (including the Royal Academy, national and provincial art museums, and state-operated art schools) as they encouraged mediocrity.[43)] And yet, while Fry severely criticized the administration of government-funded museums, he nevertheless advocated increased funding from the state, as he believed in the value of museums as cultural institutions and thus of building up national collections which made important works of art (i.e. masterpieces) accessible to the public and aesthetes alike. For Fry and his fellow Bloomsburys, education in the arts encouraged real creativity and therefore was a stimulus to the imaginative life. He argued that this kind of education should be provided not only for future artists but also to the average child, as a means to develop the capacity for understanding and enjoying the arts. As Upchurch shows, Keynes agreed with Fry and Bell that artists needed economic security combined with 'an atmosphere of openhandedness, of liberality, of candour, of toleration, of experiment, of optimism'.[44)]

Although CEMA ignored ballet during its first two years under Dr Jones, Keynes' belief in artistic excellence and his personal interest in ballet enabled CEMA to introduce tours by dance companies from 1942, allowing the Sadler's Wells Ballet to become an associate of CEMA in the beginning of 1943.[45)] His interest in ballet was mainly cultivated through his marriage in 1925 to Lydia Lopokova, the former Diaghilev dancer, whom de Valois called 'my greatest friend in the theatre'.[46)] As CEMA funded three ballet companies (the Sadler's Wells Ballet, Ballet Rambert and Ballet Jooss), the support

41) Kenneth Clark in Siddall(1999), p.12.

42) Sinclair(1995). p.36.

43) Upchurch(2004), p.207. Such distrust of and antagonism to government institutions was shown from the writing of Fry and Bell, as they were certain that the committees, which decide on art purchases or commissions, 'sought to satisfy the tastes of their least experienced members, and make safe decisions that would not offend the "herd"··· [and] followed public sentiment in making decisions, rather than seeking to educate the public to greater aesthetic appreciation'.

44) John Maynard Keynes in Upchurch(2004), p.209.

45) Siddall(1999), p.12; Haskell(1943), p.22.

46) H. Hammond(2012), Ninette de Valois, the Bloomsbury Group, and the role of visual culture in the formation of the early Royal Ballet, *Ninette de Valois: Adventurous Traditionalist,* R. Cave & L. Worth(eds.)(London: Dance Books Ltd), p.185.

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of CEMA enabled the Sadler's Wells Ballet not only to survive but indeed to grow substantially, bringing about an increased number of performances including widespread tours.[47] According to de Valois, at the start of the war the Sadler's Wells Ballet was only able to offer two performances per week as a touring company; later, however, the company provided up to eight performances per week, carrying on despite the difficult conditions (bombings, falling curtains, etc.).[48]

As Stephen Spender shows, the war revitalized the arts, including ballet, creating '[a] little island of civilization surrounded by burning churches – that was how the arts seemed in England during war time'.[49] Sinclair writes that the CEMA companies raised civilian morale by building 'ready-made audiences of an entirely unsophisticated kind', that is, audiences who had never seen a stage production yet gradually obtained familiarity with theatre etiquette through its programs.[50] More specifically, White argues that the extensive tours of the Sadler's Wells Ballet resulted in the growth of ballet audiences during the wartime years.[51] According to Sorley Walker, the endless touring of the Sadler's Wells Ballet resulted in 'thousands of new friends in London and all over the country in towns where Ballet had never been seen before…performances were punctuated with air-raid warnings…the Company danced through them all'.[52] The combined effect of this was to encourage the public's interest in ballet, to raise ballet's status 'from entertainment to art',[53] and to stimulate appreciation of a national culture which was previously taken for granted but now seemed increasingly precarious under wartime conditions.[54] In this way, ballet, and de Valois' company in particular, began to function as a site for the creation and consolidation of national culture, thus building the idea of national ballet in Britain.

Soon after the war, the Royal Opera House in Covent Garden reopened on 20 February 1946; also early that year the Sadler's Wells Ballet moved from the Sadler's Wells Theatre to the Royal Opera House. White argues that the Royal Opera House was able to accommodate its own resident opera and ballet companies, 'at last [putting] London on a level with other great centres of opera and ballet in different parts of the world'.[55] Keynes' efforts (provision of buildings such as theatres, personal support for ballet, etc.) were instrumental in this move, and his vision pushed the company to position itself as the standard-bearer of British civilization and a key source of national pride. Moreover, his interest in the formation of national ballet, opera and theatre companies is what enabled these

47) White(1975), p.151; Siddall(1999), p.13.
48) Ninette de Valois in Haskell(1943), p.2.
49) Stephen Spender in Sinclair(1995), p.33.
50) Sinclair(1995), p.33.
51) White(1975), pp.52-53.
52) Sorley Walker in A. Meadmore(2010), A *True Heritage: the story of The Royal Ballet Scholl and Companies*(London:A White Lodge Museum & Ballet Resource Centre Publication), p.17.
53) Siddall(1999), p.12.
54) Ibid.
55) White(1975), p.53.

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companies to secure their annual operating subsidies and the largest percentage of Arts Council fund s.[56] Thus de Valois payed tribute to Keynes and to CEMA's contribution to the ballet in Britain, stating, 'Lord Keynes and the Arts Council did everything for dance in Britain'.[57]

It is interesting to note that the Sadler's Wells Ballet was promoted as the resident ballet company for the Royal Opera House without much change in its repertoire, yet the resident opera had to be built specifically for the venue. According to White, the public was also 'surprised and delighted to find that during the war [Sadler's Wells Ballet] company had grown so much in stature that its promotion was fully justified'.[58] This shows that although it was Keynes' vision that brought opportunities for the Sadler's Wells Ballet during and after the war, it was the company's own persistent efforts throughout the war years to stage performances and maintain high artistic standards that ensured its survival and eventual dominance as Britain's flagship ballet company.

It is also important to address a major difference between the arts policies of Britain on the one hand and Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia on the other. Unlike the latter authoritarian states, Britain showed great interest in guaranteeing artistic autonomy for funding recipients; under Keynes' direction, CEMA refused to exercise direct control over the creation and organization of their programs, leaving them with almost complete freedom.[59] According to Upchurch, this commitment to artistic freedom became the core principle of the Arts Council, what was known in the 1970s as the "arm-length principle".[60] Moreover, just as this principle gave de Valois room to autonomously develop and put into practice her plans for establishing a national ballet, it likewise provided a space for critics to intervene and make suggestions (often authoritatively), which served as another major impetus for the construction of the idea of national ballet in Britain.

IV. Ballet Critics and the Sadler's Wells Ballet

According to Helena Hammond, the Bloomsbury Group not only influenced Keynes' view on the support of the arts, it also strongly impacted de Valois' artistic affiliation, as she forged close working relationships with its members, especially in the 1930s. Hammond highlights three ways in which de Valois made connections with the Bloomsburys: firstly, through a familial connection with the artist

56) Upchurch(2004), pp.215-216.
57) de Valois in Sinclair(1995), p.55.
58) White(1975), p.149.
59) Upchurch(2004), p.210. Upchurch shows clearly how the writings of Fry and Bell criticize the dictatorships of Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia for using artists for propagandistic reasons, with 'no real concern with art as a free expression of the human spirit'; Upchurch(2004), p.204. Highlighting the Bloomsburys' influence, she shows how Keynes insisted on providing a model for state funding that ensured recipients' freedom to innovate and maximized their independence from government bureaucracy.
60) Upchurch(2004), pp.213-215.

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Duncan Grant, a distant cousin; secondly, through Keynes, who played a pivotal role in developing the recognition and financial security of her company; lastly, through de Valois' practical collaborations with Bloomsbury artists such as Vanessa Bell and Grant.[61] If Upchurch highlights the early influences of the Bloomsbury Group in shaping the cultural policy of Britain through its relationship with Keynes, Hammond exposes how the connections between Keynes, de Valois and the members of Bloomsbury Group developed a firm grounding for de Valois' company in the early twentieth century, even prior to the actual declaration of the Second World War and the establishment of CEMA. Hammond explains that the Bloomsbury artists were already highly respected, and thus that de Valois, by having them collaborate on her ballets, procured endorsements for her work and her fledgling company 'with precious cultural kudos and capital at vital points in their early formation'.[62]

During this initial period, such collaborative works were actually made possible through financial support from the Camargo Society – a London society that created and produced a series of ballet performances to foster young British dancers and choreographers between 1930 and 1933. Initially, it was Philip Richardson (editor of The Dancing Times) and Arnold Haskell (a young yet enthusiastic critic) who called for a regular meeting of London dance professionals (including de Valois and Marie Rambert) after the death of Diaghilev to discuss ways to maintain ballet's vitality after the loss of the great impresario. These meetings led to the establishment of the Camargo Society. Haskell became the Society's art director, Keynes was its treasurer, and de Valois and Lopokova were members of its General Committee. Here, de Valois' close connections with numerous writers and critics – for instance, with Richardson and Haskell, as well as with (music critics) Edwin Evans and Ernest Newman, and (author and dance bookseller) Cyril Beaument – were instrumental both in enabling de Valois' involvement within the Society and in securing the Society's support for de Valois' ballets. Moreover, although Keynes was the central figure connecting de Valois with the Bloomsbury artists, de Valois was herself an important figure who (perhaps through Lopokova) further stimulated Keynes' interest in ballet by bringing him into this vital circle of dance professionals and critics that established the initial foundation of ballet in Britain.

While the connection between the Bloomsbury artists and the Camargo Society seems to have developed through the interactions between Keynes and de Valois, this was not the only factor; the Bloomsbury artists, de Valois and the members of the Camargo Society also shared certain artistic

61) Upchurch(2004), p.212; Hammond(2012), p.187. Upchurch elaborates that Keynes' youthful affair with the painter Duncan Grant initiated Keynes' close friendship with the Bloomsbury Group, and that his marriage to Lopokova disturbed but did not end this friendship. Hammond similarly explains that, while Ballet Russes' London performances from 1911 excited the members of the Bloomsbury Group, Keynes' marriage to one of Ballet Russes' dancers (Lopokova) garnered mixed reception by them. Hammond interestingly exposes how both Grant and Lopokova played an essential role in forging de Valois' relationship with Keynes as well as with the other members of Bloomsbury Group. As Grant was a distant cousin of de Valois, it happens that de Valois was close to both of Keynes' lovers.

62) Hammond(2012), p.185.

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tastes and values.[63] The main effect of this artistic affiliation was the impact of Ballets Russes, firstly through its incorporation of post-impressionist art, and secondly through the idea of ballet as a total art work. Ballet Russes' post-impressionist exoticism impacted the Bloomsbury artists, Grant and Bell in particular, well before it was firmly embraced by the British cultural establishment. De Valois also promoted post-impressionist art through creations like *Bar aux Folies-bergère* (which called for Ashley Dukes and William Chappell to interpret and translate Édouard Manet), as her early apprenticeship with Diaghilev's company provided the core artistic foundations for her choreography and her creative vision. As Hammond notes, de Valois' 'close identification with Diaghilev's precepts for ballet, with his advocacy of ballet as a one-act, total art work, in particular, enabled the choreographies she created to register in terms readily recognisable to Bloomsbury artists'.[64] Thus the affinity for post-impressionist art and the notion of ballet as a total art work – the central principle of Diaghilev's company, which highlights the collaboration between choreographer, composer, designer and librettist – was a significant factor in the cultivation of the working relationship between de Valois and the Bloomsbury artists. It is also important to note that the idea of ballet as a total art work is what enabled the funding and support of the Camargo Society during these years, as the Society was 'founded on Diaghilevian principles: "Ballet being a collaboration of the three arts of dancing, music and decorative design…"'.[65]

With the Bloomsbury Group, the Camargo Society was also invested in the creation of national culture, and accordingly aimed to establish ballet as 'an indigenous and permanently based art in England' and to provide 'training and opportunity to British dancers, composers and artists'.[66] To this end, the Society announced in 1932 that the music was to be 'mainly selected from new or unfamiliar pieces by English composers…the collaboration of artists such as John Banting, Venessa Bell and Duncan Grant is expected'.[67] In this way official and direct working relationships between the Bloomsbury artists and the Camargo Society were forged under the goal of creating so-called indigenous ballets, showing that from very early on (far earlier than the period when CEMA stressed the creation of national culture) the British ballet field desired to become an art form that functioned to draw on and enhance native talent in order to represent the nation. Moreover, de Valois' commitment to building indigenous ballets by collaborating with British artists during these years of the Society's support seems to have provided the early basis and justification for her company to be embraced under the safe umbrella of CEMA, when the Council strove for the creation of national culture.

63) Ibid., p.189. According to Hammond, '[the] artistic aims and tastes of the Bloomsbury Group and de Valois especially aligned in the ballets she created under the patronage and funding of the Camargo Society, with its recruitment of artists drawn from Bloomsbury and the surrounding cultural milieu'.
64) Ibid., p.188.
65) Ibid., p.189.
66) Ibid., p.188.
67) Ibid., pp.188-189.

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Given its influence over the ballet field, the Camargo Society elevated and secured respectable positions for critics in the early 1930s, providing a certain degree of authority in giving suggestions and guidance for the future of ballet in Britain. This was perhaps inevitable, as the critics were providing financial support by giving sanction to certain ballets and thus increasing performance opportunities. The fundamental principles of the Camargo Society were formed in the 1930s, and were further developed in the writings of critics during wartime, particularly in the 1940s, as they actively discussed (and thus constructed) the idea of national ballet in Britain, while extensively examining the Sadler's Wells Ballet as a candidate for the national ballet company. De Valois' close relationship with the critical circle was both an important impetus to this nomination and a prime factor in the formation of her vision of building a national ballet company.[68)]

By the early 1940s (and well into the 1950s), writings on the idea of national ballet poured out through various dance-related publications, particularly *The Dancing Times*, evidencing the intensified nationalism in Britain in general and in the ballet field in particular.[69)] Among these sources, two key texts from 1943 outlined explicit requirements for a national ballet, providing suggestions for the future direction of the ballet in Britain and examining the suitability of the Sadler's Wells Ballet as the institution for the national ballet. The first was a book by Haskell titled *The National Ballet*, and the second was Eveleigh Leith's article 'Towards a national ballet?' published in *The Dancing Times*.[70)] Interestingly the two writers disagreed on the subject of the requirements for a national ballet company; however, both agreed on the appropriateness of the Sadler's Wells Ballet as the institution to stand for the national ballet of Britain.

For Haskell, 'the essential requisites of a national ballet are a fixed domicile, a school attached to the theatre and that the majority of dancers and staff belong to the country of domicile'.[71)] Leith, in turn, had her own list of demands, but differed from Haskell mainly by arguing that '[the] main direction of the organisation must be in the hands of persons of British nationality, although the talent of artists of other nationalities should be freely welcomed within the organisation'.[72)] Thus while Leith showed openness towards the company's recruitment, Haskell's attitude on personnel was more closed, as he thought the majority of the company's staff and artists needed to be British.

Haskell and Leith also disagreed on the necessity of possessing ballet works that inscribe national textures. While Leith argued that a national ballet company should produce 'a body of work representative to a greater or lesser degree of the national character, tradition, and creative genius',[73)]

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68) Genné(2000), p.141. According to Genné, de Valois had close relationships with influential writers and critics, all of which stimulated her conceptions of company management and repertory planning.

69) The list of these writings were given in the footnote on pp.3-4.

70) Haskell(1943); Leith(1943). Haskell's close relationship with de Valois is evident by the fact that de Valois wrote the overture (preface) to his book.

71) Haskell(1943), p.32.

72) Leith(1943), p.311.

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Haskell considered this unnecessary as he felt it would happen naturally and spontaneously; in his view the company's permanent repertoire should comprise 'those "museum" pieces that are the classical foundations of the art', evoking the Bloomsburys' belief in the educational value of building large national art collections.[74] In support of his argument, Haskell gave examples of overseas ballets which had their own national theme but were nonetheless unsuccessful. Here, Diaghilev's so-called 'Russian' ballets, *The Polovtsian Dances from Prince Igor*, *The Firebird*, and *Le Coq d'Or*, were compared with his more successful productions, *Les Sylphides, Le Spectre de la Rose*, and *Carnaval*, which were grounded in the classical traditions of ballet.[75]

Despite these differences, both writers agreed that the Sadler's Wells Ballet was the most appropriate choice for a national ballet company. According to Haskell, the Sadler's Wells Ballet more or less fulfilled his requisites, as it had a permanent home with an associated school and 'an all-British personnel', and functioned as 'a museum for the great classical works'.[76] The ballets that the company remounted between 1931-39 after hiring (the former *régisseur* of the Russian Imperial Ballet) Nicolai Sergueye,[77] namely nineteenth century classics such as *Sleeping Beauty*, *Swan Lake* and *Giselle*, seem to fall nicely into the category of those museum pieces Haskell insisted on. The Sadler's Wells Ballet likewise met Leith's conditions: first, the board of governors and the joint administrators of the Vic-Wells, as well as the company's director and general manager, were all British born, and second, the company's seven newly created ballets – including de Valois' *Job, The Rake's Progress* and *The Prospect Before Us*, Robert Helpmann's *Comus* and *Hamlet*, and Frederick Ashton's *Façade* – all fell under the heading of nationally produced works. It is interesting that Haskell also describes exactly the same works as 'the truly "English" ballet', even though the production of such works was not essential in his view.[78]

These active debates over the requirements of a national ballet company shaped the central concepts underpinning the formation of the company's repertoire. De Valois firmly believed in 'the notion that any ballet company must present both traditional and modern ballets'.[79] In this regard, de

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73) Ibid., p.311.
74) Haskell(1943), p.33.
75) Ibid.
76) Ibid., p.34.
77) Wikipedia. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergeyev_Collection, 2018. 11. 2.>. Nicolai Sergueyev was a *régisseur* of the Imperial Ballet (precursor of the Kirov/Mariinsky Ballet) at the Maryinsky Theatre, St Petersburg. He fled Russia in 1919 with 'a collection of choreographic notation, music, designs for décor and costumes, theatre programs, photos and other materials that document the repertory of the Imperial Ballet'. The majority of the choreographic notations were of the works of Marius Petipa and Lev Ivanov. De Valois recruited Sergueyev to mount some nineteenth century Russian ballets with the aim of forming the classical canon by restoring these works as close to the originals as possible. The choice was inevitably made only from what was available from the Sergueyev Collection, and the originality of his interpretations was rather debatable.
78) Haskell(1943), p.33.
79) Genné(2000), pp.133-134.

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Valois is considered an ‘adventurous traditionalist’[80] who aimed to build ‘repertory theatre, the orchestral repertory, [and] the art museum with a continually growing modern wing – past and present, classical and modern’.[81] Moreover, this aim clearly reflects the influence of the Bloomsbury Group. For example, de Valois’ ceaseless attempts to produce new works which would fulfil Leith’s criteria recalls Keynes’ emphasis on the idea of creating and fostering national culture. The works produced by de Valois, Helpmann, and most notably Ashton were read and justified by influential critics as British-born ballets, providing a rationale for arguing for ballet as a rightful art form for national representation. At the same time, de Valois’ insistence, more in line with Haskell’s views, on remounting traditional works recalls the Bloomsburys’ valuing of masterpieces in forming museum collections. The views of Haskell and the Bloomsbury Group undoubtedly shaped de Valois’ appreciation of traditional ballet works; still, as Genné argues, it was thanks to her constant practical dedication to this principle that she was able to establish and restore the historical canon.[82] According to Genné, while a vast number of ballets were created in the nineteenth century, works like *Sleeping Beauty, Swan Lake* and *Giselle* were and still are considered canonical examples of the genre, and all were chosen and restored by de Valois from the Sergueyev Collection during the 1930s.

De Valois’ remounting of *Sleeping Beauty* is particularly significant. A landmark production, it served both as the opening performance at the Royal Opera House in 1946 and as the first program of the Sadler’s Wells Ballet’s initial tour to North America and Canada in 1949, where it was shown primarily at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York. The Sadler’s Wells Ballet’s first international tour was ‘a triumphant success, netting $75,000 for the Treasury’,[83] and accordingly garnered wide praise in various publications including *The Dancing Times*. The company members were treated as cultural ambassadors – for instance, the *corps de ballet* modelled for *The Ambassador*, a British Export Journal for Textiles and Fashions.[84] In 1943, Leith rightfully pointed out that culture-exporting bodies like the Ministry of Information, the B.B.C. and the British Council were becoming aware of the Sadler’s Wells Ballet’s value, as six years later such bodies, specifically the Covent Garden Opera Trust, in association with the Arts Council of Great Britain and the British Council, sponsored its first international tour.

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80) The Royal Ballet School hosted a conference (and subsequent publication) titled Ninette de *Valois: Adventurous Traditionalist*, to mark the 10th Anniversary of the death of de Valois, and to facilitate a thorough and multi-disciplinary exploration of her life and legacy.

81) Genné(2000), p.153.

82) Ibid., p.135. According to Genné, ballet in the early twentieth century ‘existed without a visible past [and] without a widely accepted canonical repertory’, as the nineteenth century ballets were not kept alive through an intensive interest in modern choreographies (mostly shown through the performances of Ballet Russes). She further argues that although Ballet Russes mounted the full evening-length *Sleeping Princess* (the former title of *Sleeping Beauty*), it failed to reach a large audience as audiences were more used to contemporary one-act ballets.

83) Meadmore(2010), p.18.

84) Ibid.

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Genné further highlights the impact of this tour by arguing that 'the notion of ballet "classics" crossed the Atlantic', leading to the '[hosting] of other classics mounted by North American companies'.[85] Similarly, Lillian Moore points out that it was the first time the Americans had seen full-length classical ballets like *Sleeping Beauty* and *Swan Lake*, while it was also America's formal introduction to modern British choreography – namely the works by Ashton, de Valois and Helpmann.[86] Here, Moore argues that it would be absurd not to point out the remarkable attention given to Margot Fonteyn during this tour, as she was highly praised for her extraordinary dancing and the qualities of warmth and womanly tenderness it exuded. In sum, de Valois' all-embracing vision and hard work – the remounting of nineteenth century ballets as canonical works, creation of indigenous modern choreography, fostering of British artists and dancers, close interaction with the critical circles that provided artistic legitimacy, and securing of government funding – contributed not only to the elevation of ballet's status as high, respectable national art form, but also to raising and securing a respectable position for British ballet in the international domain. Finally, it led directly to the Sadler's Wells Ballet being granted a Royal Charter and new name, the Royal Ballet, thus fixing its position and status as Britain's national ballet company.

V. Conclusion

This paper provided a close analysis firstly of the cultural policies of CEMA (later the Arts Council) and their effects on the survival and growth of the Sadler's Wells Ballet during and after the Second World War. It looked specifically at the influence of the Bloomsbury Group on Keynes' vision of government-supported arts, arguing that his aim of creating policies for national culture and his valuing of artistic excellence helped lay the foundations for ballet, especially for de Valois' company, in the war years. Secondly, it explored the relationship between the members of the Bloomsbury Group and the Camargo Society, particularly through de Valois' artistic collaborations, showing how a common artistic agenda, namely the creation of national indigenous ballets, developed during the 1930s, prior to the actual declaration of war. In fulfilling this aim they showed the potential of ballet to serve as a nationally representative cultural medium. Thirdly, the paper examined the writings and activities of critics after the formation of the Camargo Society, clarifying their central role in constructing the idea of national ballet, as well as in establishing the status of the Sadler's Wells Ballet as the national ballet company. Lastly, it closely examined the management plans and artistic vision of de Valois, revealing the active and reciprocal interactions between the political, critical and artistic fields.

85) Genné(2000), pp.151-152.
86) L. Moore(1949), Sadler's Wells conquers New York, *The Dancing Times December*, p.138.

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It is important to point out that the vast majority of studies on the Sadler's Wells Ballet during this period generally highlight the impact of a particular figure or field. Genné, for example, stresses the significance of de Valois' artistic vision, specifically her return to the classical canon as a way of elevating the status of British ballet internationally, while Hammond highlights the influence of the Bloomsbury Group on de Valois' emphasis on the visual arts and artistic collaboration; finally, many studies on the history of CEMA (e.g. White, Sinclair, Upchurch) stress Keynes' impact on the growth of de Valois' company. While noting all of these contributions, this paper rather stresses the significance of the various relationships between Keynes, the Bloomsbury Group, de Valois and the critics in building all-inclusive artistic and management efforts that enabled the construction and actualization of the idea of national ballet and the promotion of the Sadler's Wells Ballet as the national ballet company.

This approach allows for an examination of the key traits of British nationalism in two ways: firstly in regards to real external threats, secondly in relation to the ideals of civilization, freedom and democracy. One strong trait of British nationalism is the idea that British identity is shaped in opposition to the enemies of other identities. If France was the old enemy, the Nazis and the Bolsheviks were the current enemies. As all of these countries were fighting for global power and influence, it was necessary for Britain to emphasize the continuing superiority of British culture and art to secure and justify Britain's prominent position in the international dialogue. In this sense, as the Bloomsburys claimed that all art should address and consider the current society and its needs, CEMA's encouragement of high standards of national culture via exclusive financial support for the professional arts was an appropriate response insofar as it fulfilled the main requirements of the society during a period of severe foreign threats. As Wulff shows, this focus on fostering national culture and the idea of national ballet was one effect of the intense nationalism that developed in reaction to the weakening of British power during this period. Thus the nationalist aims of the British ballet field flourished under the war conditions.

The presence of external threats not only fostered a reassuring sense of British power and pride, it also made Britain stand firmly for the ideals of freedom, democracy and civilization. But although this latter aim was likewise pursued through support of the arts, it is difficult to see CEMA's policies under Keynes' direction as accomplishing a cultural democracy, as it directed its subsidies only to high, professional art. If culture democracy means securing individuals' rights in making cultural and aesthetic choices by equally valuing and promoting amateur, popular, and rural culture, then this was not achieved through CEMA's policies and programs. CEMA's relative exclusivity means that its stated aims of supporting the arts for the sake of the whole population, and as an expression of a free, democratic and civilized society, remained unfulfilled. This recalls Spencer and Wollman's study highlighting the ways Britain defined itself through exclusionary citizenship practices despite

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stressing its civic national character. Likewise, just as CEMA stressed the idea of national culture, it fostered such culture at the expense of amateur, regional and other unprofessional art, lending further support to Spencer and Wollman's argument that the traditional political/cultural and civic/ethnic nationalist dichotomies are always far less clear-cut in actual practice.

The paper further examined the ways in which the terms "British" and "English" were used by critics. Somewhat surprisingly, "English" was frequently used interchangeably with "British", in which cases "English" actually *meant* "British" insofar as it was employed in a more inclusive sense, embracing Scottish, Welsh and often even Irish identities. For instance, the Camargo Society appealed to the idea of *ius sanguinis* when promoting non-English artists (e.g. Grant, a British artist born in Scotland, and de Valois, Anglo-Irish with British citizenship) to the end of developing ballet as an indigenous English art form. The later writings of Haskell and Leith in the 1940s also highlight the use of British personnel in building a national ballet company, yet the terms 'British ballet' and 'English ballet' were used without much consideration of their difference. Such free and even careless employment recalls Kumar's argument that the division between Englishness and Britishness is only a recent development arising from the growth of studies on Englishness in the 1990s.

The use of these terms by the Camargo Society in the early 1930s offers further insights into the problem of English/British identity as it formed vis-à-vis ubiquitous external threats. Colley argues that British identity was formed mostly in opposition to the perception of a dangerous other and was to that extent flexible and dispensable should this other withdraw or disappear. It is interesting, however, that the Camargo Society's idea of fostering "British" artists in building the ballet as an indigenous art form of England was developed during the period when there was no direct imposition of external threats, before the actual declaration of war in 1939. In other words, if the strong nationalism of the early ballet field reflected and expressed the more inclusive idea of Britishness (as opposed to Englishness), it appears that the shaping of such an all-inclusive British identity was driven by factors other than the immediate presence of external threats (e.g. Germany and Russia).

Recall that Kumar argued that Scottish and Welsh residents, and immigrants from the former British empire, often preferred to be "British", as it provided them with a sense of secured citizenship and a reasonably assured future. In the case of ballet critics during the 1930-40s, the reverse was evident, as the prominence of British citizens was often used to further embellish the status of Englishness. For example, the Camargo Society aimed to develop ballet as an indigenous art form of England precisely by drawing on the artistic creativity and talent of British artists. Similarly, Haskell and Leith both highlighted the importance of British personnel and leadership in laying out their requirements for forming the national ballet company of England. De Valois, for example, was Irish by birth, yet she represented not Irish ballet but English ballet. While in some ways de Valois' directorship implies Irish subversion of English dominance, the critics did not see it that way, and

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considered her Irish nationality as constitutive of her British identity (again, often a stand-in for English identity). This is especially interesting as, although Colley excludes Ireland from British identity and argues for treating Ireland as a separate matter, the critics rather overlook the complexity of the historical relations between Ireland and Britain, and simply regard de Valois as British. This ambiguous employment of the terms "English" and "British" ballet might also have been a kind of sneaky manipulation to promote the Sadler's Wells Ballet as the most acceptable institution for representing the national ballet. If de Valois used her British citizenship to justify her position as the leader of the national ballet company, the critics rather reversed this strategy, exploiting British artistic genius to shape the idea, and to build the credibility of, English ballet. In sum, ballet was a rather extraordinary case where British identity aided and enriched the status of English identity.

Perhaps more important for the early ballet field than the principle of *ius sanguinis* was the principle of *ius soli* in determining who counts as a native artist worthy of financial support and artistic validation. In this sense, the ballet field contributed to building the kind of civic nationhood that Britain claimed to be fighting for during the Second World War. However, this contribution was partially undermined by critics who insisted on labelling the ballets by de Valois, Helpmann and Ashton as the truly 'English' ballet given their infusion of English themes and characteristics, thereby revealing their own shared belief in the existence of certain qualities and features common and typical to English-born people and their reliance on the idea of *ius sanguinis* in developing the concept of the "English ballet repertoire". In short, the British ballet field shifted its position between the ideas of civic/ethnic nationalism and *ius soli/ius sanguinis* as the situation required, just as Spencer and Wollman argue. Likewise, one of the main traits of British nationalism promoted by the British ballet field during the 1930-50s was oscillation between the ideas of Britishness and Englishness, often in relation to the ideas of civic/ethnic nationalism and *ius soli/ius sanguinis*.

Overall, this investigation has aimed to make a contribution to research on British/English nationalism. It reveals the significant role played by the ballet field during the 1930-50s, particularly through the formation of the idea of national ballet, in inscribing and furthering the nationalistic mindset of the population, thereby further shaping the common characteristics of British/English nationalism. Moreover, this paper also fills a gap in the existing Korean dance scholarship by providing a detailed investigation of British ballet, a topic that has received less attention compared to other major ballet centers like Russia and America. In doing so, it shows that even prominent ballet centers go through an intensive process of nationalization in justifying the nomination of ballet as a nationally representative cultural form, a fact that will hopefully generate further research on the idea of national ballet and its potential to stand for the nation and its identity.

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Abstract

1930-50년대 영국, '내셔널 발레'라는 개념의 형성

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본 연구는 1930-50년대 영국에서 '내셔널 발레'라는 개념이 형성되는 과정을 중심으로 20세기 초까지 하나의 오락거리로 인식되던 영국에서의 발레가 국가의 자부심을 보여주는 원천이자 국가를 대표하는 고급문화예술로 승격하게 된 원인을 분석한다. 이때 세계2차대전 당시 CEMA(Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts)의 문화예술정책, 평론가들의 활동과 그 영향력, 그리고 새들러스웰스발레단(로얄발레단의 전신)의 경영철학 및 예술적 노력을 집중분석하며, 정치·평론·발레계의 유기적인 상호관계를 통해 로얄발레단이 국가대표발레단으로 자리잡았음을 강조한다.

나아가, 본 연구는 "정치적 혹은 문화적 내셔널리즘", "시민적(civic) 혹은 민족적(ethnic) 내셔널리즘" 그리고 "출생지주의(ius soli) 혹은 혈통주의(ius sanguinis)"라는 이론적으로 상충되는 구분들 사이의 활발한 협상과정을 통해 영국의 내서널 발레가 정립 및 실현되었음을 나타내며, 이는 "브리티쉬적(Britishness)" 그리고 "잉글리쉬적(Englishness)"이라는 개념의 경계선을 재조정하는 역할을 하였음을 주장한다. 따라서, 본 연구를 통해 '내셔널 발레'라는 개념은 영국 내셔널리즘의 주요특성들을 구체화할 뿐 아니라, 예외적 사례들을 내포하며 영국 내셔널리즘에 대한 학문적 깊이를 더한다.

Keywords: 내셔널 발레(national ballet), 내셔널리즘(Nationalism), 세계2차대전(Second World War), 영국 발레(British/English ballet), 로얄발레단(Royal Ballet)

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