Unveiling Respectability in Curricular Formations of Concert Dance:

A Historical Analysis of Body, Refinement, and Agency in the 1940s for African-American Women Dancers at UW-Madison

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ABSTRACT

Recent literature in dance studies has called for a revisionist inquiry into the racial lineages of the dance education archives. Drawing together dance, education, and Black studies, I explore the shaping of dance modernism and the national, gendered, and racial formulations overwriting students in higher education. This dissertation examines how mid-20th-century discourses of eugenics, health, and Black womanhood shaped the Black dancing body as an inscribed curriculum within dance education.

Discussed are three students, Jessie E. Abbott, Mary Hinkson, and Matt Turney, who studied under Margaret H'Doubler Claxton, founder of the University of Wisconsin-Madison dance program, between 1940 and 1952. Through a critical framework of *intersectional assemblages*, I examine the production of the Black dancing body through U-Madison's dance program—the first of its kind. Over 500 archival materials, including student records, assessments, recommendation letters, and administrative documents were collected from university and national archives. These archives include the New York Public Library, Southern Illinois University, and the American Dance Festival archives.

Chapter 2 identifies creativity and self-improvement in the curriculum as tools to regulate women's emotionality, irrationality, and "primitive" nature. Chapter 3 explores the intersection of womanhood, respectability, and Black women's position within it, illustrating how "success" or expulsion from the program was negotiated by portraying various desires, especially the desire to teach rather than perform. Chapter 4 identifies the shaping of Black womanhood through the cult of true womanhood's systems of modifying behavior through charm and beauty. It also considers how Black women used potentiality as a strategy to resist societal classifications and health disparities.

This dissertation reveals the conditions of possibility within dance curricula, offering three key claims: (1) The dancing bodies of Black women are bodies of enunciation, existing within prescription, practice, teaching, and performance; (2) Black women make visible the racialized, gendered orders of womanhood and were thus framed as potential threats to the social order; (3) These women, as embodied archives, reveal conditions of possibility for shaping new subjectivities. This dissertation contributes to dance, Black studies, and education by analyzing how dance education functioned as inscribed curricula of racialized regulation and epistemic resistance.

DEDICATION

To my mother, my grandmother, and all the Black girls whose identities have felt fragmented.

To my father, my brother, my husband, and all the Black boys whom the world too often sees as a threat.

To myself, who turned to God to gather the pieces and begin again.

Though I hope this reaches many, I pray it touches you especially.

May God grant you wholeness, joy, and dancing.

This is for us.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As a graduate student, I was often hyperaware of saying the "right" thing—asking the "right" question, giving the "right" answer. I was confused about which conferences were the "right" to attend, where to meet the "right" people, and whether I had studied the "right" amount for any given talk or presentation. Graduate school often feels like a prolonged experience of being "wrong." And that's because, in many ways, you are. You are, by definition, not yet a doctor. And the impotential of that "not yet" can feel crushing. This dissertation examines how individuals navigate educational systems not simply to succeed within them, but to survive them—to make sense of themselves amid the labels, expectations, and constraints those systems impose. It is about the ongoing negotiation of identity, worth, and belonging within structures that often fail to see us fully.

This discursive navigation is the reality of being a social being, a person among others. It is a dance, moving and weaving in and out of relation with others. And dance has the mechanics to explain this process. These dynamics manifested in my work in 2021 when I partnered with a community-based dance arts collaboratory in Wisconsin. There I was interested in what was being performed, expressed, and received when Black children were dancing on the stage in a primarily white institution (PWI) and through the medium of modern dance[1]. This program was framed as an arts-based intervention in the underserved rural and low-income communities of Madison, seeking to foster embodiment, connection, and a positive self-concept in youth. What I

[1] Here, I use dance, broadly to refer to a movement of expression. However, this dissertation is also about dance as an academic discipline, particularly the development of a scientific exploration of movement later to be known as a branch of Modern Dance. Modern dance became a practice of moving away from the rigid nature of ballet and enacting a more expressionist practice, though the moment of its conception is contested. I acknowledge this complex history and to reconcile this language usage, I use the phrase "dance" broadly and "concert dance" when referring to these theatre histories to encompass the dance that came from this time.

found were manifestations of dance's appeal to the inner world of the child in discourse as well as the negotiations that those children, and the teaching artists, had to enact within particular racialized and gendered logics.

Dance scholars understand this position between being the subject, the inner expression of social narratives, while also being an object of knowledge—a thing of discourse. Dance scholar Jane Desmond (1997) concurs by stating,

> "Not only is "the body" an object of knowledge and of discourse, it is also a lived entity whose practices and perceptions are culturally shaped and shaping. Therefore, a close examination of dance practices can reveal the dialogic process of enactment and constitution of social subjectivities." (p.15)

Desmond's conceptualization of the body allows for the lived, subjective experience to exist alongside the body's objectification, rendering the dancing body a recentered subject of discourse. In this way, Desmond enters into conversation with Foucauldian scholars in their decentering the subject and discussing the object of discourse. Foucault understands that statements, rules, and processes are acting and enacting upon forces (Foucault, 1989). So, Desmond sees the body, within dance, as existing within that subject/object position.

All dance movement has a social epistemology, a system of social knowledge, marked by its aesthetic character (Banks, 2007; Hanstein, 1999). Particularly, dance scholars discuss dances from specific social groups and communities as socially and ontologically informed ways of thinking, distinguishing one dance from another (e.g., Gottschild, 2003; DeFrantz, 2004). For African American (Black) dancers, like those featured in this dissertation, these social epistemologies, and aesthetic characters are marked by colonial histories of enslavement, as

Christina Sharpe terms “the afterlife” of slavery, as well as self-expression in a society that oppresses the marginalized. The epistemological systems of dance forms are central to the thinking of this work.

The social epistemologies of movements are also ontological. Thus, African American movements are spiritually attuned and deeply embedded in community (Nadine-Graves, 2010), connected to the Earth (Gottschild, 2003), and hold both tradition and innovation (Briahmah, 2025). These apparatuses, or building blocks of the discourse of African American movement, are informed by cultural value systems and social practices of the African diaspora, which includes the colonial histories mentioned above. Through studies of epigenetics, we know that the body holds this knowledge. Being an African American dancer myself, this knowledge offered me an expansion of what I was seeing in curriculum studies as the sociology of knowledge. This knowledge centered the body itself as an archive and a navigational driver through the geopolitical.

By “body”, I refer to the body of the human being. This body is the material and aesthetic expression of vitality and death, an expression of self in the world. I also consider the body as an archive, the material container of historical assemblages, a holder of cultural memory (Taylor, 2003). The body of the dancer is an anchoring object, producing the effects of daily and local sites of power and practice. Within these constructs of discursive formation, the sociological categories of race, gender, or class and the cultural realities of the geopolitical, ethnic, and cosmological productions of knowledge become entangled as the rules and norms of statements made, remade, and remembered. The body is a subject—a personhood, an expression of self, an identity—and an object—a thing that can be known. This dissertation’s understanding of

subjectivity, within the context of being an object of dance and bodily training, is central to this dissertation's argument.

I choose to acknowledge the both/and of the subject/object position, choosing to identify the rules and practices within and among the statements themselves that arise from the archival discourse. Then, choosing at other times to recenter the subject, because bodies that are 'read', seen, and experienced as text, have tangible consequences (e.g., Blumenfield-Jones, 1997; Cruz-Banks, 2021; McCarthy-Brown, 2017), which can be called the lived experience of identity. This is the part of us that is seen and experienced, even as it is known. Slyvia Wynter (2006) expressed that we are beings made up of narratives—homo narrans rather than homosapiens. Formed within cultural and historical logics of oral history, the body is the material, physical element of the human being. We judge it through socially informed standards of health and attractiveness. Dance and cultural theorist Susan Foster (2004) identified methods of reading dance as text by identifying the frame, syntax, representations, and modalities of form. This analytical frame for the form describes the physical and aesthetic constructs seen and experienced by the perceiver—the very same inquiry I sought in my partnership with the Arts Collaboratory years ago. By reading bodies as text, I examine how these aesthetic and physical constructs were made possible around the dancing body that so often describes the adverse experience of young, Black children in arts and schools.

The choice to methodologically center the formations of dance education's systems of reasoning was inspired by how the subject is re-centered among external discourses. Fisher and Gotman (2020) argue that theater and performance studies is the best discipline to practice the shifting of one's critical gaze because the stage renders objects visible. The dance that Hinkson and Turney performed belonged on this stage—the stage of concert dance. Dussel (2013), in fact,

names this the visual archive—that which constructs the social. Taylor (2003) names this as embodied cultural memory, naming bodies as "billboards" that become "conduits of memory" (p. 170). Dance scholars consider the dancing body to be a body that acts as a medium by which the choreography is written on the body and then is the technique existing in the world (Franko, 2011; Ness, 2008; Martin, 1998). Beyond theater discourse, the dancer's body "a living monument to a technical discourse," which she says offers "continuity of the inward semeiotics inscribed to dance traditions" (Ness, 2008, p. 29)[2]. It is here that dance becomes the discursive formation. Dance technique, regardless of cultural origin, embodies the nuances of language and institutions built from them, and holds the effects of systems that determine who can speak and what knowledge is valid. "Dance" brings the body—the human body—forefront in conversations of social epistemology and histories of the present.

Concert Dance at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

This dissertation begins in Lathrop Hall of the University of Wisconsin-Madison's (UW-Madison) dance building. Lathrop Hall has a gallery, down a long walkable hallway, with pictures and memorials dispersed among the doors of the few offices and classrooms on each side of the walls. The hallway comes together at the old wooden staircase in the middle of the building. I did my data collection in the Spring of 2023. Feeling overwhelmed and unfocused in

[2] The way I think of the form of dance is inspired by Shapiro's theorizing on what he believes is what art does. Moving beyond representation, Shapiro (2019) suggests that in critical artistic production, there is never a straight line between seeing the art and understanding the art. There are, in fact, temporal structures he calls punctuations, that make room for thinking politically. Particularly, he says, "punctuation-formed temporal structures in critical versions of the arts allow political initiatives to emerge by facilitating alternative or oppositional communities of sense" (p.2). This is significant because dance exists as a relation between audience and artist where interpretation, sense, and response are essential to the act. Interpretation, sense, and response give way to the possibility of ethico-political critique that comes with one's judgment of the dance important to thinking through dance and race. More on the political view of dance and the body is discussed in chapter 2.

the mere density of the university archives, I took a walk through the life-size pictures of dancers which had surrounded me throughout my years at the University. One picture of a young Black woman, a picture with a bronze tag on it, caught my eye. It read, “Mary Hinkson ’46 attending a reception in the Virginia Harrison Parlor at Lathrop Hall c. 1945”. I was surprised to see her. I wondered what her story was. So, I kept walking the hallway.

A story emerged down that hallway. This story told of Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney, two of the first few African American women students at UW-Madison, and how they became the first African-American women to dance with one of the world’s most influential choreographers, Martha Graham (Baldwin, 2022). The story told of the year 1952, celebrating the year Hinkson and Turney, alongside white students and classmates Miriam Cole (’47) and Sage (Fuller) Cowles (47’), joined Graham on tour after Wisconsin’s dance program. As a Black woman from the Midwest and as a former dance student, I wondered if the university-as-maker narrative that shrouded these women reflected a more complex reality of pre-Brown v. Board of Education racial history. My commitment to understanding how racial trauma affects students made me question the flourishing, linear narrative being expressed on these walls depicting Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney—roommates, lifelong friends, and of whom I found were frequently referred to together in the archival documents—I wondered if this story concealed a more complex reality.

My questioning was not simply a racial assumption of violence, survivance, and assimilation amongst Black people in education, though that certainly has been and currently is a reality (Au, Brown, and Calderon, 2016; Dumas & Ross, 2016; Fanon, 1961; Woodson, 1933). I also questioned the construction of this historical discourse because it neglected the historical effects of the body. Foucault suggests that the problem of history, and therefore the problem of

historical analysis, comes from how history conceals the operations of continuity and succession (Foucault, 1969). History is often told around groupings or series that are similar and from which we attribute meaning. This can be influence or genius, such as the depictions of Hinkson and Turney in the gallery. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* Foucault describes tradition, books, oeuvres, ideas of development, evolution, and even spirit, in addition to influence, as categories that are made and then historicized in the name of coherence. I put forth an alternative historical analysis to discover what lies at the root of what is known (Foucault, 1966).

Within this dissertation's historical analysis, I studied the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW-Madison) dance program. UW-Madison's dance program, a canon of modern dance itself and significant to dance education history, sought an intellectually respectable dance for its program. This was the academic home of the very first dance major in higher education. The phrase, "intellectually respectable dance", a phrase coined by Physical Education director, Blanche Trilling, referred to a dance that cultivated the form of the human body and the inner self through the systematic development of character, refinement of emotion, and management of outward perception.

This search for an intellectually respectable dance was, in fact, a search for natural dance, modern dance education's antecedent. In 1913, as dance became widely adopted in schools across the U.S., Gertrude Colby, Columbia University educator, gave name to the free-flowing, creative approach: Natural dance. Natural dance was to become modern dance's predecessor and the leading method of dance education in U.S. schools. So when, H'Doubler, three years later, as a physical education teacher at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, studied at Teacher's College at Columbia University and integrated both the dance as exercise and natural dance approaches, this would become enmeshed in the first dance major at a university in 1926. It was

the story of the dance major's founder, Margaret H'Doubler Claxton, which made the curricular formations visible.

Margaret H'Doubler Claxton: Grand Dame of Dance Education

Margaret H'Doubler Claxton (1889-1982), known as the Grand Dame of Dance Education, was the forerunner of the dance major at UW-Madison. Her establishment of this program led to her becoming a canonical figure in the history of dance education. Her career expanded throughout UW-Madison, with her graduating with her B.A. in Biology and Philosophy in 1910 and her M.A. in 1924. This was just two years before the establishment of the dance program in 1926.

Figure 1

Margaret H'Doubler

Note: H'Doubler, M. [Photograph].*University of Wisconsin-Madison Biographical Files* (Box: Margaret H'Doubler Claxton; Folder: 425-Biographical files). University Archives, University of Wisconsin-Madison Library, Madison, WI, United States.

Figure 2

Margaret H'Doubler and the Skeleton

Note: H'Doubler, M. [Photograph].University of Wisconsin Madison Biographical Files (Box: Margaret H'Doubler Claxton; Folder: 425-Biographical files). University Archives, University of Wisconsin-Madison Library, Madison, WI, United States.

H'Doubler first began as a teacher at UW-Madison, she was not a lover of dance training. Instead, a graduate student teaching women's basketball in 1910, H'Doubler begrudgingly taught dance alongside swimming and field hockey in physical education.

In pursuit of her graduate research, H'Doubler went to New York to study philosophy. She was a known study of John Dewey. Any mention of dance at the beginning of her story was a side note. Fellow teacher Shirley B. Genther (n.d.) reflected on H'Doubler's aversion to dance saying:

> "It all began with Miss Trilling's determination to provide something in dance at Wisconsin worth a college woman's time. Margaret H'Doubler became the reluctant emissary in this search. "What, and give up basketball?" was her first horrified reaction to the request that she devote part of her year of graduate study at Columbia to discovering some intellectually respectable dance." (p.1)

Blanche Trilling, the then-director of the physical education program, tasked H'Doubler with exploring more movement styles for women while she was in New York, a side mission to her

otherwise serious philosophical study. H'Doubler, a student of biology and philosophy, was not excited about dance; she was excited about the study of the mind at Columbia, Teachers College, from 1916 to 1917. Yet, a young Marge, upon returning from Columbia University, having listened to Trilling, came back to UW-Madison with new knowledge of movement and its ability to explore the experience of life, not unlike the progressive education movement's discourse circulating during that time.

The revelation had come from H'Doubler having stumbled upon a music and movement class, a eurhythmics class, that had her lying on the floor rather than standing at a ballet bar. This introduction to the exploration of movement changed her mind about dance and she knew this was the dance she was bringing back to Wisconsin. H'Doubler was not a dancer in the traditional sense, rather she was an admirer, who was fascinated by dance's potential as a scientific exploration of the body's movement[3].

What H'Doubler found in New York was deemed an intellectually respectable dance. H'Doubler believed in bridging the mind/body through intellectual and physical activity and used this as a validation of the perceived 'emotional and spiritual' feminization of dance. What I found in the intellectually respectable dance is this sense of cultivation—cultivation of character, refinement of emotion, and the management of outward perception for the object of the student. This was formed through the racialized and gendered reasoning of the subjecthood of women and dancers. In a sense, H'Doubler put forth a machine, a 'scientized' dance system, that produced, with a scientific and 'intellectual' study, the dancing body.

[3] In 1928, Helen Smith, at Columbia, wrote a book called On Natural Dance that would legitimize this separate dance style focusing on free expression and natural body movement and transforming it into a body of learning. This focus on the natural movement would have appealed to the biologist in H'Doubler.

H'Doubler trained dancers to teach rather than perform, making strides to name this dance curriculum a "science of movement" which elevated dance to the level of academic scholarship in the eyes of the academy. Trilling eventually asked that H'Doubler's dance curriculum be put forth to the Dean and the faculty and, according to Genther (n.d.), because it was so deeply steeped in the sciences and humanities, this curriculum was widely accepted. Eugenic rationales of personal competence, achievement, and social worth were re-inscribed throughout this dance curriculum. H'Doubler retired as an Emeritus Professor of this dance department in 1954.

H'Doubler's Performance Company: Orchesis

It is important to note that the dance program of UW-Madison was not performance-focused, but rather a teaching-focused program. I will discuss later how this distinction supports the analytical contribution of this dissertation, as the program chose to use concert dance as a training mechanism for cultivating the 'creative subject' in students. The demonstration company, Orchesis, the Greek word for 'motion', was the sole performance element in the teaching-focused dance program. Birthed from a student workshop, whose popularity led to an additional class offering, this demonstration company was so named by Margaret H'Doubler to honor the Hellenic image characteristic of modern dancers such as Isadora Duncan of this time. Ross (2000) describes,

> "Part of H'Doubler's rationale was to root dance to antiquity, particularly Hellenic culture, and to note the prominence and high regard the Greeks had for rhythmic movement…Other arts advocates and artists were borrowing styles—and by extension status—from antiquity for their works, in particular by evoking the ancient Greeks. Yet H'Doubler, like Isadora Duncan, used this reference pointedly not with the intent of mimicking the Hellenic conception of dance but rather as a way to carry it forward into a form suited for the modern age." (p.11)

Esteemed modern dance legends Isadora Duncan, Ted Shawn, and Ruth St. Denis were known to draw on the Grecian influence of natural dance as a means of cultural becoming. Many of the

images of Matt Turney and Mary Hinkson were still images of dances performed in this group. Both were members during their time at UW-Madison. Orchesis acted as the outward-facing representation of the dance program, even traveling to other universities in the United States.

H'Doubler's Students: Matt Turney, Mary Hinkson, and Jessie Abbott

In Spring 2021, I walked down the hallway to see panel after panel of beautiful dancing bodies in black and white photographs, enlarged to life-size icons. As a Black woman dancer myself (a marginalized identity within another marginalized identity in Madison, Wisconsin), I double-backed when I saw a woman a bit darker than the rest. Then, there was not only one Black woman there, but there were two. These pictures sparked many questions in me. Who were these women? And what stories did they hold? And how did they navigate this dance program?

I was interested in the students of Margaret H'Doubler, particularly three Black students. Two women, Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney, were the first African American women to dance as principal dancers for the renowned dance and choreographer, Martha Graham. One woman, Jessie Abbott, did not become a dancer at all, but rather a star track coach at the University of Tennessee. Their stories were shrouded in prestige and institutional pride. Their presence in the program was encompassed by the era of Brown v. Board of Education of 1954, a time of school desegregation between African-American and white American peoples. Their presence in this program positions UW-Madison within integration conversations of the Post-Brown era, allowing us to ask, what *was* the experience of being Black in white schools in Wisconsin? This alone offers significant merit for my choice to research this period of UW-Madison's history.

Figure 3

Matt Turney

Note: Turney, Matt. (1945). [Photo of Turney Mid-Dance] (Box 12; B105E 3F9; Folder: Turney, Matt). UW Archives. Madison, WI. United States.

Matt Turney was born on March 22, 1925, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Turney was a bright star of her community—often reported on with pride from local newspapers for her performances in New York on Broadway as she danced for prominent modern dance matriarch, Martha Graham. She later went on to teach ballet in New York as well until her passing in 2009. Turney transferred to UW Madison's physical education program in 1944, completing her Bachelor of Science in 1946. She was also Mary Hinkson's roommate and potentially one of two of the only African-American students in the program. The curriculum data from this study comes from evaluations, recommendations, and experience documents (from employers) during 1947, when she was taking some additional classes, and beyond that time. Turney's experience

becomes part of this historical case study, following the training philosophies and the valuations of her as a teacher and dancer.

Figure 4

Mary "Bunny" Hinkson

Note: [Photograph of Mary Hinkson]. (Box 5; Folder: Mary Hinkson; Call number: Accession 1984/018). UW-Madison Archives. Madison, WI. United States.

Mary Hinkson**,** affectionately nicknamed "Bunny", was born on March 16, 1925, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Hinkson started at UW Madison in 1943, where she was a rising star of a teacher and dancer. She and Turney were often referred to together because they were roommates. However, Hinkson was the more sociable of the two and valued by the faculty of the physical education program. Hinkson, who was one year behind Turney, finished the Bachelor of Science in 1947. She is the first and only Black woman to be invited to teach as faculty in the UW-Madison dance program. Hinkson joins Turney at Graham's company, where she eventually takes over in Graham's stead temporarily. Hinkson's experience also becomes a historical case study. Personal data sheets, evaluations, and recommendations from 1946 to 1947 were drawn on

as curricular documents. Other interviews, from herself and others, were drawn on to contextualize her becoming a dancer.

Figure 5

Jessie Ellen Abbott

Note: [Photograph of Jessie Abbott]. The *University of Wisconsin-Madison general photo collection*, (Box 197; Folder: 5/1, Alumni Individuals Aaron-Baeb). UW-Madison Archives, Madison, WI, United States.

Lastly, Jessie Abbott, a Master's student from 1940 to 1942, was an athletic legacy from the Tuskegee Institute who went on to coach track at the University of Tennessee. Abbott's parents were both coaches and teachers in physical education who led Black athletes to successes such as the Olympics. In Abbott's short time at UW-Madison, she took classes across all sports,

dance included. However, her movement practice did not meet the dance major's standards of participation. Though she had the desire to dance, ultimately she was unsuccessful. Her redirection was captured in the student records and discussed regarding her history.

Discursive Formations in Concert Dance

Concert dance in the United States was (and in some ways, still is) invoking a segregated historical practice, where racial differences divided people by space and dance style (Manning, 2001). Concert dance entered its early development period between 1880 and 1923 when dancing bodies had to work to transcend these conditions of valuation if they aspired to be seen as a respectable profession (Manning, 2021). This context created a racial divide in concert dance[4].

Curriculum historian Bernadette Baker (2020) identifies 19th-century discourses inscribing morality, order, and intelligence onto skin and phenotypes of bodies that also affect dance. It was discourses such as these that made it possible to usher in 20th-century eugenics that determined a hierarchy of human value by a racial and ableist system. Forms already considered high art, such as ballet were intricately mingled with narratives of Greco-Roman nobility and gracefulness, French refinement, and German order (Manning, 2019). The form meant more than entertainment—though that was most certainly what it was. Cultural meanings imbued the aesthetic of this ballet form, affirming then-circulating eugenic narratives of White supremacy (Manning, 2001).

[4] In the United States, the studios, schools, and stages were not always inclusive spaces, these spaces were racially and often culturally segregated. In the history of early concert dance specifically, Afro-centric and Eurocentric dance forms developed simultaneously in different places. For more on this, see Manning, 2001.

Dance existed as a mechanism of categorization, a mechanism that dance education scholars have pushed back on as what continues to affect their content and teaching practices today (Kerr-Berry, 2004; McCarthy-Brown, 2017). In the bodies of dancers, there lies the American national desire for beauty, order, refinement, and elitism that plays out on bare skin. Because of Western culture's "ocular-centric" nature (Cheng, 2011), socio-historical narratives of race and valuations of raced and gendered bodies influence and interact with the visual sensibilities of onlookers[5]. Anthropology framed dances holding other functions, such as ceremony, worship, or war, as "primitive" (Kealiihinohomokou, 2001), a term now understood within its eugenic formations to be dehumanizing of marginalized cultures. As Martin (1998) states, "dance occurs through forces applied to the body that yield to them" (p. 1). Within discourses of modernity, Black dancers were labeled with the outdated anthropological term "primitive", invoking assumptions of an under/undeveloped culture (Kraut, 2003; Gottschild, 2003). Scholars of Black dance have described the phenomenon of discomfort when 'seeing' Black dancers as due to competing framings of contemporary understandings of blackness and past infantalizations of Black cultures (DeFrantz, 2004; Gottschild, 2003; Foster, 2004). Therefore, concert dance becomes a significant site for exploring the complexity of discourse surrounding Black bodies[6].

[5] For example, seeing a Black dancer wearing a ballet uniform of a Black unitard and Black tutu skirt may invoke a Eurocentric, French heritage, but if that Black body holds up a Black Power fist while standing, feet erect, on pointe, this may inflict discomfort.

[6] Since the 20th Century, there have been several compensatory education reforms and civil rights movements that have intersected with the sociocultural development of dance education. The history of dance training's curriculum development in physical education and art education are two of the most ideologically influential disciplines for dance education. Collectively, these disciplines inform the making of a distinct kind of human (Popkewitz, 2018), the Black "othered" dancer, which reveals distinct ideals of aesthetics, ability, market value, and expression. This assemblage of rules, practices, and orders has guided dance education since the 1990s.

Studies of concert dance privilege questions central to the education field, touching on how the mechanics of racial inequities are informed by shaping the social consciousness around bodies (DeFrantz, 2005; Gottschild, 1996; Osumare, 2018). The social consciousness emerges in the training and discipline of classrooms and studios that enforce the multitude of sociocultural logics of normalcy under a spectrum of power (Gore, 2001). Describing what DeFrantz (2004) considers a dual transcript read of Black social dance, because of the lived reality of Blackness, he suggests two views: one view that performs for themselves and one view that performs for others. He says, "A society in which bodies can be objectified and marked as 'Black' is one comfortable with watching without understanding; it is one used to observing dance without the ability to decode its communicative value" (p. 6). Bodies, particularly Black bodies for DeFrantz, are always being interpreted and reacted to. This affirms scholars who suggest that those who experience these logics negatively are those who do not benefit from the racial formation (Omi and Winant, 2014; Anderson Amie, 2021). What can be determined through these assertions is not only that is dance a significant cultural site for its relations of power, but Black bodies and the subjectivities of those bodies are constructed, perceived, and arranged politically in space[7].

The field of dance studies has called for reparative inquiry into the racialized archives of dance education (Ross, 2022). This is particularly due to concert dance privileging of the body in training. Racialized distinctions exist as sensory and somatic assessments, such as visual recognition and distinctions of comportment and ways of being. Curriculum is revealed as

[7] In the United States, the studios, schools, and stages were not always inclusive spaces, these spaces were racially and often culturally segregated. In the history of early concert dance specifically, Afro-centric and Eurocentric dance forms developed simultaneously in different places. For more on this, see Manning, 2001.

racism's reliance on fixed and embodied racial types is also involved the shifting criteria of assessment. To address the operation of racism's anti-Blackness while debunking the premise of the fixity of racial types, concert dance offers a site to address the experience of bodily assessment and its ambiguity.

The field of dance studies holds various theories of the moving body that can be explored as "rules" of racialized dynamics dictating social action. Concert dance, particularly dance in theaters and universities, holds significance to curriculum studies. Curriculum, as a set of rules traditionally taught about how a person should think about themselves, dictates the actions they should subsequently take (Popkewitz, 1997, p.140). This study of UW-Madison's dance program acts as a histrio-philosophical entryway into understanding racism and racialization as a curriculum.

Research Questions

This analysis of discursive formations of concert dance led me to my research questions. How were the bodies of students perceived, reacted to, and classified from 1945 to 1957? Or rather, how as Black women, were they trained and disciplined within this program? I chose to focus this study on this time frame because of the robust data of three Black women, who were trained as dance and physical education teachers during the years 1945-1957 at UW-Madison. Therefore, I present the following as research questions for this dissertation,

1. How do reasoning systems inform how Black women dancers were trained and disciplined within the UW-Madison dance program?

2. What did Black women dancers' experience reveal about the gendered and racialized governing systems in the UW-Madison dance program?

3. How have Black women dancers negotiated through these systems of gendered and racialized systems in the UW-Madison dance program and, conversely, dance?

Within my analysis, the construct of a student ideal is projected universally, yet unevenly, onto what all students are meant to be. These questions helped me discover the dynamics of the UW-Madison program and how Jessie Abbott, Mary Hinkson, and Matt Turney navigated those complex dynamics under conditions of womanhood's expectations of racialized comportment and domesticity. In the following section, I will detail this analytical approach in what I am calling Black Feminist Embodied Archival Analysis.

Methodological Approach: Black Feminist Embodied Archives

This historical analysis is informed by Foucault's archaeological approach. Different from research in the genealogical vein that traces history throughout events in time, I was purely interested in the assertions or surface of the statements, the rules that were engaged between the discourses in the archives. Yet, with Foucault, the archives took on a meaning beyond document and artifact. Rather than solely considering archives as locations by which states and institutions store populational information, Foucault helps me consider the archive to be a systematic way of knowing, deeply embedded in institutions that stores administrative information about populations and nations (Dean, 1994; Lawlor and Nale, 2014). Stating, matter-of-factly, "by this term [archive] I do not mean the sum of all texts that a culture has kept upon its person as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity; nor do I mean institutions, which, in a society, make it possible to record and preserve those discourses that one wishes to remember and keep in circulation (Foucault, 1969, p. 145). Foucault instead defines the archive as "the set of discourses actually pronounced" and determines how these sets can be

analyzed, thus expanding the place-based understanding of the archive to a conceptual framing for the discursive formations of this dissertation.

Some scholars suggest that Foucault's genealogy offers a more robust framework through which to analyze discursive formation (Dean, 1994; Lawlor and Nale, 2014). However, it is his archaeology that outlines the specific rules for analyzing systems of knowledge that I use in my work. In The Archaeology of Knowledge (1969), Foucault's use of the term archive is that which causes a multiplicity of statements at the level of knowledge, particularly at the level of the discursive (p.146). Discursive is a crucial element of understanding archives. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, discursive has three definitions; a) moving from topic to topic without order; b) marked by analytical reasoning; and c) of or relating to discourse. Taking the literal definition of the term discursive allows me to see that this discursive level is simultaneously about the doing of speaking and the reasoning behind it. The archive is then,

> "…is first the law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events (or statements or discourse used interchangably (p. 34), emphasis my own). But the archive is also that which determines that all these things said do not accumulate endlessly in an amorphous mass, nor are they inscribed in an unbroken linearity, nor do they disappear at the mercy of chance external accidents; but they are grouped together in distinct figures, composed together in accordance with multiple relations, maintained or blurred in accordance with specific regularities…it is the system of its functioning." (Foucault, 1969, pp. 145-146)

The archive concerns the law of what is said, and the level of discursivity. In the quote above, Foucault is describing how the archives act as law—determining the form and grouping of the things said and with various relations (multiple relations) does this form functions. Foucault refers to the group of rules characterizing the discursive practice as the historical a priori (p.144). He describes these characteristics as taking on "the modes or appearance, forms of existence and

coexistence, systems of accumulation, historicity, and disappearance" (pp. 146-147). These are the conditions producing the discursive practices. Therefore, the grouping itself is not just the historical a priori, but the system in action—"the practices that cause the multiplicities of statements to emerge" (p. 146). This is the archive.

The archive is the system of enunciation, the system of functioning, and the system of formation and transformation of statements, events, and discourses. Concerned about the already-said, what Foucault does is to disrupt the perceived unities of knowledge, such as the role of author/expert, the oeuvres, or tradition, which describes the statement (and that which comes before the statement) as the archive. This archive is a system of statements that can be described, analyzed, and mapped at the level between language and the corpus (Foucault, 1969, p.146). Because Archaeology then is authorized as a term designating "the general them of a description that questions the already-said at the level of its existence…" (p.148). Archaeology is the ideal framework to support the questioning of Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney's stories within the progress narrative of the UW-Madison dance program.

The unifying statements of Black dancers, dance theater, and UW-Madison dance are distinct things (discourse and corpora) that we can picture, conceptualize, and know, as unique. What Foucault (1969) is saying here is that we just understand these things in their unbroken linearity. Their groupings, composed of multiple relations, and held under particular regularities, or conditions, occur within a system—this is the system of the group's functioning (p.146). Therefore, the chapters of this dissertation will be read as dispersed groupings of statements—archives to describe, analyze, and map. The knowledge-producing institutions, the knowledge produced, and the historical contexts allow the knowledge to emerge.

Researchers often conduct archival work in dance in the traditional sense (e.g. Dee Das, 2017; Scolieri 2019; Srivansan, 2003). The archival document, in contrast to how knowledge is constructed, has impacted how the history of the UW-Madison dance program has been told. Janice Ross (2000) builds a phenomenal body of historical work in her book Moving Lessons: Margaret H'Doubler and the Beginning of Dance in American Education. I had the privilege of exploring already grouped folders, files, and crates left as remnants of her work. The significance of this dissertation comes from its contribution to dance studies in describing the rules and echoes of dance in education, specifically in this prominent and foundational dance program. It tells us how dance thinks—the reason behind the said and the archives of such statements.

This project is ambitious, as even Foucault (1969) admits that archaeological work is "never completed, never wholly achieved" (p. 148). This is clear in the expansion of this work into his later genealogical thinking after his interests shifted in the 1970s (Lalor and Nale, 2014). In those genealogical interests, Foucault analyzes nondiscursive as well as discursive practices to form distinct, interruptive knowledge (Lalor and Nale, 2014). My dissertation stops short of naming the distinct, interruptive knowledge, seeking instead to prioritize the multiplicity of relations and describing the discursive formations of the Black dancing body. This prioritization of description and aesthetics directly affects the invisibility of certain formations. I name this the Black Feminist Embodied Archival approach. In the following section, I detail the conceptual frame by which this Black Feminist Embodied Archival approach is built.

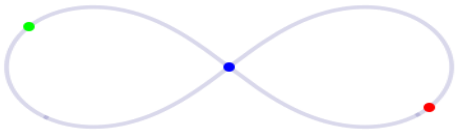
Intersectional Assemblages

Intersectional assemblages were first a construct that myself, Kandyce Amie and C.Mapenzi Simekha (2024) put forth. Pulling on contemporary ideas of intersectionality, but with particular reference to African feminisms and necropolitical governing systems between life and death, we

thought about the body as a single anchor by which the flesh speaks and the world responds back. This is significant to this work as think about the subject and what all comes in contact with the body itself. Ironically, or rather unironically, the figure-eight image in physics three-body problem in astronomy illustrates this framework quite well. See Figure 6 below.

Figure 6

Figure Eight of Physics' Three-Body Problem



Note: Image by https://www.britannica.com/science/three-bodyproblem#/media/1/593647/301476

In brief, the three-body problem suggests there is no solution to predict the disturbances of the motion of three celestial bodies having no influence other than their mutual gravitational pull (Peale, 2023). This dissertation is not a physics dissertation, nor does it seek to engage with this problem. Rather, as a metaphor of relation, force, and movement, the image's movement of "celestial bodies" through a central axis reflects the position of the body among the intersectional assemblages of discursive forces. We articulate how this personally feels as the subject/object of discourse, saying,

> "we are bodies of history and cannot drop the experiences, disciplines, affect, and manifestations that uniquely structure our realities. Time and being are collapsed onto each other…our embodied selves, existing on the page [and the world] as dialogue, make the dichotomous relationships between theoretical production and the practice of conversation (embodied as well as grounded in time) come alive…" (Simekha & Amie, 2024, p. 211).

The body, an extension of ourselves, continues to act as a site of struggle—between the histories and experiences projected from the world—and our being. Production, relationship, and dialogue

exist dynamically together. This is a third-space dialogic (Bhaba, 1994; Mugo, 2021). As the archive acts as a force field, according to Stoler (2008), then our intersectional assemblage, "offer[ing] a third space, where past, present, and future are simultaneously embodied" (Simekha & Amie, 2024, 190), becomes an analytic by which to trace the discursive navigation of Black women's bodies specifically.

The Black woman's body in this dissertation becomes an embodied archive. In dance studies, I looked to Priya Srinivasan (2003)'s method of creating a bodily archive to inform my approach to the body in archives. Srinivasan constructs ontological bodily discourses through what she calls kinesthetic contact—a practice of creating an object of inquiry from the interactions of material dance bodies and the "discourse of living, breathing texts produced by dancing bodies rather than a singular focus on the written text" (Srinivasan, 2003, pg. 9). Her style of writing Indian dancer's constructed lives from archival material draws attention to the interpretative practices, the intersectional assemblages, and to the conditions and possibilities of the construction of self.

To articulate the enunciations occurring around this embodied archive, I took on the approach of Ann Stoler (2008), a cultural theorist, which she calls an ethnography of the archive, which helped me think through the conditions of possibility and epistemic anxieties that emerged in my coding as themes surrounding Turney, Abbott, and Hinkson. Most specifically, Stoler related to my sense of discursive navigation, naming the production of the ethnographic sites emerging from archive as "steady and feverish rhythms" or "the pulse of the archive". Stoler (2008) states,

> "ethnographic sites emerge in the space between prescription and practice, but more pointedly elsewhere. I look for the pulse of the archive in the quiescence and quickened

> pace of its own production, in the steady and feverish rhythms of repeated incantations, formulae, and frames." (p.35)

The movement, occurring through pattern, repetition, and frames, that becomes enfleshed and projected, is how I understand intersectional assemblages of blackness in space.

So, what happens when I move beyond seeing the "archive" as the university archives, that which is filled with documents, crates, and folders, and instead think about the unities of dance theater, of the black woman dancer, of the female dancer, or of UW-Madison dance? This dissertation connects these ontological renderings of African American "afterlives" in dance to constructions of the human subject in education and the human subject's negotiation of the cultural politics that surround it. Ultimately, I attend to how the body is an apparatus of social epistemologies, particularly the social epistemologies inherent in the academic study of what is now known as modern dance. These are the systems of reasoning that make modern dance education possible.

Data Collection

In March 2022, I started a three-month-long data collection process. I collected over 500 materials such as student records, student assessments, teacher recommendation letters, curriculum surveys, photos, and administrative materials from UW-Madison's physical education program archives. I looked at national dance archives such as the Library of Congress in Washington D.C. and the New York Public Library's Jerome Robbins Dance Archive—the largest dance archive in the United States. I have also visited two other archives of teachers in the lives of Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney at other University archives as well—Southern

Illinois University (Carbondale), and the American Dance Festival Archives in Durham, North Carolina at Duke University[8].

The UW-Madison archive held private collections of Margaret H'Doubler's lesson plans, syllabi, books, and images of her classroom at UW-Madison that are not available elsewhere. Records and narratives on the curriculums of the physical education program and the dance program are detailed by the head of the department, Blanche Trilling. Lesson plans, report cards, student evaluations, and newspaper dance reviews from the demonstration company, Orchesis, are all found in the archive. I expect to find more correspondence, papers, classes, and interviews on my next visit. However, this archive only included H'Doubler's archives.

The New York Public Library of the Performing Arts has over 1000 archival pieces from 10 collections that will be used to lay the groundwork for this dissertation. The Jerome Robbins Dance Division is vital for tracing these educators' careers, ideals, and relationships and therefore, their assumptions, stereotypes, anxieties, and classification of dance bodies. Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney were Martha Graham dancers. Martha Graham, alongside other prominent figures such as Hanya Holm, Katherine Dunham, Doris Humphrey, and Helen Tamiris, was influential in the construction of the new genre of modern concert dance (Tomko, 2000). I could see from the online digital collections that photos, film, and interviews with known associates were all included in the Graham collections. This also includes catalogs of dance magazines from the 1950s onward and oral history transcripts, though the transcripts were used sparingly because of the limitations of oral histories in archival methodologies. These items

[8] Please see the appendix for a chart detailing this information.

can be found in the Jerome Robbins Dance Division Photograph files, the Carl Van Vechen Slides, and the General Dance Video Archive.

I analyzed the student records and various documents associated with student dancers first. This includes recommendation letters written for them, employer feedback, report cards, and end-of-year evaluations from teachers. I also analyzed teacher records including staff meetings revealing the decision-making strategies among the faculty and tests, lesson plans, and questionnaires created by them. Media recollections and reactions about the teachers were analyzed from newspaper tributes. Data on the organizations were pulled from mission statements, teacher philosophies about the purpose of dance and education, grant application statements of purpose, and secondary sources. The bulk of this data collection spanned 5 months.

Chapter Breakdown

As a visual anchor for the breakdown of this dissertation, I am asking the reader to imagine a dancer in a picture frame, almost like the ones that inspired this dissertation initially. This picture frame is hanging in a gallery hall. This introduction, walked you through the gallery hall. In the introduction, I explained my claims about the dancer's body and its governing systems, as well as a description of my approach to the archive. I also set up the arguments and structure of the dissertation so that the other chapters could each begin from their specific perspectives. The other chapters will zoom in and out of view—the frame, the picture, and the ink.

Chapter 2 is titled "The Fact She is Colored Has Caused Me to Let Down on My Standards": Formations of Racialized Discourses of Improvement. This chapter identifies constructions of creativity and self-improvement in the curriculum as what may "save" woman from emotionality, irrationality, and constructs of the primitive. Further, it outlines the foundational logic of creativity and controlled deviance in the University of Wisconsin-

Madison's dance program by naming the surrounding character development. This includes a look into the construct of natural dance, an antecedent to modern dance, with roots in ancient Greece. This chapter argues the dance program's curriculum appealed to the project of human perfection by offering a dance program of respectability. However, the chapter also shows how Jessie Abbott, a Black woman raised by physical educators, existed outside these bounds of respectability. This chapter lays the ground for how dancers Matt Turney and Mary Hinkson can shift through the gendered racialization of the UW-Madison dance program between the standards of perfection and their ever-present Blackness outside of it. This chapter is the frame.

Chapter 3, "She is a Refined Negress": Assemblages of True Womanhood, Blackness, and the Body in Dance" thinks through the form of success manifesting through desires to either teach or perform. These are negotiations occurring in the dance program and it emerges where Chapter 2 leaves off by exploring the bounds of womanhood, respectability, and Black women's position in it. While Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney are both illustrations of how Black women seemed to exist between hitting the mark and missing it. Media discourses of aesthetic grace, marriage, and sexuality surround Turney. Where Matt Turney's experience interrogated the broader level of Northern Black womanhood in the community of Black people, Mary Hinkson's experience interrogates the interpersonal level of subjectivity within the orders of domesticity in the program. Ultimately, this chapter unveils intersectional dynamics for Black women existing within the foundational logic of the UW-Madison program detailed in Chapter 2 and makes tangible the preconditions of necropolitics and its gendered operations in Chapter 3. Therefore, this chapter is the picture.

Chapter 4, "Dancing Has Given Her a "Wonderful Life": Biopolitics and Necropolitics of Black Womanhood in Dance, identifies the construction of Black womanhood revealed through

true womanhood's systems of modifying behavior through charm and beauty. Specifically, it uses Agamben's thinking on potential and Mbembe's conceptualization of necropolitics. I consider how the Black community used potentiality as a strategy to overcome societal classifications and health disparities. I argue that this method of embodiment took for granted the double gesture of the outside position of Blackness and made it intentional. Chapter 4 expands the discussion of the intersectionality of Chapter 3 and explores the personal negotiations of Matt Turney and Mary Hinkson, successful Black women dancers in the UW-Madison dance program. Specifically, the chapter shows what orders these women navigated to be exceptional amongst their peers, using charm to disarm and signal likeness to those with the authority to promote them. This chapter argues Black women must always negotiate these gendered, racialized orders of womanhood as potential threats to the stability of the nation. This chapter is also the ink that fills in the color of the picture.

Returning to the hallway once again, I conclude with a discussion of reading Black bodies as text and forwarding the use of a Black feminist embodied historical analysis. With this discussion, I pull together how the systems of reasoning in the UW-Madison dance program made it possible for Black women dancers to exist outside of its claims of respectability. Black dancers are considered always already deviant within the current cultural orders of art. I end by complicating the perceptions of dance as unfolding within these relations of power, suggesting that a further history of the present would show the connections made in this historical analysis.

Before I move forward, I want to acknowledge that there were histories of the UW-Madison dance program and the feminist curriculum illuminated by historians such as Janice

Ross[9]. However, I chose to do this work because I was concerned that the histories of Black women such as Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney would be obscured by nature of the unitary history of women in the UW-Madison dance education program. I questioned what happens when I go back to understand the discontinuity, rupture, threshold, or limits occurring when black bodies enter white spaces—a concept Ahmed addresses around diversity and institutional whiteness (Ahmed, 2012). What happens when I toe the line between the bodies that can be known from those who lived that time, and what can be understood about and from the discursive formulations that emerge?

Inspired by narrative qualitative researchers, Clandinin, and Rosiek (2007), I turn uneasily in both directions—to poststructuralist understandings of discursive formations in language, and to narrative inquiry prioritizing the individual's experience. And I push this conversation into the corporeal. As Foucault (1981), in his lecture, Hermanuetics of the Subject pondered, the creative subject may have the agency to push the limit of discursive formulations through aesthetics of existence. Attention to the practices that these black women navigate, humanizes the discursive approach. I argue that this methodological approach in/between embodied inquiry and historical analysis creates an alternative possibility for what can be known about the lived experience of the homonarran and the cultural orders of our nation. The archive holds these discursive formations.

[9] UW-Madison alumna, Janice Ross's (2000; 2022) historical work on Margaret H'Doubler's impact on dance, inspired my dissertation as her previous archival material offered the opportunity to return to the curriculum. However, the focus of Ross' work was on the historic development of the dance program, not an analysis of the curriculum. This provided me with an opportunity to go through a solid collection of archival material again with a new set of eyes. It was in this program that African American women, Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney, arose as prominent figures in this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2: "*THE FACT SHE IS COLORED HAS CAUSED ME TO LET DOWN ON MY STANDARDS*": FORMATIONS OF RACIALIZED DISCOURSES OF IMPROVEMENT

Jessie Ellen Abbott, in an oral history interview, describes her life before and during her time at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW-Madison). In the interview, Abbott describes her life with her parents, Cleveland and Jessie S. Abbott, two higher education powerhouses in the field of physical education at Tuskegee Institute (Abbott, 1977). Abbott's father led Tuskegee's leading Negro athletic program in the Southern Athletic Conference, marking the beginning of the extraordinary legacy passed down to Abbott (Abbott, 1977). Jessie E. Abbott would go on to lead the first dominant Black track and field team in the United States, the Tennessee Tigers (Walker, 2022). However, this life would be colored with the racial tensions assembled around southern black athletes in the 1930s onward.

Arriving at UW-Madison as a master's degree student in 1941 (Abbott, 1977), Abbott's extraordinary background was viewed as inadequate preparation for Wisconsin[10]. With this background, she should have been more than welcomed, yet the faculty at UW-Madison held disparaging attitudes towards Abbott's earned Bachelor's degree at Tuskegee[11]. Tuskegee, like other "negro schools" of this time, were deemed intellectually inferior, due to biological assumptions of cognitive inferiority that were circulating scientific discourses of eugenics

[10] In a personal data sheet on Jessie Abbott written circa 1942, Margaret H'Doubler leaves a note stating, "Abbott's background has been too meagre for her to do satisfactory work" and was further racialized when stating "the fact that she is colored has caused me to let down on my standards with her." This quote is further analyzed in the body of this chapter.

[11] In addition to various other faculty notes on Abbott, Director Blanche Trilling, in a placement document for Jessie Abbott written June 24, 1942, made a confidential reservation stating that "Miss Jessie Abbott is colored. She really is a fine individual. I believe her father is the Director of Physical Education at Tuskegee Institute." And a non-confidential note detailing Abbott's education, personality, and type of individual she was while also noting "she came to us with unusually high recommendations from Tuskegee Institute". Connections to race, status, and institution were made from these documents.

(Purkiss, 2023). Abbott challenges these perceptions of preparedness in Negro physical education programs, seeking to understand the racial tensions she experienced in Master's thesis, *Teacher Preparation for Physical Education in Twelve Representative Negro Colleges with Special Reference to Women: A Comparative Study*. Jessie Abbott's experiences exemplified the larger, systemic issues a Black woman, trained and disciplined within the politics of race and gender in education. The discriminating discourses targeting Jessie Abbott's Black, female body and mind mirrored the broader political climate and prevailing sentiments circulating the United States. In Abbott's case, in particular, highlights the impacts of these body/bodily politics and sets our stage—both for the content of this chapter, and for this dissertation as a whole.

In this chapter, I will answer the question how did the Black body disrupt, shift, and reorganize the curricular formations of the UW-Madison dance program? Influenced by a Foucauldian historical analysis, this chapter is organized in the following ways: First, featuring Jessie Ellen Abbott, a popular UW-Madison athlete, Tuskegee alumna, and later, a trendsetting coach for Black sports, I make the connection that there is a choreopolitical order in dance that's logics create the racialized conditions affecting Black bodies. Then, I tie the discursive formations within the dance curriculum at UW-Madison, to discourses of creativity. Lastly, I reveal the emerging assemblages of self-formation, control, and curation (through movement and creativity) that co-relate to how bodies are invoked. Due to various events around dance and physical education, the body becomes an anchor for the discourses of continuous refinement for dancers.

Choreopolitical Control and Discursive Power on the Black Body

Dancers and teachers exist within a dynamic set of rules and practices acting as authorial-commanding forces on the body (Lepecki, 2006). In other words, bodies always communicate

meaning because the body here is not “a self-contained and closed entity” but rather it is “an open and dynamic system of exchange, constantly producing modes of subjection and control, as well as of resistance and becomings (Lepecki, 2006, p. 5). I see the Black body as a function of discourses in such a system of exchange. Performance scholar, Andre Lepecki (2015) renews dialogue with dance, dance studies, and contemporary philosophy to explain how forces around the dancing body allow for such political framing. He does this by naming the power at work in dance sites as “choreopolitics”.

The choreopolitical refers to the force that seeks to prescribe movement away from alternative actions, shaping the dancer’s autonomy as within a prescribed choreography (Lepecki, 2015). These politics allows dance to serve as a mechanism, through teaching and performance, for communicating expectations about bodies. While sets of rules, standards, and archives, acting as authoritative forces, govern how teachers and dancers’ bodies should move, look, and be perceived, autonomy also works to resist said forces, creating the system of exchange. Therefore, as Lepecki argues, choreopolitics detail how bodies should move or not move within space (Lepecki, 2006). These forces impose a control or “command” over the Black body, shaping dancer’s creative expression, behavior, and self-perceptions.

What is significant about choreopolitics is what it can tell us about the dynamics of space and movement. Lepecki (2006) explains that dancers must agree to surrender some of their autonomy as agents of movement, and that logic of “underage” or “unreasoned” dancers must be in place for this to occur (p. 47). In this system, the choreographer is just one of the curating factors of the autonomy of the dancer (Franko as cited in Lepecki, 2006). Given how Blackness operates under discourses of rationality, I look to the discursive power of the Black body within the Wisconsin dance program to see dynamics of racialization within the curriculum.

Reactions to Jessie Ellen Abbott's background exemplifies the discursive mutations of Blackness echoing from Abbott's body. While at UW-Madison, Abbott's bachelor's degree in physical education from Tuskegee Institute was held against her. In an oral history interview, Abbott explained how Cleve's initiative, the Tuskegee Relays, was the third-largest intercollegiate athletic relay for Black athletes across the Southern Athletic Conference. He also led the first all-girls Olympic team (Jessie S. Abbott, personal communication, 1977). The racialized body is a body, categorized under the named ideological system of race, that is shifted through colonial logics of hierarchical value. Frantz Fanon (1952) identifies this in his description of his own experience of being a Black man experiencing extreme racial prejudice. The colonial logics' values include eugenic notions of worth and moral distinctions determined by Cartesian Dualism.

For Jessie Abbott, an inferior value was attributed to her cognition and intelligence because of her background, rather than based on her performance. A faculty member, in a personal data sheet on Jessie Abbott written circa 1942, says the following:

> Gets me down. I feel she [Abbott] is out of her depth at Wisconsin. Her background has been too meagre for her to do satisfactory work. The fact that she is colored has caused me to let down my standards with her, and I do not think it was wise. I am, however, sympathetic with her ambitions to become a teacher for the betterment of her race, but feel that she should be held to standards of achievement while here. Very likable. (H'Doubler, n.d.)

Abbott exists here as a deviation. It would seem that faculty member, Margaret H'Doubler, did not see Abbott trying hard enough—she was not improving herself with enough enthusiasm or arriving at a satisfactory place of understanding. Positive feedback on Abbott included her being a "likable person" and "a fine type of negro", while her race was cause to let down her standards.

Additionally, Trilling emphasizes how Abbott "really is" a fine individual, though she is colored as well, and H'Doubler's previous comment that Abbott's being colored caused H'Doubler to let down her standards, we can see how racialized determinations of "colored" are covering other assumptions. Is the faculty reading Abbott as lazy? As unable or unwilling to participate? Are there concerns about nepotism here and they are questioning Abbott's fit in the physical education program altogether? This can certainly be the case, especially if, like others of this era, H'Doubler believed that Abbott's Blackness was a sort of moral failing or disability. It was most certainly a place of contradiction. Ideas of racialized prestige between Tuskegee and northern schools like UW-Madison bolstered such reasonings.

The authorial-command forces on the body direct how individuals may move inside and outside the domain of control (Lepecki, 2006). Lepecki posits that agency arises within systems of command, curation, and control, suggesting resistance is possible not only for trained dancers but also for all individuals capable of movement. This is significant for Abbott's case though she was not a dancer. The conditions of her racialized experience, however, existed with the mechanisms of the physical education curriculum transforming the archive of concert dance; systems of command, curation, and control.

Under systems of command, curation, and control, I find that the Black body, as a dancer, becomes further compounded due to the necropolitical orders of Blackness. At first glance, one would have expected Abbott to have been welcomed with open arms at UW-Madison. After all, she was coming from an inspirational family background supported by a strong work ethic. When Jessie was 8, in 1926, Cleve was invited down south to Alabama, to teach and direct at Tuskegee Institute (Abbott, 1977). It just so happened that Margaret H'Doubler (1889-1982) was establishing the dance program at UW-Madison the same year Jessie's father, as athletic director,

began establishing Tuskegee as a significant space for the development of Black physical education.

Abbott's association at Tuskegee Institute influenced her acceptance at Wisconsin, regardless of Tuskegee being not only a prestigious school for the African-American community but also the center for Black collegiate athletics in the country. Abbott's father, Cleveland Abbott was the Director of Physical Education while her mother, Jessie S. Abbott, was an Olympic coach. Program director, Trilling writes, "Miss Jessie Abbott is colored. She really is a fine individual. I believe her father is the Director of Physical Education at Tuskegee Institute" (Trilling, 1942), suggesting that her father's position and the institute from which he worked were significant components to Abbott being 'a fine individual'. This was found in a confidential note on Abbott's teacher placement documents (1942) stating also that Abbott received honors at Tuskegee Institute and came with "unusually high recommendations,". Under such societal rules of prestigious networks and social capital, Abbott's body is seen as inferior, thus needing to be refined and improved.

Assemblages of Racializing Exclusion and Improvement Surrounding UW-Madison

Dance brings a focus on the meaning-making practices of the progressive ear, a distinction drawn from historian, Linda Tomko (2000). Ideas of conservation, community reform, and scientific responsibility were also discourses of rationality, connected through this era's eugenic discourse surrounding UW-Madison. For example, scientist, geologist, and alumni of Wisconsin-Madison, Charles Van Hise was inaugurated as chancellor in 1903 (Eugene, 1949), during nationwide calls to universities to use scientific knowledge to improve their surrounding communities. Van Hise brought about improvement policies directed at the poor, immigrant community in Madison, Wisconsin, to conserve the future of the human race (Eugene, 1949).

Yet, these desires were not purely positive, but they were laced with dehumanizing discourses of rationality. In a university address, Van Hise (1868) declares,

> We know enough about the breeding of animals so that, if that knowledge were applied to man, the feeble-minded would disappear in a generation and the insane and criminal classes be reduced to a small fraction of their present numbers…We have now come to know that one of the great functions of a university is that it shall carry to the people the knowledge which they can assimilate for their betterment along all lines. (pp. 3-4)

The discourse on human conservation and improvement also held the belief in the biological determination of the feeble-minded, insane, and criminal and the desire to use the university's scientific knowledge to assimilate others for "their betterment". Tomko (2000) names the accommodation of immigrant communities, alongside the inclusion of women in the public sphere, as part of a public health construction of bodies of disease that were regulating the metropolitan level of society. Cultural and feminist scholar Sarah Ahmed (2004) attributes the "reactions" to the body, such as Van Hise's fears of the irrationality of the criminal, insane, and feeble-minded, as the cultural politics of emotion. Acting as distinct dispersions of racialized distinctions, constructions of emotionality and speculated lack of intellect were used as a rationale for why Black people could not create "art" within art spaces. The early modernist discourses can be traced to today's criminalization, alienation, and devaluation of Black communities. These actions are invoked from fear of what that body could be/become.

The social curriculum of improvement was characteristic of the progressive era. These improvement curriculums are responses to systems of reasoning that determined blackness to be synonymous with childlike and primitive intellectualism[12] (Lesko, 2001; Koza, 2021; Ishmael,

[12] For more on this, see Ishmael (2025)'s detailed elaboration on St. Augustine and Immanuel Kant's spatialization of darkness and anti-intellectualism on dark-skinned peoples for more on this.

2025). The term “primitive” operated as an exclusionary discourse, determining who remained outside of art. Reginald Harris, Doctor of Biology and Director of the Long Island Biological Association, wrote in his biography claiming to determine indicators of racial development in the production of art and music by comparing modern art to “Negro” art. Harris states, “Negro art is “as free from intellectuality as it is from imposed traditions” because its creator is not intellectual; it is based, instead, in nature” (Koza, 2021, pg. 361). In this sense, intellectual ability was the basis by which “Negro art”, and the art of other marginalized communities—American Indian, Hawaiian, Filipino, etc.—were deemed primitive (Koza, 2021). Primitivism was inscribed onto music from poor communities and rural communities (Koza, 2021). In dance, and art in general, this same logic of modernity represented the social divide brought on by hierarchical categorization of every non-white, non-propertied community (Tomko, 2000). Koza (2021) describes Harris’ comments as deeply ensconced in Cold Spring Harbor eugenics, highlighting his associations with the nature of the “Negro” race as unable to compete with Whites due to their inferiority. Whether one is dancing class as Tomko (2000) determined or is dancing another representation, the curriculums of discursive formulations in dance and art reveal the constructs of intellectualism and rationality circulating the Black body.

The discourses of conservation and improvement carried with it a dehumanizing system to the people it professed to help. When the Black body interacts with these reasoning systems, the irrationality becomes compounded under associations of white supremacy that make it considered further irrational. The racialized body is a body characterized by society’s regulation of social death—the body whose inferiority, distinction from, exclusion, and ultimately its genocide is determined in degrees by the level of racialization (Mbembe, 2017). Human conservation and improvement exist as a secular doctrine of salvation where determinations of

irrationality make it possible for education to begin. Within the program where Abbott resided, this doctrine of salvation from irrationally transformed into an embodied, self-formation practice.

Redeeming Emotionality: Rationalizations of an Intellectually Respectable Dance

Relying on science's canons, conceptualizations of the creative impulse emerged as a solution for refining the body—emotionally and physically—in addition to the mind (H'Doubler, 1925). Trilling, then director of the UW-Madison Physical Education program, wanted to promote an academic study that would appeal to women, an *intellectually respectable dance.* In an oral interview, teacher Margaret H'Doubler expressed the following frustration,

> "My faculty advisor back in Wisconsin couldn't be the only one to direct this vile search for an intellectually respectable dance. Honestly, I don't know if that even exists and I surely do not believe I am the woman to find it. All I want is to peaceably teach basketball and perhaps explore about the beauties of life. How could Miss Trilling send me on this fool's errand?" (Brennan, 1972).

Again, rationality is the qualifying element for dance and it was H'Doubler's actualization of an *intellectually respectable dance,* that suggested a redemption through scientific discovery and creative expression (Ross, 2022). But a redemption from what? Creativity circulated as part of human reasoning that, when tamed through science, became an element of a more "rational" being (Martins, 2021, p.94). Through the actualization of the UW-Madison dance program, the creative self was a significant construct connected to the development and programming of man's impulses.

H'Doubler, in conversation with philosophers and psychologists of the late 19th century, believed in the psychological and educational restrictive practices of the imagination and saw current conceptualizations of human creative impulses as being too rigid for human development (H'Doubler, 1925). Yet, laced through here also are further psycho-social discourses about the

well-adjusted woman who could exhibit control over her inner world (Koza, 2021; Ross, 2020). In fact, the domain of curation enacted in emotion shifted constructs of irrationality to rational paradigms. The refining of such creative impulses countered understandings of emotionality circulating as an indicator of irrationality in dance.

Emotionality deemed a man irrational. For example, Fanon (1961), a psychiatrist and cultural theorist described emotionality in movement as liberation from control by saying,

> "At a fixed time and a fixed date men and women assemble in a given place, and under solemn gaze of the tribe, launch themselves into a seemingly disarticulated, but in fact extremely ritualized, pantomime where the exorcism, liberation, and expression of a community are grandiosely and spontaneously played out through shaking of the head, and back-and-forth thrusts of the body." (Fanon, 1961, pg. 20).

Here, he is referring to the communities of Black people oppressed under a violent French rule, yet, the dynamic of power he is referring to remains the same in the reasoning system. Through highly expressive and exaggerated gestures, Fanon says the colonized community embodies their liberation through movement—the "shaking of the head" and "the thrusts of the body" in ways that are "seemingly disarticulated." In other words, looking like mad men—resisting the appearance of control, was a liberating action. While I acknowledge this is an argument of French colonization, the commonality of colonial and imperial regimes of power shared with the United States causes me to attribute possibilities of liberation to the African American as well. If emotionality, or the immaturity of a man's impulses, deemed him irrational, and therefore uncivilized, then through movement, liberating action could potentially unleash the body from such reasoning.

But what did this look like in the program? The acts of gestures, tempo, rhythm, and motion, were active and embodied statements of choreographic control, and within such

statements were the discursive formations of problem-solving and creativity. In a dance lecture-demonstration done in 1949, by students in H'Doubler's program, Joan Jones narrates a lesson that illustrates how kinesthetic-rhythmic thinking occurred in real time. She says,

> Take simple gestures associated with gaiety. The clap [Jo claps], the jump [Jo jumps], and a turn [Jo turns]. In working to project the emotional quality of gaiety, the dancer uses as his tools the inherent tensions within it, and their abstract, overt gestures…the whole body picks up the tensions of the clap, and gradually it becomes more removed from real life as it is subjected to the disciplines of the dance medium. Soon the little gaiety sequence becomes dance movement and is no longer only pantomimic gesture. (Rose et. al, 1949, p.5).

Here, Jo is explaining qualities of movement (clap, jump, and turn) through space and time, using words like tension and gesture. We get a sense of slowness in this demonstration. Physically, she asks us to imagine what happens when the body "picks up the tensions of the clap". What this revealed is the relationship between the command (the clap) and the body of the dancer, that when the dancer subjects themselves "to the disciplines of the dance medium", the sequence moves from gesture to dance movement. Lepecki (2006) argues that within our forever virtual political dimension, we must always keep in mind how the potentialities of micropolitical movements of bodies and gestures are fabricated daily (p. 46). This prescribed repetition in movement is changed by the medium of dance which eventually transforms the movement into something entirely new altogether. This from an emotional word—gaiety, reveals a key in Jo's narration—that movement reveals emotion, and emotion is the creative impulse.

While the program covered topics such as dance technique, rhythmic form, dance composition, and American folk dance (UW-Madison Course Catalogue, 1942/1946), the intended outcome of the program was to train teachers of dance with a comprehensive approach spanning psychology, art, and education. This had a particular emphasis on fitness and health laten of the progressive era public health discourses. Furthermore, these dance teachers were

prepared to teach children of all ages rather than being trained for professional dance, introducing a national curricular function to the exploration of creativity. The UW-Madison dance program's mission covered a latent dynamic of command and subjection in what they called an "intellectually respectable" dance spanning the separate spheres ideology Tomko (2000) suggested reworked the ground of identity in the progressive era. This intellectually respectable dance reworked the personhood of women within the curriculum's body politic. In a sense, we can call this the "work" of the dance program of UW-Madison.

In its professing to nurture the students' creative impulses and thus developing the enthusiasm and respect for their bodied selves (H'Doubler, 1925), the UW-Madison dance program maintained the discourse of conservation and improvement. Physical movements, coupled with gestures, tempo, and motion made up the material of H'Doubler's kinesthetic-rhythmic approach. Problem-solving and creativity functioned interdependently. In the essay, *A Way of Thinking,* H'Doubler attempts to explain the nature of problem-solving by saying, "Living seems to be the solving of one problem after another but if problems can be met with understanding and ability with which to solve them, life is more likely to be met with a zest for living." (H'Doubler, 1973/1975) To her, to live is to solve a continuous set of problems and by solving these problems, the student is likely to increase their enthusiasm and happiness.

As ideas of movement have spanned H'Doubler's theorizing in dance, human development manifested in clearer ways. In one of her earliest essays, H'Doubler (1925) described what movement offers to the development of the student by saying,

> The task is to present the scientific facts of movement, and of the process of learning and set up movement experiences in such a way that movement can become a self-directed and creative activity rather than a series of superimposed stereotyped movement patterns. (p.1)

Students here are directly engaging in creative activity, but the bodily experience of movement captures the personality and cognitive development of the student. Teachers directed human thought and movement experiences as processes rather than products of "superimposed stereotyped movement patterns" other dance forms typically present. Early in her theorizing, movement was used as a taming force for human development.

As H'Doubler's scientific inquiry developed however, the emphasis on human nature in the kinesthetic-rhythmic approach grew stronger. Within the kinesthetic-rhythmic approach to dance, movement was meant to be productive, creative, and problem-solving (H'Doubler, 1977). Yet, this concept of problem-solving was inherently about internalizing the continual refinement of the self, a concept intimately related to the discourses of improvement and its layered reasoning systems. To H'Doubler, problem-solving was essential to life in general.

The nature of humankind's relationship with its own body built our understanding of the human resources for our bodies, with understanding being the result of conscious and consistent study. Many of H'Doubler's documents—whether philosophical statements or scrap lesson plans with notes in the margins — indicate what some of these human resources may be. For example, in a later essay on the kinesthetic-rhythmic approach to dance H'Doubler (1977) says,

> Science does not denounce emotion or intuition, nor does it devaluate inspiration. It reveals new areas of truth and beauty. As teachers, it gives us information and understanding of the wealth of human resources that instructors and students alike may draw upon. (p.46)

Here, H'Doubler conflates science with knowledge of the subject, specifically the subject's emotionality and intuition, allowing for emotion to take on the status of cognition. Creativity and emotion were the cornerstones of H'Doubler's dance pedagogy.

Creativity and emotionality in dance become flooded with the layers of racialized reasoning that Jessie Abbott's body as flashpoint makes visible. Her racialized body must either become like the desired modern artistic subject (of which she was found lacking) or exist outside of it as the primitive (and inferior). Gaztambide-Fernandez (2020) argues, "In this way, "the arts"—qua culture—came to play a significant role in how Europeans imagined and constructed themselves as superior in the context of the colonial projects of empire that have been evolving over the last five centuries (Said, 1994 in Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2020, pg. 8). These discourses of dance are implicated in the social reproduction of racist, sexist, ableist, and colonial violence (Gaztambide-Fernandez & Parekh, 2017; Travis & Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2018; Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2020). From Abbott's case, we see traces of cultural orders of dance and education that are rooted in white supremacy.

Creativity discourse in dance and other arts was therefore a social technology used to validate certain human reasoning and expression styles over others. Wisconsin sought to preserve the quality of the intellectual community by offering dance as a worthy conduit through which to cultivate the individual's personhood. The dancer was the technology, and this technology offered a hope that the deviant subject could be changed. Thus, H'Doubler stepped into an intricately woven and working system that brought together creativity and the mind transforming into something far greater than any one person alone could have imagined.

Overall, the curriculum is made visible through specific resources highlighted in the program's lesson plans and teaching documents including physical laws, kinetic sense impulses, forces, momentum, weight, and gravity were mentioned as the resources of movement (Rose et al., 1949). Direction, range, patterns, images, and focus were mentioned as the resources of space. Beat, form, unity, accent, control, and syncopation, as rhythm and finally, emotion, power,

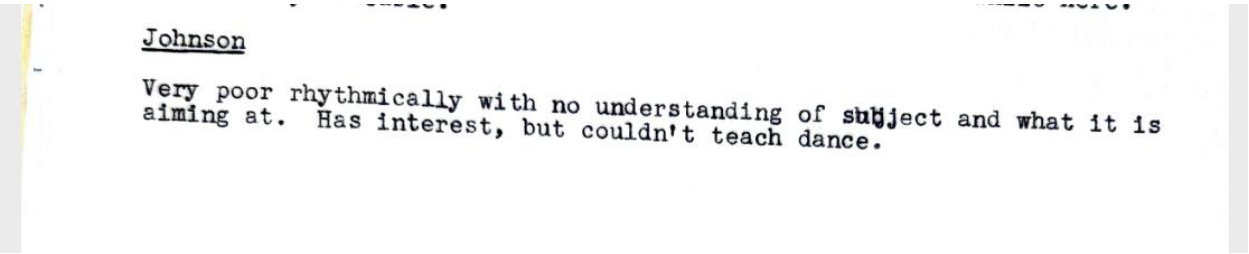
strength, dominance, tension with body positioning, and life were mentioned as movement qualities (Rose et al., 1949). Emotions, and sensations were now valuable to build from a wealth of human resources.

Curating the Body through Standards and Evaluations

Rather than "redeemed" through the liberation of dance, Abbott's participation in this program unveils broader discourses of conservation and improvement through professionalism. Figure 7 describes her as "very poor rhythmically" and having "no understanding of the subject" when taking a dance class (Johnson, n.d.), disciplining Abbott based on creativity and rationality.

Figure 7

Professor Johnson Evaluation of Jessie Abbott



Johnson

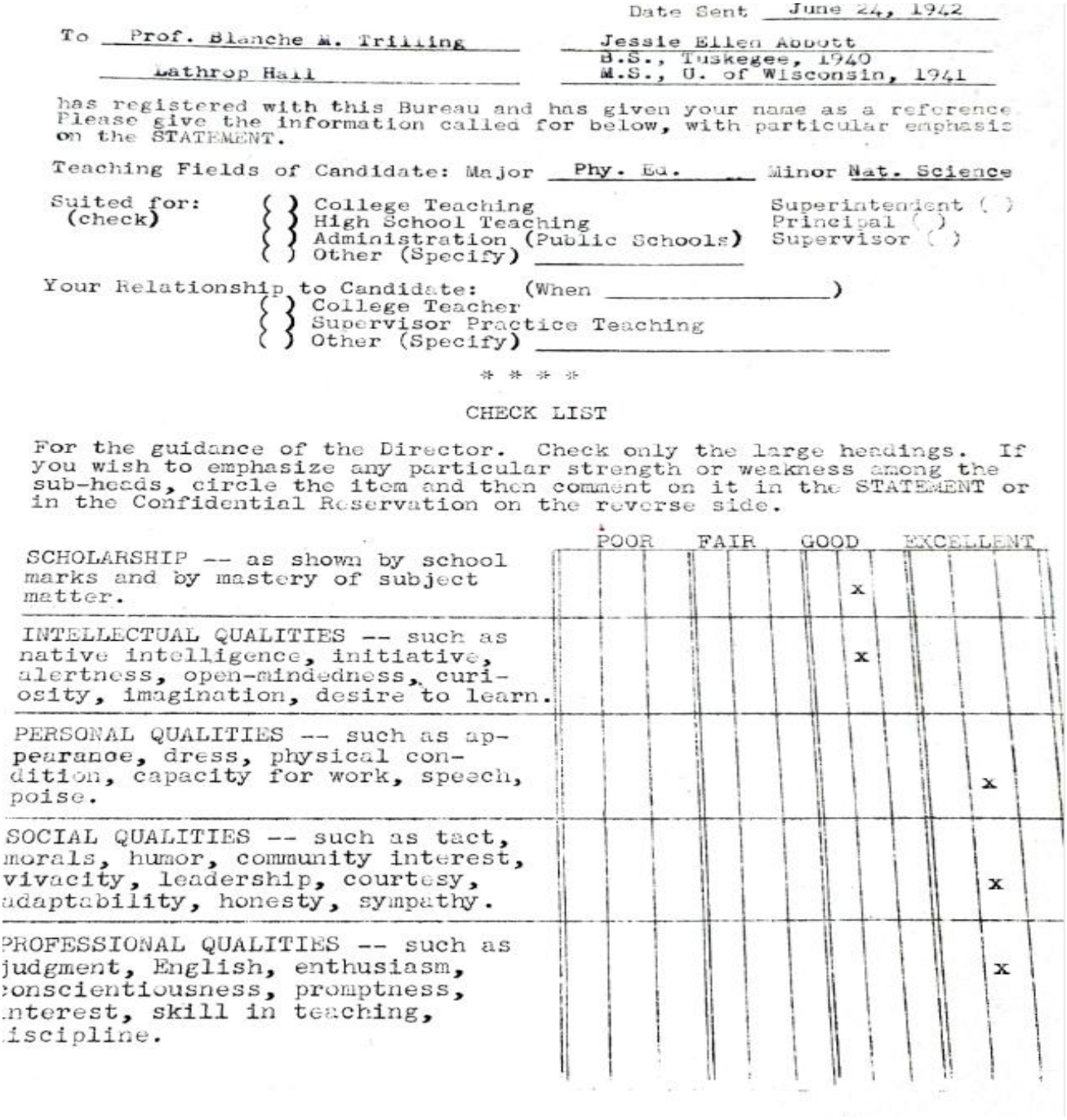
Very poor rhythmically with no understanding of subject and what it is aiming at. Has interest, but couldn't teach dance.

Note: Johnson, K. L. (n.d.). [Report on Jessie Abbott from UW-Madison Faculty]. *ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959* (Box 1; Folder: ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959; Call number: Accession 1984/018). UW-Madison Archives, Madison, WI, United States.

These orders reflected sociogenic narratives of childlike and primitive intellectualism that remain reified in education spaces (Ishmael, 2024). Furthermore, the evaluation standards for these students leaned on the personal, social, and relational representation of professionalism like those seen in Figure 8 below.

Figure 8

Professor Trilling's Evaluation of Jessie Abbott



Date Sent June 24, 1942

To Prof. Blanche M. Trilling
Lathrop Hall

Jessie Ellen Abbott
B.S., Tuskegee, 1940
M.S., U. of Wisconsin, 1941

has registered with this Bureau and has given your name as a reference. Please give the information called for below, with particular emphasis on the STATEMENT.

Teaching Fields of Candidate: Major Phy. Ed. Minor Nat. Science

Suited for: (check)
( ) College Teaching
( ) High School Teaching
( ) Administration (Public Schools)
( ) Other (Specify) _____
Superintendent ( )
Principal ( )
Supervisor ( )

Your Relationship to Candidate: (When _____)
( ) College Teacher
( ) Supervisor Practice Teaching
( ) Other (Specify) _____

* * * *

CHECK LIST

For the guidance of the Director. Check only the large headings. If you wish to emphasize any particular strength or weakness among the sub-heads, circle the item and then comment on it in the STATEMENT or in the Confidential Reservation on the reverse side.

	POOR	FAIR	GOOD	EXCELLENT
SCHOLARSHIP -- as shown by school marks and by mastery of subject matter.			x	
INTELLECTUAL QUALITIES -- such as native intelligence, initiative, alertness, open-mindedness, curiosity, imagination, desire to learn.			x	
PERSONAL QUALITIES -- such as appearance, dress, physical condition, capacity for work, speech, poise.				x
SOCIAL QUALITIES -- such as tact, morals, humor, community interest, vivacity, leadership, courtesy, adaptability, honesty, sympathy.				x
PROFESSIONAL QUALITIES -- such as judgment, English, enthusiasm, conscientiousness, promptness, interest, skill in teaching, discipline.				x

Note: Trilling, B. (1942). [Report on Jessie Abbott from UW-Madison Faculty]. *ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959* (Box 1; Folder: ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959; Call number: Accession 1984/018). UW-Madison Archives, Madison, WI, United States.

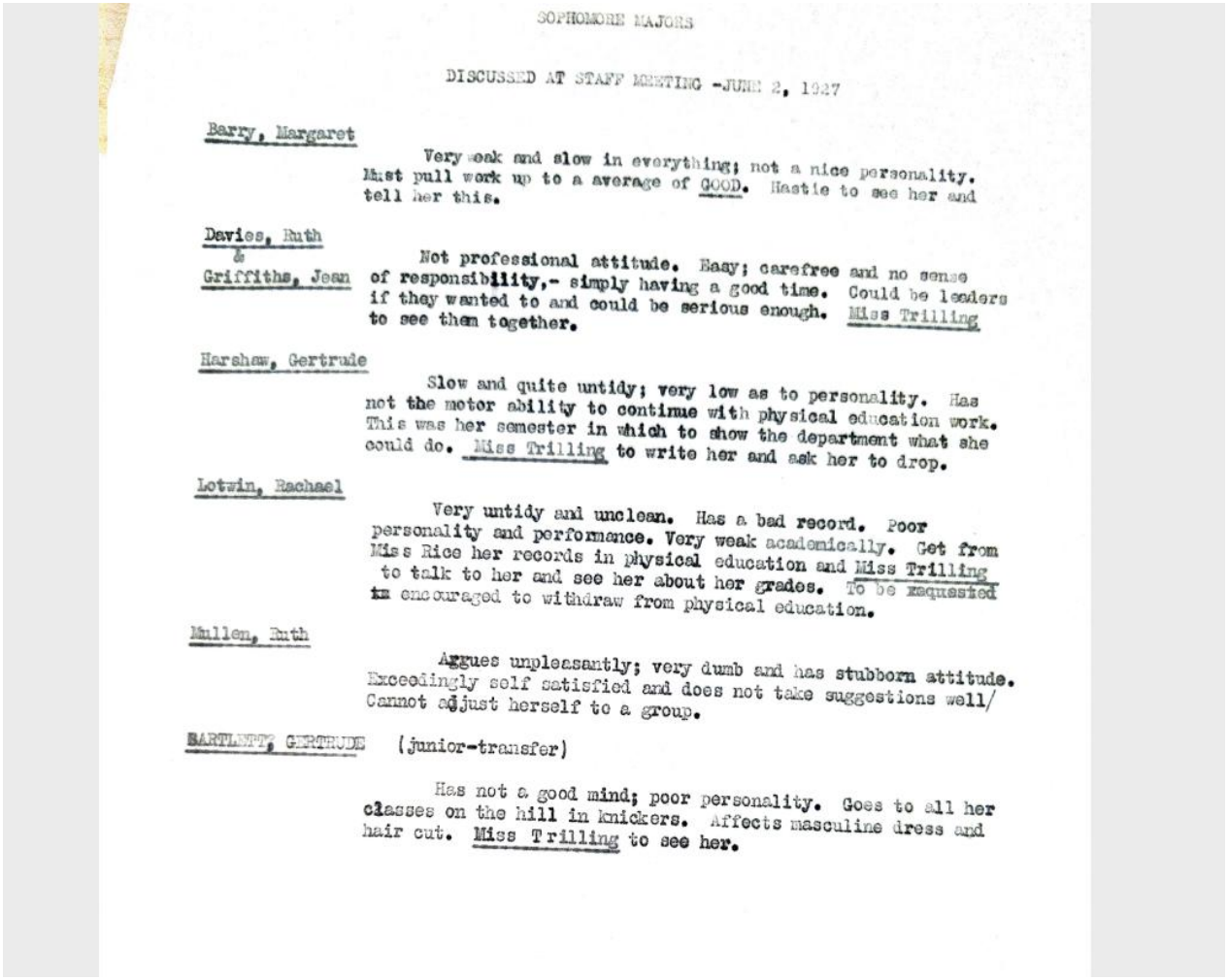
Yet, these characteristics are characteristics of intelligence, discipline, etiquette, and appearance—alongside skill. This document, informed by the eugenic systems of reasoning of this era, reveals that the discursive function of these academic standards involves the ablizing and racializing logics. These logics are apparent in the discursive formations of creativity and rationality used on the dance students across races. Therefore, under these orders, this body always needs to be refined.

Refining the Student

A staff meeting document showing a meeting held on June 2, 1927, shows how choreopolitical control operates through evaluations and standards. These are students from the year 1927, with the same faculty Abbott experienced during her time in the program. Among the young women in this document, many are presumed to be white sophomores discussed at length among their teachers. A recreation of the document and my analysis can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 9

Staff Meeting Notes on At-risk Students, 1927



SOPHOMORE MAJORS

DISCUSSED AT STAFF MEETING -JUNE 2, 1927

Barry, Margaret

Very weak and slow in everything; not a nice personality. Must pull work up to a average of GOOD. Hastie to see her and tell her this.

Davies, Ruth
&
Griffiths, Jean

Not professional attitude. Easy; carefree and no sense of responsibility,- simply having a good time. Could be leaders if they wanted to and could be serious enough. Miss Trilling to see them together.

Harshaw, Gertrude

Slow and quite untidy; very low as to personality. Has not the motor ability to continue with physical education work. This was her semester in which to show the department what she could do. Miss Trilling to write her and ask her to drop.

Lotwin, Rachael

Very untidy and unclean. Has a bad record. Poor personality and performance. Very weak academically. Get from Miss Rice her records in physical education and Miss Trilling to talk to her and see her about her grades. To be requested to encouraged to withdraw from physical education.

Mullen, Ruth

Argues unpleasantly; very dumb and has stubborn attitude. Exceedingly self satisfied and does not take suggestions well/ Cannot adjust herself to a group.

BARTLETT, GERTRUDE (junior-transfer)

Has not a good mind; poor personality. Goes to all her classes on the hill in knickers. Affects masculine dress and hair cut. Miss Trilling to see her.

Note: [Staff Meeting Notes 1927]. *ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959* (Box 1; Folder: ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959; Call number: Accession 1984/018). UW-Madison Archives. Madison, WI, United States.

I have created a chart from certain quotes from this document to show further how this plays out as enunciations in the discourse.

Table 1

My Discourse Analysis of the Curriculum's Enunciations

Enunciation	Discourse (Curriculum of Regulation)
"very weak and slow"	Physical Fitness
"not a nice personality, exceedingly self-satisfied"	Personal Fitness
"no professional attitude, no sense of responsibility"	Professionalism
"quite untidy, unclean, masculine dress and haircut, go to class in knickers?"	Appearance/Clothing
"weak academically"	Scholarship
"very dumb, stubborn attitude, not a good mind"	Cognitive Ability
"cannot adjust herself to a group"	Socially

Of the concerns within the department, there seemed to be six categories of student characteristics that stood as grounds for dismissal and removal from the program when not at standard. The first student, "Margaret Berry", is described as very weak and slow, drawing our attention to the emphasis on her level of rationality. Steeped in the discourses of disability in the nation at that time, strength, fitness, and rationality were paramount to success in such a program. Scholars of rhetoric, Houck & Kiewe (2003), mark the 1920s and 1930s as the years that Franklin D. Roosevelt remade and re-figured his own seemingly weak, polio-torn body as strong and capable through his own performative politics. His strength, therefore, was constructed through the appearance of his perceived rationality. This rationality and physicality

become enmeshed as a required outcome of the physical education program, especially within the context of these body politics. Like Roosevelt, Berry was in a position of doubt in the program for her body presented itself as weak and it was going to cost her a place in the program.

The kind of being these students were expected to aspire to, from this document, was as a student who is professional, strong, quick, good, and orderly–both in appearance and space. These qualities produced a certain type of dancer and teacher while reinforcing racializing and ableist standards. It was not that the professors in this program were judgmental, rather they were adhering to specific rules of engagement concerning the female body: appearance, disposition, and likability/attractiveness that appealed to social order. Justifications or "curriculum of regulation" that are implied in this program, the ethical substance, the self-forming activity, and the telos. The approval structures---the canonical knowledge, the teachers and their philosophies, their scientific rationales, and all the societal associations and events of the time—would all be reinscribed in each other.

The 21 qualifications for the student's qualities on academic scales, spanning from very inferior to very superior, aligned with the standards of creativity and rationality of the curriculum. The qualifications can be qualified through the additional comments section. Two of these qualifications include probable teaching ability and general merit and these qualifications exist externally from the quality of the student's scholarship, though scholarship is also scaled here from very inferior to very superior. This document is significant for what it does not include as well. Returning again to the curricular formation of the dance program, the body was a laboratory within the study of movement. H'Doubler says, "…student becomes his or her own

teacher, laboratory, and textbook, and, when dancing, becomes his or her audience and critic" (H'Doubler, 1977, p.46). Yet, movement was not a factor in these students' potential dismissal.

Physical education became a means for training bodies for an ideal citizenship (Strings, 2019), allowing Abbott's experience to serve as a study of the racialized control mechanisms in the dance program. This 20th century era was pivotal for the influencing and justifying the segregation of unfit bodies through ability, fitness, and health (Baker, 2002). The segregation of unfit bodies built the discursive field around the meeting notes. Student Margaret Berry's personality was described as "not nice" and the disappointment in her performance is apparent as they underline how she "must pull work up to an average of GOOD. And this is but one example of how personality is qualified under this review. Every student on this list was evaluated by personality as well. In Ruth Davies and Jean Griffith's assessments, the line "not professional attitude. Easy, carefree and no sense of responsibility–simply having a good time," reveals that the ethical substance asks of this student is related to professionalism and duty. These students are invited to change themselves through displaying a sense of responsibility. However, by not displaying this sense of responsibility, which is really a compliance to directing the social order, these students have performed beneath the standard. The kind of being these students are expected to aspire to, from this document, is a student who is professional, strong, quick, good, and orderly–both in appearance and space.

Curating the Body through High Art

We are seeing the effects of the democratization of oppression on the subject within the program that fragments all subjectivities. (Sandoval, 2000). Sandoval states that this democratization of oppression "crosses all class, race, gender, sex, and culture boundaries to shift in some previously impossible way the differences that once defined the very structure of

political hierarchy" (p.35). Making the case that the modernist subject of history is dead and the postmodern subject of history is in despair, Sandoval (2000) utilizes Fredric Jameson's 1984 manifesto on postmodernism to make visible violently fragmented condition produced under the psychopathologies of postmodernism itself.

The transformations of subjectivity explain the seemingly racially indiscriminate bodily training occurring in this program. I acknowledge that Sandoval referred to a shift occurring in the 1980s as various identity politics emerged. However, this is a shift occurring from the modernist historical subject of the early twentieth century through to the 1940s and 50s and into the end of the twentieth century. This shift was made visible through the calls for nationalism during the post-war periods as the U.S. made its name known on the global stage. Despite promoting health and fitness for all bodies, Roosevelt's government funding with the National Dance Association (NDA) was primarily invested in the development of a new, fit, body politic. Under this political context, dance and physical education together evolved as a tool to cultivate character for students. Dance institutions gained prominence within Roosevelt's national fitness efforts for what they could uniquely provide to the national agenda. Furthermore, smaller studios and dance schools were funded due to this program, which supported research for dance and cultural anthropology.

Concert dance during this era served as both a creative expression at the heart of progressive education and a mirror to the profound redefinitions of America's national identity. In fact, before the dance major was established in 1926, UW-Madison led state universities in enacting state desires for such discipline on its populace (Eugene, 1949)[13]. Sandoval (2000)

[13] The American Alliance for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, (AAHPER, now SHAPE America, the National Society of Health and Physical Educators) originally created in 1885, integrated

argues, “the end of the twentieth century found the emotional ground tone of the once centered, modernist, first world citizen-subject shot through with intensities so that it resembled the emotional territory of subordinated peoples” (p. 33). Sandoval’s naming of the emotional territory refers to a psychic positioning and a violently fragmented condition, a “war zone that shatter’s one’s sense of self into hysterical exhilaration or depression beyond scope” (p. 34). Emotion, identity, and subjectivity within the orders of such an ideological moment, the transformation of the subject of history, infiltrates the conditions of the curriculum.

These conditions bind Abbott to the experiences of her white classmates. Just as Abbott’s understanding and ability to maintain rigor was subject to scrutiny, Berry’s work must “be pulled up to average”. Just as Abbott’s was credited for being a “likable person”, another student (presumably white) had a “not nice personality”. What connects these enunciations is the machinations of choreographic control; a control that requires the postmodern splitting of the subject. From this chapter, I determine that the principles of such actions are determined by 1) the desire to better oneself on one hand, and 2) the level of engagement on the other hand. In the dance program, forces of institutional authority (through the teaching of the curriculum), discipline, and creativity influence how bodies are governed by certain laws and regulations. The visibility of the democratization of oppression within the curriculum was brought to light by the racialization of Abbott’s difference.

In the context of dance at UW-Madison, the choreopolitical reveals assemblages of curation, control, and self-formation (though this chapter did not elaborate the self-forming directly, but rather theoretically). The discourses of curation, control, and self-formation affected

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dance into their programs for its potential to curate fit individuals (Society of Health and Physical Educators, 2024).

bodies generally. However, through distinctions of high art which reflected Eurocentric art forms and their values of beauty and social status (Kealiinohomoku, 1970), the Black body's experiences highlight connections to the inclusion and exclusionary politics of rationality and emotionality. High art is often distinguished by the exclusivity of the art form. Examples of this include forms such as court dances, ballets, and other theater practices. Individuals (dancers), like Abbott, move inside and outside this domain through the assemblages of command, curating, and control (Lepecki, 2015) maintaining these artist structures. This is true whether it is through the curriculum's structure or the mere idea of what "high" or "low" art is.

High art in dance involves movements that offered an aesthetic ideal for perfection and thus, continual refinement and improvement (Burke, 2008). On the other hand, low art was art associated with low-class status communities and are often called popular artforms. Regardless of the artistry of such forms, the work itself was often classified by its origin and its resemblance to the classical canon already established. Yet, agency emerges among such systems. Marginalization and racialized distinctions are often discussed in relation to high art and low art (Kealiinohomoku, 1970). High art and low art are typically the classifications, as we saw in Koza (2021), also exist within the discipline of dance (Kealiinohomoku, 1970; Kraut, 2003). For a thing or a piece to be considered art, it is subject to the discourses of art that include such constructions of high and low art (Järvinen, 2017). Within the function of an art piece, the discourses of art limit who can be considered its subjects and what is validated as art (Bourdieu 1995; Järvinen, 2017). The discourse of art and the educational project of human perfection work hand in hand to construct a type of subject in dance.

Communities othered as potentially "deviant"—immigrants, the poor, the disabled, and Black communities—were targeted for improvement policies; the same improvement discourses

within research and development discourses of the *laboratory* of UW-Madison. The desire for the "improvement" of people via dance unites these events, a process shaped by discourses linking creative expression to national identity and physical fitness, but always through the lens of racially and gendered desires. Therefore, the discourse of self-formation is both defined and constrained by the institutional practices of control and curation, especially for marginalized bodies.

Dance, Blackness, and art under the discourse of improvement, emerges as a unique assemblage affecting a subject and the Black body, as a dancer, became further compounded under these orders. In Abbott's case, racialization occurred as the result of her unsatisfactory engagement. However, because Black bodies, including the Black dancers and physical educators in this program, were historically and erroneously considered primitive, exotic, and wild in social discourse (Koza, 2021; Kraut, 2003), there suggests that the Black bodies mutates how these actions play out on the surface of discourse. While this chapter does not identify, fully, all the ways this occurs, the next chapter will discuss this distinction in further detail.

CHAPTER 3: "*SHE IS A REFINED NEGRESS*": ASSEMBLAGES OF TRUE WOMANHOOD, BLACKNESS, AND THE BODY IN DANCE

In 1997, Wisconsin dance alumna Matt Turney described herself in an interview as a young girl with a "dream she didn't dare dream" (Turney, as cited in Tracey, 1997). This dream started as young as high school, when she trained informally in the Milwaukee Recreation Department with her first dance teacher, Nancy Hauser (Tracey, 1997; Matt Turney Experience Sheet, 1947). According to that interview, African American anthropologist and dancer Katherine Dunham (1909-2006) was so inspired by Turney's improvisation that she invited her to join her company (Tracey, 1997). Turney's exceptional talent for improvisation and passion for dance were recognized even before she attended Wisconsin-Madison. Upon completing her Bachelor's degree at Wisconsin, Turney would spend a year in New York dancing with the famed dancer and social justice activist, Pearl Primus (1919-1994) in 1947, and finally with Modern dance legend, Martha Graham. Turney is a notable figure in modern dance history, recognized as one of the first two African American principal dancers in the Martha Graham Dance Company. Her best friend and fellow alumna, Mary Hinkson, would be the other.

Mary Hinkson, a Black woman dance teacher and Philadelphia native, was the epitome of refinement within the UW-Madison dance program. She was known for her charm, creativity, and leadership and she stood out as a beloved student and eventual faculty member during the 1948-1949 school year (Jacobs, 1947). Hinkson was frequently praised for her enthusiasm and ability to inspire others, qualities that earned her respect across racial lines throughout her years. While Hinkson was also a principal dancer for Martha Graham, she also traveled the world as a premiere teacher. Her affinity for teaching was one of the primary reasons she succeeded so at Wisconsin-Madison.

Archival materials illuminate a fascinating aspect of the recognition afforded Matt Turney and Mary Hinkson; this chapter's title offers a point of entry into this discovery. The title of this chapter, "She is a Refined Negress", is a quote by Margaret H'Doubler, the founding educator, dance scholar, and renowned "Grand Dame of Modern Dance Education" of the UW-Madison dance program. This statement, jarring in our contemporary understandings of race, comes from a shining recommendation letter for Mary Hinkson, written in 1950. But what is a "refined negress" and what does this reveal about the racial thinking of the dance program during this time?

This chapter explores the conditions surrounding this racial thinking about Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney and reveals paradoxical training experiences of race, gender, and physical education. Here, I examine how discourses of respectability, sentimentalism, and refinement shaped these women's bodies, within the broader systems of reasoning of eugenics, racial uplift, and the politics of true womanhood. The evaluations and media representations of my archival materials reveal the paradoxical demands on Black women dancers to embody the racialized ideals of fitness and the aesthetic standards of white femininity. Through an analysis of their training, evaluations, and public portrayals, the chapter argues that Hinkson's and Turney's successes as dancers and educators represent not just personal achievement but also negotiations with the racial biopolitics of their era.

Turney's stage-focused disposition and Hinkson's teacher-focused disposition (the expressions of their subjectivity, I would argue) were contested spaces of embodiment in women's physical education. Turney, Hinkson, and other artistic Black dancers would enter an era of Black and feminist consciousness that would emerge a new collective subject through such contested subjectivity (Sandoval, 2000). Though both women became powerful and proficient

Graham dancers with a long and successful career, through these women we can see paradoxical recreations of new types of womanhood—a new womanhood that desired a different life for herself than what was prescribed for her. Starting this chapter with the phrase "refined negress" signals a critique of the institutional and societal mechanisms that positioned Hinkson and Turney's bodies—bodies that can be read and learned as pedagogy—as sites for both regulation and resistance. I conclude this chapter by reimagining the "good" dancer and highlighting that dance is a powerful medium of subjectivity and agency for Black women.

The Paradox of True Womanhood and Black Femininity

Feminist scholar, Kyla Schueller describes the power of sentiment as a bodily shaping mechanism of subjectivity. Schueller (2018) defines the concept of sentimental power through 19th-century constructions of women in her book, *The Biopolitics of Feeling.* She insists that sentimental power "operates as a fundamental mechanism of biopower", and argues, alongside scholars such as Glenn Hendler, that sentimentalism determines an embodiment of ideas that link character and emotion to each other and the social body. This link between character and emotionality is traced back to the age of sentimentalism, between the 17th and 18th century of philosophy and culture in Europe. Sentiments—feeling and emotion—were used to regulate and control populations.

For Schuller, "biopower functioned through the diagnosis, surveillance, and subjectivization of the docile body" which "could be measured, administered, and regulated over generations through the same processes governing the natural world" (Schueller, 2018, pp. 14-15). As a parallelism between 19th century impressibility and theories of affect, Schuller argument makes it possible to see Hinkson as a Black woman through the biopolitics of feeling. While racial logics have been debunked by modern science, they remained in dance as curricular

mechanisms. Regardless of the body that sentiments shape, sentimental biopower is at work within this school and around Black bodies. Schueller allows me to connect what Hinkson and Turney negotiated through the UW-Madison dance program to the discourses of eugenics and sentimentalism of this era, also explaining the connection between the biological and social factors informing individual lifetimes (i.e. in the racial categorization of Blackness). Through Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney's educational history, we see both the achievement of a Black ideal and how this ideal does not fit within the eugenic constructs of fitness.

Scheuller (2018) explains that because of perceived vulnerability of the docile body, social norms sought to refine European women and children as a means to support of their moral and physical development. White women and children were highly regulated because they were deemed most vulnerable to external stimuli. Black bodies, however, were said to be in a perpetual state of lack of refinement, such as in Turney's educational experience, that could not hope to be developed. Both racialized difference and sexualized difference were stabilizing forces in society: race stabilizes civilizations' economy and biological health for development and sex/gender stabilizes through creating balance. Schueller (2018) argues that the condition of changing said feelings, the condition of impressibility, differentiated the refined, sensitive, and civilized subject, from the unrefined, insensitive, and uncivilized on racial and sexual lines. Schueller says,

> "Sex served to balance the somatic vulnerability of the impressible races by dividing the civilized body into two halves: the sentimental woman, who possessed both a heightened faculty of feeling and a more transparent animal nature, and the less susceptible and more rational man, thereby relieved from the burdens of embodiment. (Schueller, 2018, p. 16)

Identified as a technology of power, impressibility influenced ideals of "true womanhood" through controlled sexuality, controlled emotions, dress, etiquette, or training through domestic labor.

Black women's experiences were deeply shaped by moral condemnations conveyed through naming conventions that emphasized traits such as laziness, disorder, and other negative attributes. These identity-characterizing limits, labeling them as "uncivilized," quite literally framed Black women as "obstructions to civilization" (p. 65). Traced to the 19th century, the white household was constructed as a cornerstone of civilization, with domestication—defined by the behaviors of household management—implicating both white and Black women in its framework. Glymph connects these roles to the civilizing mission, particularly highlighting the lived experiences of Black women, stating:

> To function and to meet the standards of domesticity, the plantation household required the labor of the enslaved women—to beautify, clean, order, and thus civilize it. At the same time, it required negative representations of enslaved women and their labor—filthy, disordered—to deny them consideration as anything more than tools of the civilizing mission. (Glymph, 2003, p. 65)

In contrast to these dehumanizing constructs, highly respected Black women activists such as Anna Julia Cooper, Mary Church Terrell, and Nannie Helen Burroughs viewed education as a critical strategy for racial and gendered empowerment. Mary Church Terrell emphasized this vision when she stated:

> build[ing] the foundation of the next generations upon such a rock of morality, intelligence, and strength, that the floods of proscription, prejudice, and persecution may descend upon it in torrents and, yet it will not be moved. (Terrell as quoted in Giddings, 1984, p. 100)

For Black women at the time, schools often implemented curricula that emphasized bodily control, reflecting the broader missions and strategies for racial uplift popular within the Black community.

Harris (2003) identifies this dynamic as respectability politics, explaining: "By linking worthiness for respect to sexual propriety, behavioral decorum, and neatness, respectability served as a gatekeeping function, establishing a behavioral "entrance fee," to the right to respect and the right to full citizenship" (p. 3). Respectability politics[14] shaped educational content and reinforced middle-class Black perceptions of propriety through finishing schools, normal schools, and other institutions of Black education (Giddings, 1984). Black women countered this cult of true womanhood through the behavior modification of respectability (Higgenbotham, 1993). Respectability politics are rules of morality upheld by women of the church that were done under the belief that modifying behavior would protect you from prejudice and racial discrimination and present you as a person worthy of respect.

Emphasis on respectability and uplift also shaped the roles of womanhood, as Anna Julia Cooper's (1892/2016) advocacy for elevated and trained womanhood demonstrates[15]. Her ideas align with the transformative roles of Black women within the UW-Madison dance curriculum,

[14] Historian Everlyn Higgenbotham (1993) coined the term respectability politics from researching the actions of social preservation she observed from Black women in the Black Baptist Church during the late 19th century. These are, in fact, social orders that determine what is acceptable to wear, what is acceptable to act, and what is acceptable to say to counteract assumptions of hypersexuality associated with Black women.

[15] Anna Julia Cooper (1892) believed women's reasoning, expression, and training would give the world what it needs as complementary to men. According to Cooper, women ought to use their potential influence on men and children to preserve the race (1892). Specifically, Bell (2021) argues that Cooper revises the notion that women and men are different because of women's inferiority by instead attributing political and moral authority to Black women that complements the work of Black men. This complementary position of the Black woman was Cooper's articulation of Black feminism.

which operated at the intersection of physical education and racial uplift. These programs sought to cultivate fit citizens—socially responsible, morally educated, and healthy individuals. Within this context, the experiences of Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney reveal how physical education curricula constructed new statements around Black bodies, framing them as integral to the pursuit of citizenship and symbolizing, aesthetically, the strength, health, and longevity of the *Negro* race.

Power, Relationship, and Reactions in Space

To begin, I start with one picture, a picture with the tag on it stating “Mary Hinkson ’46 attending a reception in the Virginia Harrison Parlor at Lathrop Hall ca. 1945”. This picture showed Hinkson in the parlor, standing among several other young women.

Figure 10

Mary Hinkson ’46 attending a reception in the Virginia Harrison Parlor at Lathrop Hall ca. 1945

Note: [Hinkson in Virginia Harrison Parlor Photograph]. ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959 (Box 5, Folder Mary Hinkson). UW Archives, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Madison, WI, United States.

This picture was taken circa 1945, presumably one year before Hinkson graduates. She is the sole Black woman in the picture, shown engrossed in conversation. Hinkson, smiling tightly at a fellow student, with her teacup in hand, seems to be listening to one of the two white women speaking to her and my first inclination is to look to the space. Of all the bodies in this picture, such as the teacher in the center, or the students to the teachers’ left or right, Hinkson is at the

center of this remembrance—yet adjacent to this photographer's gaze. This was not the only time Hinkson was pictured alone among a group.

In another photo, as seen below, there is an expansive Lake Mendota, a common site at UW-Madison, with boats lining the skyline. This was taken presumably around 1946, in Hinkson's final year at the university. In the back of one of two canoes, Hinkson sits as two students in each canoe paddle toward the camera. This was taken on a department trip to the lake. Once again, Mary is the sole African-American woman.

Figure 11

WPE Canoe Trip, presumed 1946

Note: [Canoe Trip circa 1946 Photograph]. ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959 *(Box 1; Folder: ED Physical Education & Dance Student Files, 1913-1959; Call number: Accession 1984/018).* UW-Madison Archives. Madison, WI, United States.

These photos could invoke emotions of curiosity or wonder. It could also invoke fear. As a Black woman, alone in a recently integrated society, being the sole Black woman in the room was not physically or emotionally safe. But what makes it possible to think this?

The presence of the Black woman's body is inherently a threat to the normality of space. Ahmed's (2002) chapter, *Racialized Bodies,* gives an example of what I mean here by using an example of a Black girl on a train. This Black girl sits next to a white woman, who pulls herself and her bag away from the little girl, avoiding the girl's touch. Ahmed describes how the little Black girl is trying to understand what the woman saw that made her react this way. Was there a bug? Did she have something on her clothes? The little girl later realizes that the woman's expression of disgust was aimed at her. The picture of Mary Hinkson among other women invokes questions about the dynamics of space between bodies and her reality as a Black woman. While we cannot know for certain, we must contend with her body as a disruption to the sameness seen in this photo. In later chapters, I dig into the material reality of racial integration and discuss in further detail the dynamics of space and likeness relating to the Black woman's body in primarily white spaces.

The chapter discusses how paradoxical discourses of true womanhood and black femininity inform the training of black dancers' bodies. First, I emphasize the preconditions of eugenics, the racial uplift strategies of women in the Black community, and the discourses of the physical culture movement that made it possible for the Hinkson and Turney to graduate from UW-Madison in the first place. Hinkson and Turney were women, yes, but because they are

black women, they experienced a reality of dynamics that were emotionally reactive and navigated suspicion, frustration, disgust informing their training. Then, I discuss how they also experienced the aesthetic pressures of womanhood extending to health concerns for Black futures as well. These dynamics are made visible when the body politics of the Black women are centered.

Training and Bodily Control

Black women's freedom and their bodily control existed explicitly within conditions emerging from sentimentalism's discourses of the enlightened mind and the uncontrollable body. An evaluation of Mary Hinkson at UW-Madison was particularly concerned with how well her mind controlled her body. Bassett (1946) states,

> Miss Hinkson is a person of great potential abilities. She has not yet pushed herself enough to develop them fully. She has a good mind and reacts intelligently in most situations. She sees unusually and quickly and accurately what occurs in her group and goes straight to the point in the corrections she makes. When she takes the necessary time she plans well. There is a tendency, however, to cut corners here and there, and it always reflects in her teaching. She has a charming manner, is friendly and enthusiastic with her group, and is intelligent in her manner of handling it. I expect her to develop into a really excellent teacher. (p.1)

Basset concludes that Hinkson was responsive, accurate, and timely in her teaching and she possessed the potential to be a great teacher. Another report from UW faculty member Margaret H'Doubler, presumably in 1947, identifies traits across personality quality, appearance, speech, personal skill, and general manner; each element of cognition, rationality, and order offered to promote Hinkson's performance as a woman. Under the heading of personal qualities, her appearance was noted as "always neat and attractive", her speech was noted as "very good quality and excellent vocabulary", her skill was noted as "excellent", and her general manner was noted as "pleasing."

What we see in Hinkson's case is not simply a praise of her appearance and skill (though that is a true observation), but we also see her embodying discourses of order. Domesticity's constructs of attractiveness, neatness, and order governed the appearance of the girls in the program, signaling the significance of appearance in the development of the teacher. As white women were responsible for managing the household, maintaining order, and upholding such ideals, Wisconsin-Madison's rationales for developing self in women and controlling impulses as caught within the same racialized orders of domesticity.

In particular, as women were exploring the freedom to enlighten their minds, they had to adhere to the powers of control and expectations placed on them. From chapter 2, we saw how rationales for a movement science style dance program—cultivating the self-development of women who are learning to control emotional impulses, etc.—gave the men of the department a reason for women to be in this teaching program. She did this through creativity. Regarding Hinkson, H'Doubler said, "She [Hinkson] is a good performer, has creative ingenuity and the ability to release creative responses in others" (H'Doubler, 1946). Ultimately, creativity as it relates to internal and external expression evokes a response in others. Hinkson mirrored search ideals so well that one must consider whether her performance was not merely about the stage could she have performed her way through the UW-Madison program as the ideal student as well. In this way, Hinkson is an exemplar of the building blocks for the type of or the kind of ideal dancer coming from the UW-Madison program.

Developing women's cognitive ability as a biological determinant through physical education became an avenue for women's freedom. Ross (2022) shows how the queer body was an enactment of the UW-Madison dance curriculum through the skeleton, which Ross says introduced an implicit lesbian challenge to the white woman's respectability. Even this

explanation of the queer body in the dance program of Wisconsin-Madison, racialized constructions of the body and the gendered cultivation of women were enmeshed. The body becomes an important site for social and political contestation (Tomko, 2000). For the woman, Ross (2000) says, a divide was made between what control she exerted over her mind and the freedom she was allowed to experience over her body. Through the body, we can see the political construction of creative expression and the dynamic of emotional regulation constructing the uniqueness of womanhood's gendered construction.

The Paradox of Bodily Control

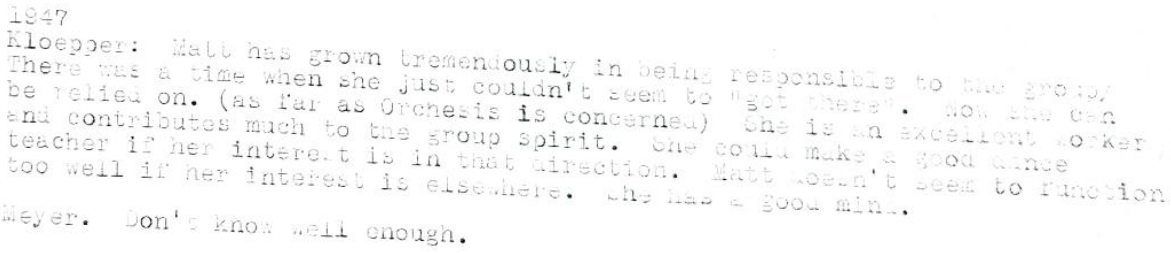
Turney's body was a marker of bodily control that allowed the aims of the physical education curriculum to be seen, outwardly, and on the body. The faculty at UW-Madison's evaluations presented Matt Turney as a beautiful dancer. In fact, in a letter to Martha Hill at New York University, Hermine Sauthoff (Davidson), faculty at UW's dance program asked for recommendations for part-time jobs on behalf of Matt Turney. Matt Turney is "a beautiful performer, being tall and moving with terrific range and excitement" (Letter to Martha Hill, 1947). In this letter, Matt Turney is put on display as a product of the UW dance program curriculum. Turney's slim frame was (and still is) representative of health (Purkiss, 2023). For the Black woman's body, it is even more so. Strings (2019) documented histories of how the Black body was associated with gluttonousness and excess as opposed to standards marked by the Nordic/Aryan ideal of beauty, specifically the tall and the lean. Her appearance was accepted, yet her conduct and character stayed in a state of progression. She did not always acquire such easy approval.

In a series of end-of-semester evaluations written about Turney, where each teacher offers their comments about how much Matt Turney has grown, Louise Kloepper, the main teacher in

the program teaching its technical classes, discusses how Matt Turney's work ethic relates to who she is as a dance group member.

Figure 12

Professor Kloepper's Evaluation of Matt Turney, 1947


1947
Kloepper: Matt has grown tremendously in being responsible to the group. There was a time when she just couldn't seem to "get there". Now she can be relied on. (as far as Orchesis is concerned) She is an excellent worker and contributes much to the group spirit. She could make a good dance teacher if her interest is in that direction. Matt doesn't seem to function too well if her interest is elsewhere. She has a good mind.

Meyer. Don't know well enough.

> Matt has grown tremendously in being responsible to the group. There was a time when she just couldn't seem to "get there". Now she can be relied on. (as far as Orchesis is concerned). She is an excellent worker and contributes much to the group spirit. (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1947)

Kloepper is talking about the UW-Madison dance demonstration group Orchesis, a group who, then-President Van Hise, considered too popular (Ross, 2000), and was previously concerned that Turney would not rise to this occasion. Kloepper seems relieved that she can say Turney is a hard worker and a major contributor to the group. I emphasize a sense of progress in this statement, that she just could not "get there" is an overall judgment of who she was, while also expressing surprise at who she could become.

In the first sentence, Kloepper expresses approval of Turney's improved sense of responsibility in the group dynamic of the Orchesis. When Kloepper uses the words "grown tremendously", in relation to Turney's sense of responsibility, value is seen to be placed in the change in personality and character in Turney. It is through this choice of words that we can see the logics of control coming out. Kloepper notes that Turney had not previously demonstrated

this character trait and there seemed to be some indication that Kloepper did not think Turney could "get there" at all. Turney's progress seems to be attributed to her work ethic and contributions that, if applied to her teaching, could create in her a good teacher. However, Kloepper ends by saying that Turney's function (and thus performance) does not rise above her interest. Kloepper acknowledges that Turney's "good mind", however, is an inherent trait.

Sauthoff relation to Turney's quality as a performer to her physical frame ("being tall" as well as her sensibilities ("moving with terrific range and excitement") and Kloepper's hesitant response to Turney's growth reflects the aesthetic ideals of whiteness and the racialized ideals of fitness occurring on Turney at one time. Describing Turney as "being tall" drew attention to Turney's slim frame. This attention to her aesthetics marked her as this type of student significant to physical education. Describing Turney as "moving with terrific range and excitement" brought further attention to her internal state of mind. Kloepper suggested that Turney's excitement related to her quality as a performer as well. What is circulating here is how the dance program has produced a beautiful performer with a specific type of inner motivation. This letter is an outward display of a refining process that has taken place in a Black woman.

This dichotomy continued within Turney's experience. Cronin named what would become the most common concern for Turney across her evaluations—her self-discipline. Cronin explains,

> Matt is fun to work with but provoking at times, when obviously she is not applying native ability as she might. She probably needs to develop more self-discipline so that she will be on time, will think through details ahead of time and will follow-up carefully–instead of being apparently careless and casual. (Faculty report on Matt Turney, 1947)

Punctuality and forethought make her a responsible team player, both socially and personally. This is simply more of the same regulation we have seen above, only in greater detail. Cronin later goes on to say she has been struggling to develop her "whin for when, her thin for then", which suggested that diction is also an element of bodily control and self-discipline. For Black education, bodily control, and self-discipline were two institutionalized values of higher education that ensured the proper shaping of young Black women's bodies (Purkiss, 2023). Turney's body consistently existed within a state of lack of these evaluation statements.

Social and personal responsibility were keen traits of American citizenship that physical education was set to encourage. H'Doubler (1973), in her essay, *A Way of Thinking,* states, "To teach is to accept the privilege and responsibility of shaping and directing thought" (p.1). Purkiss (2023) explains, "PE [physical education] inculcated notions of personal and social responsibility, reinforced ideals of democracy, and provided practical training for military service, all of which supported the ethics of American citizenship (p.60). However, as noted from Kloepper's caution, Turney's development of such a skill brought about the attention of multiple teachers, from which we can infer how important this skill was to the physical education curriculum. Self-discipline was presented as the attribute Turney needed to develop.

Sentimentalism and The Politics of Fitness

Mary Hinkson, whose family appeared in Ladies Home Journal in 1942, was an exemplar of this fashion, beauty, and patriotism. Mary Hinkson was featured particularly in an article by herself titled, "In Trim for Tomorrow Teen-age girls must fit themselves today to help tomorrow" (Benjamin, 1942, p.83). Seventeen-year-old Hinkson, named here as Bunny, is presented as an aesthetic exemplar of fitness. Purkiss (2023) argues that fitness and health in physical education were rationales of racial uplift.

Figure 13

Mary Hinkson featured in the Beauty section of Ladies Home Magazine

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In Trim for Tomorrow

Teen-Age Girls Must Fit Themselves Today to Help Tomorrow

BY LOUISE PAINE BENJAMIN

Beauty Editor of the Journal

GIRLS in their middle and late teens will be the next class coming up for full-time service. Already they are proving their patriotism in the many part-time services they are performing after school hours. Soon they will step into larger responsibilities—to their country, to their professions and to that most important stronghold of our nation, their homes.

If you are in this age group, you have a job to do on yourself right now. There is no better preparation for your future than to build up your physical reserve so that you will be ready for action.

Looking healthy doesn't prove you *are* healthy. Every day our young men are being rejected by examining physicians on draft boards, for defects resulting from poor nutrition, for poor teeth, for bad feet. And all these boys thought they were in fighting form! These conditions could have been prevented by the right health program *at your age*.

Perhaps you are hoping to be a canteen worker, a member of the Women's Motor Corps, a Red Cross nurse. You will not be considered for these jobs if you cannot pass a stringent physical test. Even in less spectacular, though equally important, positions the standards are exacting. There is no time to waste these days over complaining girls with poor digestion, frayed nerves or aching teeth or feet. Doctors are needed for more vital work than looking after pampered or indifferent teen agers who won't help themselves.

All the familiar health rules take on new meaning, viewed in the light of present-day necessity. A woman physician who constantly checks the well-being of growing girls in several of our most progressive schools points out this new relationship between old rules and immediate needs. If you want to be a 1-A girl physically, study this list, apply each rule to yourself, then get busy!

Bunny Hinkson, seventeen, is proud to be one of Uncle Sam's girls in fighting trim.

Are you a 1-A girl? Could you pass the test?

HERE ARE YOUR RULES

1 *Nine hours' sleep every night:* Not just because your parents say so but because it is *nerve insurance*, so that your judgment and hands will be steadier for valuable work.

2 *Two to four glasses of milk every day,* because the vitamin A it contains is a *plus* for your eyes, and good vision is a war-work necessity.

3 *Well-balanced meals regularly, with plenty of fruit and green vegetables* to assure good digestion and regular elimination, the basis of sound health. Fewer sweets and more salads!

4 *Two visits a year to your dentist,* because aching teeth make you unfit for work and a nuisance to the busy people around you.

5 *Common-sense heels on your shoes,* because women must be on their feet more than ever. Too many young women are being turned down because of feet crippled through wrong shoes.

6 *One hour, preferably more, exercising out-of-doors* every day, because fresh air is still the best tonic, and muscles must be given regular workouts to be ready when you need them.

7 *A good all-over scrub once a day,* a shampoo once a week and meticulous attention to fingernails at all times. The most patriotic motives do not excuse a slovenly look.

8 *A regular checking with your family physician* to be sure you are in good running order.

Note: Benjamin, 1942

Like Hinkson and the other Black girls whose fitness made America proud, Turney "made good" of herself because she pursued a life of physical education, going so far as to say, "I was always very athletic…even as a child…" (Austin, 1963, p. 1). "Making good" is a double gesture—it suggests she is now discursively "good" and that her physical development was made her "good". The embodiment, at the multidimensional level of her body, conveys this meaning. As the third-space feminists say, this is her theory in the flesh (Moraga, 1981).

Figure 14

Matt Turney featured in Milwaukee Journal upon Return from Dance Tours, 1963

THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL Wednesday, February 13, 1963 Part

Coming Back Home to Dance

Matt Turney visits, describes busy life

By DOROTHY WITTE AUSTIN
Of The Journal Staff

A FORMER Milwaukee girl who made good as dancer in New York will return to Milwaukee Mar. 23 for a dance concert with the Robert Cohan group at Alverno college.

She is Matt Turney, wife of New York Times newsman Robert Teague, a former Milwaukee Journal sports reporter.

Back in her home town for a brief visit with her father, Mr. Cyril Turney, 506 W. Walnut st., she stopped to see newspaper friends and to reminisce about her first dancing training in Milwaukee social centers.

Matt Turney moves with the easy elegance of a disciplined dancer. She has a long, lean body, 5 feet 8½ inches and long, slender, expressive hands. She also has an arresting face, heart shaped, with almond eyes and rich, warm coloring.

Encouraged to Dance

She wore for her Milwaukee from Spain and a cat's-eye ring from India, souvenirs of her dancing tours abroad.

"I was always very athletic," she said, "even as a child, but I was fortunate to get the training and guidance I got."

It was a dancing teacher, Nancy McKnight, who encouraged her to channel her considerable energy and ability to dancing.

Tours Remembered

She majored in dance at the University of Wisconsin, went to New York after graduation and joined the Martha Graham dancers.

Dancing has given her a "wonderful life" as a performer, she said. She enjoyed one five month tour of the capitals of Europe, stayed an extra two months to roam around at leisure.

Another five month tour of the far east, sponsored by the state department, was an even more memorable experience.

"I felt a great communion with the eastern audiences," she said.

In Burma, an outdoor stage was built in the shadow of a ancient temple. The dancers put on their make-up outdoors and found mixed in with the grease paint a variety of bugs.

about it. We saw the dances and the top dancers of every country, so it was as educational for us as for them."

Since her marriage she has "thought twice" about tours and has turned to Broadway.

Last year she had a solo in her first Broadway show, "Milk and Honey," which she hopes will not be her last.

"Concert work and Broadway are entirely different," she said, "and a dancer likes to have both in her experience."

When she is not performing, she continues to take lessons at the rate of from three to six a week.

"You can never know all there is to know about dancing," she said, "and you have to keep on building the dancer's instrument."

Midnight Leisure

The Teagues live in a Park Row co-operative apartment on the 21st floor. On one side their view is of Manhattan, and on the other it is of Brooklyn.

Since they both normally work nights, she on stage somewhere and he at a sports event, they usually meet for a midnight supper, "the one meal we can count on together."

Since the New York news-

—Journal Staff Photo by John Murray

Matt Turney, modern dancer

Note: Austin, 1963, Milwaukee Journal

As a woman, Turney's appearance held potentiality in her model of a modern Black family. In local newspapers, specifically the hometown paper, *The Milwaukee Journal*, the first line of the article, aptly titled "Coming back home to dance", describes Turney as "a former Milwaukee girl who made good as a dancer in New York". Staff writer Dorothy Austin introduces Turney's multifaceted career dancing on tour with Martha Graham, by connecting

Turney's "wonderful life" to another Milwaukee pride, Nancy McKnight, the dance teacher who encouraged Turney to channel her energy and abilities into dancing. It stated,

> Dancing has given her a "wonderful life" as a performer, she says. She enjoyed one five month tour of the capitals of Europe, stayed an extra two months to roam around at leisure. Another five month tour of the far east, sponsored by the state department, was an even more memorable experience. "I felt a great communion with the eastern audiences," she says. (Austin, 1963, Milwaukee Journal)

By then, Turney was an excellent performer—dancing internationally on tours with Martha Graham's company and on Broadway in the 1950s and 60s.

The article described Turney as having a lean body with "long, slender, expressive hands" and an arresting face, heart-shaped face. The article goes on to frame Turney as always having the potential to become the hometown hero, first showcasing her graceful aesthetic, describing her movements as having the "easy elegance of a disciplined dancer" and then also discussing her body. Austin writes, "She has a long, lean body, 5 feet 8 ½ inches and long, slender, expressive hands. She also has an arresting face, heart-shaped, with almond eyes and rich, warm coloring". Here, Austin is not only signaling that Turney is beautiful because of her lean body and slender hands, but that her face is also symmetrical, as the heart shape would suggest. Turney, being a dancer, allowed her body, as a creative subject, to begin to speak for her, illustrating what Foucault named as the aesthetics of existence (Thacker, 1993). Her celebrity was brought about by physical education being a profession worthy of praise as enunciations of health in the Black community (Purkiss, 2023). Another article from 1917 uses the same phrasing "making good" when referring to a young, Black girl, with round, slumped shoulders. This girl, Phyllis Waters, was described as unhealthy and lazy due to her posture. This posture

also suggested that she would not be a good representative of the longevity of Black women[16]. Turney represented the opposite of the round-shouldered girl, in being lean, elegant, and heart-shaped (Austin, 1963). Health, body, and livelihood are bound together in society's view on strengthening the body's posture.

In describing the dance choices she made for her professional career, one article pointed to the moment she had to think twice about her choices, saying she "thought twice about [dance] tours" and turned to Broadway to be mindful of her marriage, though she continues to take dance lessons to enrich her skill set and "build the dancer's instrument" (Austin, 1963, p. 1). Perhaps Turney's choice to dance was a bid to reclaim her agency. Whether it was the Ladies Home Journal (1942)'s valorization of Hinkson or the Milwaukee Journal (1963) article declaring Turney as Milwaukee's pride, each girl's ascension to professional dancer promoted fitness and nationalism. Through UW-Madison's dance program, the curriculum mediated these intersectional assemblages of black womanhood. Through dance, both Turney and Hinkson became illustrations of a Black ideal, discourses on race womanhood withstanding, within the complex eugenic training discourse characteristic of the progressive era.

Through Hinkson and Turney's body, we can see how physical education allowed Cooper's vision of racial uplift to actualize through the body of the African American woman. Cooper's (1892/2016) advocacy for women being the different, but equal counterparts of men explain this change of societal expectation for the Black woman further exaggerated by the dance

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[16] The story of Phyllis Waters, a young Black girl who had round, slumped shoulders, illustrates the concept of "making good" in an article written in 1917. Phyllis Waters was featured in an article titled "Colored Girl Makes Good" found in Purkiss (2023).

career. Cooper says that the world needs the feminine force and the woman's effectiveness in the public sphere does not need to remove her from the home. By taking up this narrative of racial uplift, Black women became authorities and co-conspirators in the fight for racial equality, and through dance, foregrounded, rather than backgrounded their positions on the front lines of this fight.

Discourses Governing bodies

Discourses around the body of the Black women played a vital role in governing behavior for the community. Activist and black woman scholar of the 19th century, Anna Julia Cooper spoke out as an authority on the discourses and role of Black women in society, especially within eugenic discussions of this period saying, "a race cannot be purified from without…We must go to the root and see that that is sound and healthy and vigorous; and not deceive ourselves with waxen flowers and painted leavers of mock chlorophyll" (p. 11). Cooper (1892/2016) situates health, vigor, and strength in her arguments on race purity, with the Black woman holding the root from which the Black race would otherwise stem from. Young women's bodily care, physical activity, and nutrition, emphasizing hygiene and homemaking, were considered gendered contributions to racial advancement (Purkiss, 2023).

Education was a woman's duty both to herself and her community. Cooper distinguishes Black women from men by highlighting an "enlightened womanhood" that is a being without violence, special patronage, or ill intent. It is in this Black woman that the Black community's vitality can be used to progress the race. Cooper says, "…Only the Black Woman can say "when and where I enter, in the quiet, undisputed dignity of my womanhood, without violence and without suing or special patronage, then and there the whole Negro race enters with me" (Cooper, 1892/2016, p. 12). Cooper discusses racial uplift, the collective social advancement of a

race (Gaines, 2010), through family and education, leveraging the unique position of Black women as mothers just as the eugenicists do with white women. Cooper explains the heart of this matter, saying that, "now the fundamental agency under God in the regeneration, the re-training of the race, as well as the ground work and starting point of its progress upward, must be the *Black woman"* (Cooper, 1892/2016, p. 10). Regeneration and re-training, as connected to the root spoken of by Cooper, place Black women's bodies at the center of Cooper's theorization.

Eugenic discourses were tied to discourses of womanhood and moral refinement through education (Koza, 2021). One example, eugenicists biologist and prominent music educator, is Carl Seashore who concluded that education, especially higher education, were paths too taxing for women. Many others contended that if women should pursue education, they should pursue an education that would make them better wives (Koza, 2021). This was especially due to the fact that women were entering the workforce through higher education at increased rates (Koza, 2021). Calling it an "extravagant course", he asserts,

> assuming that the young woman is going to take this extravagant course, wasting precious life-energies in establishing herself in a skilled occupation which she does not intend to pursue permanently (and she can show many reasons for so doing), the condition might be met by allowing her to undertake about two-thirds of the usual service for the first year, three-fourths for the second, four-fifths for the third, and assume full work in the fourth year, with corresponding advances in salary. (Seashore as cited in Koza, 2021, p. 136)

Seashore's ideas echoed various other public discourses equating education with a strain on a woman's health, specifically her mental and "precious life-energies". Referring to the curriculum of the UW-Madison, Ross (2022) describes the prop of the skeleton an object by which we can see these gendered intersections by saying, "the skeleton's presence in the dance class supported a parallel focus on refining physical agility and grace as an index of evolutionary

progress, moral strength, and spiritual elevation" (p. 46). Dance historians have acknowledged eugenic connections to dance, especially discourses related to the survival of the fittest (e.g. Tomko, 2000; Ruyter, 1979; Adelman, 1982). Yet, women's health and its national significance created the conditions for a physical education program for women to take prominence. And so, it was in UW-Madison, for "if developing the dance body was associated with a moral spirit, then this pursuit was honorable" (Ross, 2000, p.26). In fact, in Ross' archival research around H'Doubler's skeleton, she found that UW-Madison dance program had known curriculum of posture tracing, shadowgraphs, and eventual photographs of nude photographs of women students traced from the 1920s (Ross, 2022). What Seashore makes clear is if women did want education, they must prove that they can take the strain and become better women (for men) overall. The curriculum of the program made these discourses visible.

The introduction of dance to universities such as Wisconsin Madison, led to an emergence of new dynamics between women and labor. Tomko describes the change as such,

> "College and universities both supported and changed in response to the stimulus offered by the newly pioneered dance practices, beginning in the late 1910s to add dance courses to the curriculum for women's physical education. These courses created new academic positions which women teachers filled and a new disciplinary field that students pursued. In all these areas of innovation, women not only were heavily represented but also forged leadership roles in constituting new dance practices" (Tomko, 2000, p. IV).

The dance program at Wisconsin was indeed a site for the turmoil created by women's entry into the workforce, a substantial "upset to the social order represented by a change in women's roles" (Ross, 2000, p. 26). Heavy regulation was a response to this upset as "popes, emperors, presidents, and prime ministers joined forces with playwrights, novelists, essayists, and poets to insist upon the need to keep women in their proper place as helpmeets, mothers and sexual regenerators of men, all in the national interest" (Ross, 2000, p. 26). The sheer magnitude of

male influences, as Ross emphasizes, speaks to the social techniques used to maintain women's role in society, illustrating both how pervasive these ideas were and how integral women were to the nation's progress. The upset of such social activity was not just an effect of hearsay, as some might argue that this might, but this hearsay finds its power effect in the words of the experts who make it so. In this case, it was governing officials and the academic community.

In dance, eugenic discourses that emphasized a discipline bodies through good posture, socially coded movement to Western classical music, and musculoskeletal alignment that is lifted and symmetrical are all considered part of the social improvement curriculum (Ross, 2022). This, alongside the media representations emphasized Turney's family in pictures and associations alongside her career, operated as the particular curricular discursive formations of respectability inscribed on Turney's body at this time. Posture, symmetry, and alignment became the racial symbolism of this curriculum.

From Respectability to Resistance: The Dance of Agency

Turney's acts of agency and resistance were evidenced in UW-Madison's program. In various reports on her performance as a student teacher, faculty displayed surprise that Turney's mind was clear, logical, sharp, responsive, and accurate, despite her usual demeanor of casualness or indifference. Professor Cronin even pointed to how a school principal expressed how amazed they were at Turney's clarity, saying,

> Miss Turney has a surprisingly keen penetrating mind, although she might give the impression of being quite casual. She has unusual ability to formulate ideas in working. The school principal expressed amazement at the clarity and accuracy of her descriptive paragraphs about girls in her class in practice. Miss Turney could become a superior teacher if she were sufficiently interested to work seriously at the job. (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946)

In this sense, Turney's extreme intelligence was only a frustration to her teachers because of the usual "impression" coming from her. The faculty struggled overall to reconcile the potential they saw in Turney to be an intelligent and responsive teacher with pleasant qualities—a valuable contribution to the field—and her lack of interest in a career path in teaching altogether. Some faculty members reported that she could give the impression of being quite casual or less interesting concerning her teaching (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946). For example, faculty member Bassett asserts that Turney,

> …is fairly intelligent and usually is able to make her points in a lesson clearly and logically. She is slow, unable to move along rapidly enough to hold interest and attention of class. I expect her to develop into a much better teacher 2nd semester. (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946)

Turney, failing to hold the attention of her class and Bassett as a novice teacher, caused Bassett to hope for further improvement down the line. Calling Turney "slow" and "fairly intelligent" suggests how ideas of inferior fitness in intelligence were embodied by Turney, who was burdened to meet a standard by which she already failed to meet within her contemporary educational discourses regarding race and intelligence. This dissatisfaction transforms into a theme of disinterest that is only further exasperated by the pattern of disinterest that continued in Turney's grades, as one report card showed only one high grade, in modern dance, unlike all other subjects.

The assertions were sometimes confusing; one faculty member commented on Turney saying was both "fun but provoking at times" because of her not applying herself. Or that she was both absent-minded, while also having a "good mind". Having a good mind meant having a mind that could control the body, as intelligence was discursively spoken about as an ability, not as a personality or character trait. It was this ability that held great potential to become a teacher.

Yet, beyond having a “good mind”, as forwarded by a faculty member, Kloepper (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946), within each one of the evaluations left about Matt Turney, was tension around her focus. I suggest that Turney’s passion and effort to develop her body with the athletic skill of a dancer had a deeper impact than being in opposition to her department.

Faculty members’ perspectives, including Cronin and Kloepper, each, at some point, described Turney as too careless, causal, and even unserious toward the job of teaching specifically (Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946). Good qualities about Turney, such as her reliability, potential to contribute, accuracy, and general cooperative nature and pleasantness, were qualified with pointed critiques about her desire to teach. Statements such as “Miss Turney could become a superior teacher if she were sufficiently interested to work seriously at the job” (Cronin, Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946), shared the same sentiment as “Miss Turney is less interested in teaching than she is in the development of her own skills” (Bassett, Faculty Report on Matt Turney, 1946). The performance of Turney’s teaching seemed to be missing the desire, the zest for life and excitement that H’Doubler (1973/1975) determined as essential to teaching.

The physical education department’s desire to create an ideal citizen, a citizen according to the quote above, that demonstrated personal and social responsibility, required more participation from Turney than her desire to develop her body. Physical education was not solely interested in the development of bodies for health’s sake. Rather, physical education was also a project of developing fitness for citizenship, even across the color line (Purkiss, 2023), particularly regarding responsibility, which Turney was not displaying at the level the faculty would have liked.

Although capable, Turney's preference for a dance career over teaching meant she did not meet her faculty's curriculum requirements. H'Doubler (1973) puts forth the principle that being a teacher of physical education means having a desire to teach. H'Doubler states, "To teach also should imply a belief in that which one teaches, and a desire to share this knowledge" (p.1) Significantly, the desire to teach is even more important here than the ability to communicate knowledge accurately. Therefore, to others, Turney was not only in misalignment with the program's teaching goals, she was actively resisting it. Turney's defiance might have been received as opposition, yet in the dynamics of power, her defiance is a self-forming act. Woodward et. al (2009) explain how Foucault sees acts of resisting relations of power lie in the disruption of daily performances. "It is at this level, the site of the body itself, that resistance takes place" (Woodward et. al, 2009, p. 400). Turney's behavior and the school's response to it illustrate how resistance disrupts the normal training activity.

Black Body as a Technology of Racial Uplift

Returning to her later years, Turney received media coverage not solely due to her fame as a dancer, but also due to her roles as a wife to her then-husband, Robert Teague, New York Times sportswriter and author, and mother (1969). Due to her life on stage, Turney held the potential to exist as a fully actualized woman of society—a fit wife and mother. Still, Media often emphasized the dual careers of Teague and Turney, reflected the breaking of traditional roles in the private and public spheres for women. For example, in the Milwaukee Journal, reporters described that while Turney and Mr. Teague worked night schedules, they met for "the one meal [they] can count on together" (1969, Milwaukee Journal). The article suggested that while their careers sometimes tested the two spouses in their relationship, Turney prioritized that one meal of connection, thus her prioritization of her family, was afforded to her as an increase to

her value. She was a wife and mother who made the principles of physical culture and fitness into a lifestyle. As a wife, Turney was depicted as negotiating rather uncertain circumstances with her husband as she balanced her work. With each of these people managing various hours and high-profile careers, a midnight meal was a stabilizing element in a rapidly moving life.

As a response to the discourses of racial uplift, many middle-class Black women participated in club activities, managing anything having to do with children and womanhood *for* the race (Giddings, 1993). Purkiss (2023) addresses how middle-class Black women sought to correct what they saw as the "misguided" ways of working-class and poor women. This is because, for Black women of the bourgeoisie, some held views of working class and poor Black people as unfit, medicalized domesticity, sanitation, and hygienic homemaking contributed to racial uplift. Middle-class Black people were often, though not always, known for internalizing white settler values, as a requirement by which they could enter into the market of the United States (Wynter, 1982). Frazier (1957) identifies a subset of middle-class Americans who, by nature of their recent ascension from the South, did not hold the same bourgeois values as the Black aristocracy of the North.

The body itself, then, was also a political and social tool of racial uplift (Purkiss, 2023). It was, in fact, a technology. As a body discipline, race's varied assemblages further imposed upon bodies within early twentieth-century discourses (Tomko, 2000). Discourses of fitness in Black communities at this time were weary of deformities in the bodies of Black girls, particularly concerning physical aesthetics that signaled unfitness for citizenship, morality, class, and sickness. Yet, it was through the fit body that the Black girl overcame such disablement. Ava Purkiss (2023) describes the trope of the "round-shouldered girl", a girl with poor posture, a round body, and an asymmetrical frame. Purkiss explained that the trope was used by African

American women as a term of caution against the future of unfit Black people. This term of caution was directed at young Black girls who were seen as those who would cultivate a new generation of viable, Black community (p. 74). The round-shouldered girl troupe placed the weight of reversing the perception of unfit Black people on the backs of Black girls, forcing Black girls to work out their inadequacies in the gym. Through Turney, we can see how the dancing body not only takes on the body as uplift, but also becomes a body that can go beyond these discourses and become something else entirely.

Lessons from the Black Woman Subject

Matt Turney brings attention to these differentiated value systems of the Black middle class and the Black bourgeoisie. Matt Turney's father, Dr. Cyril Turney, was wealthy enough to fund her stay in New York post-graduation, a frequent action of the Black middle-class. [17] And while this contextualizes her education trajectory, first at UW-Madison and then forward to her training in New York, it was her public career that truly destabilized the discourses of acceptable behavior for Black women[18]. In one Milwaukee newspaper, Turney was represented as a lady

[17] Matt Turney's ascension into the public eye was mediated by the intersection of bourgeois values, doctrines of womanhood, and the culture of blackness in the North. Upon leaving college, Turney's career exploration was funded by her father, Dr. Cyril Turney. Turney reminisces fondly that Dr. Turney financed her time in New York with the hopes of her getting the "dancing bug" out of her system in favor of "more reasonable and reputable pursuits" (Turney as cited in Tracy, 1997, p. 204; Austin, 1963). Though unconfirmed, her having a father of a doctor class and being a fair-skinned woman, may have placed Turney in the bourgeoisie class of the Milwaukee black elite. This alone places Turney within the discourses of the northern Black Bourgeoisie.

[18] Turney's transcripts reported a Milwaukee home address. The city of Milwaukee is known for its large Black population today, and this was no different for Turney's day as well. Within the industrialization of the Northern urban cities, Black migrants from the South, looking for work, popularized Chicago and Milwaukee and created complex interactions between middle and working-class people across racial lines (Trotter, 1985). This complexity supports evidence of Turney's interracial background and also suggests that these politics may have complicated her narrative as well. Turney may have been caught in the intersections of competing logics due to the assemblages present in her background. Therefore, while Turney may be aware of such discourses, as she most assuredly was evaluated within them, it is also possible that her views may have been shaped by these class conditions that showed no monolithic expression of Blackness or womanhood.

who could still manage her home and was oriented toward her husband and her children (Austin, 1963). And this was a highly sought-after image to uphold. Following the "doctrine of separate sphere", sociologist Mary Jo Deegan (2002), in her introduction of the edited collection of Northern Black woman activist Fannie Barrier Williams, explains that in the context of Black womanhood,

> According to this view, middle-class married women's labor outside the home was expected to be conducted as unpaid volunteer work. The structure for women's work at the fair, moreover, was controlled primarily by wealthy, white married women closely tied to traditional female values exercised in the home. (Deegan, 2002, p. xxix)

Most significantly, Deegan is pointing out the dominance of traditional female values authored by white women and its shaping of Black women's lives as well. While of course, this does not apply to working-class Black women who were disproportionate expected to work within and without their households, we see many elite Black women, as in white women's households, choosing to be active in women's clubs and church organizations, suggesting a less concern for paid labor outside of the home. Working-class women had public work representations such as Bessie Smith and Billie Holiday, whom Dr. Angela Davis names as Black feminist theorists of their own right who pushed the boundaries of race and class to speak to the embodied sexualities associated with Black life (Davis, 1998). Matt Turney's career in the public sphere, especially a public-facing career in entertainment (dance, music, or the arts), disrupts the orders of acceptable behavior for Black women, destabilizing statements of womanhood.

Historian of true womanhood and enslaved women's presence in 19th-century plantation households, Thavolia Glymph (2003) extrapolated how the culture of Western bourgeois communities looked to discourses of management, discipline, and order. Glymph explains just how much weight such domestic responsibility carried:

> A mistress meant order and efficiency: clean linen; polished furniture; timely meals; and an end generally to the disorder, sloth, and filth that governed his home without one… the work of efficiently-run households in fact required the unending attention and oversight of mistresses and the unending attention of slave women to the work on which depended mistresses' ability to fulfill those standards of order and efficiency. (Glymph, 2003, p. 63).

Cleanliness, order, and efficiency were just a few demands within this domestic economy that the bodies of women, whether married or enslaved, provided. Glymph articulation of domestic activities and Turney's orderly life are each signals of what "civilization" meant in the home. As a marker of time and space, the bodies of these women were aids in processes of efficiency that were eagerly rewarded when performed at standard. Turney was negotiating the logic of civilization as a Black woman in this white space who sought to approve her worthiness.

Barbara Welter (1966) historicizes the link between morality and womanhood under what she called the cult of true womanhood. Welter argues that women's magazines, gift annuals, and religious literature of the nineteenth century maintained a widespread system of reasoning shaping the construction of women's virtue and power. Welter describes true womanhood's attributes as the rules "by which a woman judged herself and was judged by her husband, her neighbors, and society could be divided into four cardinal virtues—piety, submissiveness, and domesticity. Put them all together and they spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife—woman" (p.152). Domesticity is just one discourse operating within the discursive formation of the woman and it is entangled with rules of duty, race, and fitness.

Influential men, from those in government to scientists concerned about the future, placed a national stake in the importance of women raising children and managing the home. Ross quotes President Theodore Roosevelt's 1905 address, blaming white middle-class women for the declining birthrate, stating:

> But the Nation is in a bad way if there is no real home…if the woman has lost her sense of duty, if she is sunk in vapid self-indulgence or has let her nature be twisted so that she prefers a sterile pseudo-intellectuality to that great and beautiful development of character which comes only to those whose lives know the fullness of duty done, of effort made and self-sacrifice undergone (Ross, 2000, p. 27).

According to President Theodore Roosevelt, women's character was a barometer for the nation's character; any self-indulgence or loss of focus on the home was a neglect of her duty to the nation, especially as it related to quality character women having more quality babies. women's bodies were considered the conduit by which aspirations of the white future came into being.

> Sometimes "race" referred to the whole human race, but in reality, race suicide was not about a supposed decline in the numbers of the "best" people of all races; rather, it was concerned with the supposed decrease in the best examples of the ostensibly best race: White people. It is a virulently racist concept (Koza, 2021, p.141).

The institution of higher education was, in general, a method of self-improvement and development for women. This method of self-improvement sought to provide them with training on how to be a kind of "woman" in society. From here, we learn that dance's fitness, in racial reasoning, was a gendered and class concept that required much more from women dancers than skill.

Reimagining the "Good" Dancer

I see the body within concert dance as a site to examine "what it might mean to nurture, to cultivate a self able to de-subjugate itself from internalized (as well as external) structures of power" (Fisher & Gotman, 2020, p.3). What I mean by this is that the dancing body is a self-forming subject, able to transform from society's predetermined labels. Hence, I explore the potentialities and possibilities of Black women as they exist as racialized discursive formations—formations that mutate and transform (Anderson, 2008). These potentialities in Black women become visible in the realm of concert dance because of its emphasis on "seeing"

and “making the familiar anew” (Fisher & Gotman, 2020, p. 6). Hinkson and Turney’s experiences at UW-Madison illuminate how these discourses involve complex, layered, and therefore intersectional negotiations within broader socio-historical contexts that move them beyond the limits of subjectivity.

The dancer has opportunities to move beyond limits of subjectivity. Tomko (2000) argues,

> It seriously challenges our understanding of arenas in which people contested social categories and struggled for agency, as individuals and within institutions. To study dance is to illuminate conceptions of the body politic as these were put into motion, into play, by particular bodies embodying and bodying forth constructions and protests, changes and continuities in social and political ways of being in the world, United States style. And it aids historians in asking why some modes of meaning-making, and not others, proved crucial at certain times and not others. (Tomko, 2000, p.xvii)

The orders of the racialized body as meanings associated with the body that is socially understood (Anderson, 2008; Wynter, 2006) further supported the agentic acts of the dancers’ bodies. Wynter describes the associations of meaning as “sociogeny”. Within sociogeny, bios, and the mythoi come together to form the co-relational figure of man (McKittrick, 2015). This is “a figure who is a physiologically organic and cognitive and creative being that authors the aesthetic script of humanness” (McKittrick, 2015, p. 144). The racialized dancing body, understood through biological determinants and social mythology, and seen through its creativity, is the author of its subjectivity. This chapter began by engaging by questioning Wynter’s co-relational figure through the lives of Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney.

The choreopolitical orders of authorial command and control are part of these constructing forces in dance. Yet, in this chapter, I consider whether the construction of subjectivity goes beyond such orders or whether it is, in fact, fixed within multiple dynamics of

power. Under the orders of the racialized body, creativity, and expression become the conditions by which an agentic self-fashioning makes possible. Hallward, in explaining Delueze & Guittarri, says “creation is primordially and essentially self-differing” (Hallward, in Bright, 2020, p. 8), and this self-differing practice in dance is a constructing force of subjectivity.

The crafting of the body, for the dancer, and making a dancer, is the making of a disciplined master of the self. Hinkson and Turney sought to make themselves while simultaneously negotiating the aesthetics of white womanhood and the racialized fitness ideals for Black womanhood. Dancers might recognize the complexities of this dynamic through the pressures of continuous refinement. For a student, they either needed to be:

A) Willing to continually/always work towards cultivating their character through movement (subordination/compliance).
B) Internalizing/displaying a willingness or responsibility to cultivate the character of others through teaching.

The pursuit of this mastery makes the dancer “good”. And teaching, especially in this higher education program, was the redeeming action that proved this case. The students who do not show this willingness to teach (this desire to better themselves and refine others), to the point that they show up refined, are treated as outcasts. Movement or dance was legitimated by suggesting that the cultivation of movement was a mechanism of modification for cognition and personality. Ultimately, the production of an ideal student who always worked to better themselves never achieved a complete version of themselves and sought to teach others to do the same operated within the UW-Madison dance program.

As Turney and Hinkson's careers progressed, their bodies became both sites of resistance as well as regulation, embodying the complexities of women's physical education. Their experiences challenge contemporary and linear narratives of the "good" dancer and instead invited a broader understanding of dance as a tool for expressing Black women's subjectivity and agency under racialized orders. With them, we see a new womanhood in dance—one that redefined the possibilities of Black womanhood in the face of societal limitations. Their stories, as dancers and as educators, show the transformative potential of the dancing body, not only as a medium of performance but as an act of resistance and reimagination.

CHAPTER 4: *DANCING HAS GIVEN HER A "WONDERFUL LIFE"*: BIOPOLITICS AND NECROPOLITICS OF BLACK WOMANHOOD IN DANCE

The racialized conditions of the complex dynamics of post-war America emerged for Mary Hinkson and Matt Turney through the gendered roles and practices of health and fitness. In Chapter 3, Black women were caught within layered discourses of eugenics, fitness, and Blackness that ultimately regulated to what extent her body could be controlled through curricular aims. I called these the assemblages of true womanhood, Blackness, and the body in dance. It was necessary to name the multiplicity of relations making the refinement of Black women's bodies possible because those relations have significant effects on the emergence of embodied effects on the dancers. The dancers embody curricula of refinement as discussed in Chapter 2 as an archive.

In this chapter, we must continue to unwrap the layers of knowledge emerging from the enunciations coming from these Black women, attending this time to what can be known from the mutations of blackness that occur under racialization (Anderson, 2008). This chapter attends to Black bodies held under the orders of suspicion and, even disgust, that emphasize the gendered operation of the ontological condition of Black woman-ness depicted in Chapter 3. I discuss the ontological condition of Black womanhood through the lens of death.

Within the post-World War II context of war, health, and the body, it is not difficult to argue how this context sets the stage for a politics of death and exception for Black bodies. Life and death may not seemingly be the precursors of dance, yet when considering how dance conveys the intensity of human emotions and vitality, life and death are the tangible conditions concerning it. For example, in the last chapter, we discuss how Matt Turney's dancing was lauded by the media as a pathway to a wonderful life. Her work had, up to that point, taken her

across the world in her travels with Martha Graham's dance company and back again to her family in Milwaukee. What 'wonderful life' did dance afford to Turney? What did dance have to do with life at all? And why, when she was in her training, did the presence of uncertainty for her life's trajectory color the observations given by her teachers?

This chapter finds depictions of Hinkson and Turney in the archive that deepen our understanding of their desirable (and sometimes undesirable) practices and enactments. These qualities shaped both perceptions of them and revealed the transformation of their subjectivities. Yet, I decenter Hinkson and Turney to explore what the discourses of concert dance sought to produce on an individual level, as these are the preconditions by which Turney and Hinkson (and even Abbott's body from Chapter 2) existed. Therefore, I conclude with what remains unsaid: life and death inform the development of the subjectivity of the Black woman as she undergoes the discipline of the UW-Madison curriculum.

The Necropolitical Orders of Black Womanhood

Necropolitics, where proximity to life dictates death (Mbembe, 2019), is the framework through which this chapter first explores the Black body's relationship with life and death. I call these preconditions and these preconditions become further racialized under the auspices of necropolitics. Second, I build on the assemblage of ideas—known through chapter 3 as pursuing health—to discuss the socio-material preconditions for actions of preservation emerging as 'respectability politics'. This shows examples of the UW-Madison dance program offering a new logic: if women disciplined their bodies, they would have an avenue to the enlightened mind, appease patriarchal anxieties affixed to women's bodies, and thus lead to life for the Black woman. Finally, I describe how these powers operated in discourses surrounding Hinkson and Turney through the dance program.

Race and Sovereign Power

Race is an operation of sovereign power. Mbembe (2019) argues that sovereign power (though not always referring to state power), or rather, the right to kill, "continually refers and appeals to [and labors to produce] the exception, emergency, and a fictionalized notion of the enemy" (p. 70). Historically, this division between allies and enemies within sovereign powers manifested as a master/slave division, regulated through the mechanisms of biopower (Mbembe, 2019). "In this economy of biopower," Mbembe says, "the function of racism is to regulate the distribution of death" (p. 71). Mbembe sheds light on how sovereign power uses death as an instrument of control over racialized others. Scholars of Black racialized others expand on this, situating Blackness as uniquely subject to this economy (e.g. Hartman, 1997; Martinot & Sexton, 2002; Spillers, 1987; Wilderson III, 2017). By foregrounding death in discussions of racism and sovereign power, Mbembe makes death a continuous condition of marginalization within the biopolitical economy.

Mbembe (2019) defines the term *necropolitics* by explaining that "the ultimate expression of sovereignty largely resides in the power and capacity to dictate who is able to live and who must die. To kill or to let live thus constitutes sovereignty's limits, its principal attributes" (p. 66). He names this context, necropolitics, moving away from a reading of the subject "bequeathed us by the philosophical discourse on modernity", to look instead at other tangible categories such as life and death. In this way, I consider how the approach to power informs the gendered subject.

Intersectional Dimensions of Sovereign Power

Power, within the context of the necropolitical, mutates the subject, particularly concerning race and gender. Sociologist Youjin Chung (2023), in her research on the gendered

politics of a Tanzania in crisis, explains how the biopolitical and necropolitical techniques of governance influenced the subjects of her study. She says,

> While seemingly contradictory and conflictual at first glance, both mechanisms of power were ultimately similar in their assumptions and effects. At the broadest level, they both presumed an ideological representation of the local people as an object of control or an "other"—lacking in capabilities to choose or make decisions in ways the project deemed desired. At the same time, dominant gender ideologies that naturalized certain activities as feminine and masculine, or as socially acceptable ways of being and doing women and men, guided their everyday operations. Questions such as who could take part in a tailoring training, who was culpable for cutting down trees, and who should remain on the land amid increasing violence all hinged on the definition and negotiation of gender. (Chung, 2023, p. 106)

Chung argues that the governance structures of both biopolitical and necropolitical powers presume an object of control produced by a rationale around the people's lack of capabilities to govern themselves. Subjects, who would have been imbued with agency—the ability to govern oneself—are now made to be objects. A second point of significance here is in the dominant ideologies that naturalize feminine and masculine practices. Chung argues that these naturalizing orders not only guided everyday activities but also hinged on definitions of gender and gendered negotiations of increasing violence. Overall, the mechanism of bio- and necropolitical powers made visible distinct operations of gender, specifically in Tanzania's state of emergency.

The Necropolitical in the Violence of U.S. Black Women Histories

The point of laying out the dynamics of bio-and necro-political powers is to contextualize the preconditions of violence emerging in the histories of Black women. The Black woman's body itself was once a technology in the private sphere where on the plantation as a servant and breeder, she was acting as a helping mechanism of the organism of the "family" (Spillers, 1987). Throughout her argument in article, *Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe,* Literary and Black studies scholar Hortense Spillers (1987) traces the grid of pejorative associations following the Black family from the Moynihan Report published in 1965. This report was synonymous with concerns

for the Black man being obsolete in the Black family, laying the blame on the Black woman for "taking his place". Spillers enters the conversation about how the Black woman fits within the social organization of the U.S. by referring to how she is positioned within the family. And the family is the central sphere by which the woman enacts her womanhood.

Yet, tracing this moment back further to enslavement, Spillers (1987) attempts to understand the cultural and political maneuvers that render Black men and Black women more adherent to the violent desires of their captors than to gendering paradigms. In describing the violence of the middle passage, Spillers explains how within the quantifying of the enslaved Africans, the woman held no meaning to the enslavers on the ship.

Spillers explains that women are only referred to as "sometimes romantically personified as "she" as typically the role of woman is understood within the social organization of domesticity (Spillers, 1987, p. 72), the managing of home and progeny. By noting the romantically personified "she", Spillers draws our attention to how Black women were understood in relation to her desirability and therefore they were brought subject to another. Her body becomes the vehicle by which she is known. Spillers says directly that, "the captive body becomes the source of an irresistible, destructive sensuality…at the same time—in stunning contradiction—the captive body reduces to a thing, becoming a *being for* the captor (p. 67). Not only being *for* the captor, but the body of the Black woman also becomes the centralized source of such desire, marking her with the hypersexuality and hypervisibility that we see in media representations and industry today. Furthermore, Spillers (1987) says that in the absence of a true subject position as a woman, the Black woman's captured sexuality becomes her 'otherness', the physical and biological expression of her difference from white women in gender's universalizing norm of whiteness.

The degree to which she, the Black enslaved woman, was either servant or breeder (or both) was conditioned by her proximity to whiteness and the usefulness she offered, though that proximity did not protect her outrightly (Spillers, 1987). Seen again in history, the Black woman's body was considered a malignant mutation. Still, in the American family structure, an inappropriate and unfit replica of a wife and mother, as set by the Moynihan report. By framing Hinkson's educational experience, and even Matt Turney's experience as seen in Chapter 3, within a social organization of the family structure and the school, the mechanisms of refinement create the governance I speak of here.

By articulating the process of violence created within and among the social organization of the Black woman in the U.S. context, I name the violent orders of domesticity and sexuality as the identifying features for the necropolitical—or death politics—in the gendered racialization of the Black woman. It is here that I introduce that what further forms and constructs the *blackness* of the *Black* woman's *woman*hood are these violent subjectification(s) of sexuality and servitude.

Preconditions of Respectability Politics: Logics of Potentiality and Preservation

While the structures of whiteness could not see how this Black ideal fit within the eugenic constructs of fitness, Black culture saw the physical education pursuit as noble because of its potential to elevate the status of a citizen and compete with the white race (Purkiss, 2023). Dance became a means for Black women to access these constructs through the virtues of self-discipline, form, space, force, order, measure, and technique. Through bodily control and self-discipline, in the conditions of Black preservation in health discourses, the racialized logic of dance becomes visible.

Referring back to the curriculum of physical education that enforces bodily control and personal responsibility in pursuit of physical health, physical education reasoning desires a focus

on the lack of your own body—as H'Doubler (1977) calls for the students to be a laboratory onto themselves. Aligning with histories of disdain for the body in education, this focus on the body to be trained can be traced to asceticism. Asceticism emerged from early Greco-Roman Christian beginnings that regarded practices of self-discipline and self-denial (Peters, 2022). Pythagoras (570 to ca. 490 BCE) instituted a monastery-like school that through a religious rituals and vows of silence, sought to purify the body and control the soul (Peters, 2022). In H'Doubler's kinesthetic and rhythmic approach to the body, emerged the idea of the student becoming their own teacher, controlling their bodies as though they were studying themselves as a book of study or as their own lab. When dancing, they were their own critic (H'Doubler, 1977). The task is to discipline the body, and by virtue of its study, develop the soul.

According to H'Doubler (1973/1975), in her essay, *A Way of Thinking,* the teacher's task (the faculty and the student teacher) is to bring latent ability, the absence of ability, being out. The discourse of the laboratory brings forth other layer of discourse that transform over time—potential. In an essay revisiting the concept of potentiality in Aristotle's reflections, Agamben (1999) contemplates how it is possible to know what potentiality means at all. To him, what is essential to potentiality is that potentiality is an acknowledgment of a "presence of an absence", an "existence of non-being" (p. 179). This, he says, is what we call power. The existence of non-being we see here in what we see that Turney is not yet: not yet a teacher, not yet consistent, not yet on time, not yet focused, not yet interested. The existing within this state of non-being is acknowledging this "state of not yet" present within the ability to be.

H'Doubler institutionalizes this process of potentiality when she requires her students to accept their bodies as their source of lack. Her program, then, provides an answer to this source of lack by problem-solving through movement. She says as much in *A Way of Thinking,* arguing

that the process of learning is by responding to a problem satisfactorily with understanding and ability and that leads to a zest for living altogether (H'Doubler, 1973/1975, p. 1). By accepting one's lack and working through the problem such lack creates, students in H'Doubler's curriculum are receiving a "zest for living". In this sense, the dance program was enacting ascetic practices.

Agamben (1999) goes on to say that potentiality, such as in operation in H'Doubler's program, refers to the state of being "one's own lack". He says, "To be potential means: to be one's own lack, to be in relation to one's own incapacity" (p. 182). Aristotle calls this distinction the being or *existing potentiality*, which is distinguished by what ability or knowledge a person already has, yet has to an unknown or uncertain degree. Agamben explains that, to Aristotle, accepting their *existing potentiality* is the only way someone can reach their potential. And in this state of accepting such existence, a person truly "*can be*", thus liberating the subject.

Embracing Non-being: Seeing Lack as a Source of Empowerment

We must understand the dichotomy between potentiality and impotentiality for us to see what is happening between Turney and her teachers. Impotentiality is impossibility. Within the curriculum, impotentiality describes the effect of the students' lack: it describes the possibility that the students could be unfit and never reach the actualization of fitness. "Beings that exist in the mode of potentiality are capable of their own impotentiality; and only in this way do they become potential" (Agamben, 1999, p. 182). For true potentiality to exist, one must pass fully through actuality. This means that the full embodiment of the process of lack—accepting the problem of one's body and working through it until it reaches the aspired degree—creates an almost salvation-like quality of being. As Agamben (1999) puts it, "it [potentiality] preserves

itself as such in actuality (p. 183). The concept of impotentiality leads us to the goal of such a physical education curriculum, the actualizing of the embodiment of potential, the ideal.

There is a conundrum between potentiality and impotentiality, namely that existing in the in-between is painful. Agamben helps us name the promise of the UW-Madison program within the resolution to the potentiality/impotentiality conundrum. Through a scientific dance, students exist in a state of continual and constant refinement, and they are expected to stay in this disposition by nature of the program. The mechanisms of refinement of the body, offered by H'Doubler, offered a science of movement that promised a unique, self-creating student who seeks to preserve herself in actuality. This program can be understood through a socio-political lens. This program offered women the ability to save themselves from the lack of their bodies, preserving their virtue, by pushing through the actuality of fitness.

Turney becomes the *form* of potentiality; the in-between, not-quiteness of being. We saw this in her agential resistance in chapter 3 and we will also see this in her evaluations of this chapter. Her potential to become a teacher and the possibility of her not becoming one does not qualify as proof that the program was working. It successfully institutionalized this process. Yet, Turney's potentiality holds another racialized layer in the context of her blackness. Turney also held a potentiality by nature of her race that held being a teacher in physical education to a different meaning. Turney held a form of potentiality for the race. Black women's respectability practices took the form of potentiality on their bodies and sought to pass fully on it.

The flesh allows us to see the differences between the body of the Black woman and the body of the white woman within this social landscape. We are not just talking about human bodies—we are all anatomically human and I am not making a distinction between types and features here. Instead, I am talking about the sociogenic distinctions, the social rules,

associations, understandings, of such bodies that allow us to come to know a “Black woman” or a “white woman”. The sociogenic distinction between the flesh and the body allows us to ask what is it that we know? Spillers talks about the flesh as a zero-degree social conception of a person. She says “before the body, there is the flesh” (p. 67). Meaning that the zero-degree is what we mean by human bodies, as I have detailed above. Yet, Spillers talks about the violence that was laid on the captive body, the ruptures, the branding, the teeth pulled, or scars left from whips and chains, as undecipherable markings or a ‘hieroglyphics of the flesh’.

The hieroglyphics of the flesh go beyond skin color, she says, and become transferred as symbolic substitutions through the generations. What she means here is that what we “see” from the bodies that underwent this violence is the manifestation of such symbolic substitutions. The Black woman dancing freely on the streets of Trinidad at Carnival, the Black woman dancing on the Broadway stage, and the Black woman singing in the Blues lounge, are all seen within the symbolic substitutions. While we are not directly working in the realm of the flesh, it is in this realm of the flesh that the wounding, the oppression, and the force of power transform the being. “The body whose flesh carries the female and the male to the frontiers of survival bears in person the marks of a cultural text whose inside has been turned outside” (Spillers, 1987, p. 67). The subject-body is defined through the “terrain of the flesh” (Shapiro, 1999), or the skin, that becomes the site of symbolic interactions (Waskul & Vannini, 2006). In this terrain of the flesh, on one hand, the body is shifted through interpretations and then regulated accordingly, and on the other hand, the subject of that body negotiates, creates, and transgresses those interpretations. The flesh is the process that makes the racialized gendered body what we know it is today. Therefore, what happened in the past is presently read as the naming-feature of the present.

The specific context of racialized narratives shifts the construct of potentiality around Turney by subjecting the meanings around her body and her character to the particular aims of death. The health discourses within this period, influenced by Darwinist ideas of the survival of the fittest, presented Black people as impotentiality—refusing to acknowledge their longevity and choosing to see them as existing solely as non-beings. By flipping this impotentiality, the Black community saw the body as having the potential to actualize visions of health, strength, and vitality. Physical education was how they reformed and actualized the body to preserve the dignity of the race and ultimately reassert their candidacy for citizenship. Within physical education's civilizing mission, Turney's journey was not only being shifted through the narratives of womanhood, bodily control, and personal responsibility, but she was also being shifted through narratives of race competition.

Living within Systems of Likeness, Threat, and Suspicion

For Hinkson, the politics of likeability and threat were central to her racialized story found in the archives. Hinkson being charming and popular added to the quality of the person she was presenting herself to be. This quality of a person also qualifies them to teach certain types of students—in this case, white students. Discourses of a good mind were two more evaluations elaborating who she was. In an all-faculty report on Mary Hinkson, presumably from 1947 at UW, faculty member Jacobs says, "

> Mary is an excellent performer in dance, and also seems to have an understanding and working knowledge of the field. She is a charming girl and is very popular with all who know her. In the right school situation, I feel that Mary could very successfully teach white students" (Jacobs, 1947).

This distinction between who Hinkson could teach also insinuated an oppositional relationship of the races. Another letter written by Margaret H'Doubler, this time to the selection committee of prestigious New York University's International House, wrote, saying,

> I have known Miss Hinkson as a student in this department and as a staff member. She is a charming, cultured, refined Negress, thoroughly delightful in every way. She has always been well liked by everyone with whom she comes in contact and is really a joy. I recommend her to you for your very serious consideration. (H'Doubler, 1950).

This quote alone may seem positive, apart from the now unaccepted term "negress", yet, together with Jacob's quote, it points to the ever-present concern about Hinkson's race as a negative, moral quality that had to be overcome. Therefore, the weight of H'Doubler recommendation came from the promise of the curriculum of self-development and what that supposedly did to Hinkson. Ultimately, H'Doubler saying that Hinkson had become a "refined negress" indicated that H'Doubler was proud to present to the world the product of Mary Hinkson's subjectivity.

Ahmed explains that this experience is the result and effect of history for Black women, enabling which bodies to occupy proximity to whiteness in public space. I am suggesting that Hinkson's negotiations of such public spaces were reflective of the Black feminist tradition of being biopower's strategic agents (Schuller, 2020). Ahmed (2015) explains that what is happening is not individually intentional but rather the result of powerful relations occurring around us.

> I would suggest that the sideways movement between objects, which works to stick objects together as signs of threat, is shaped by multiple histories. The movement between signs does not have its origin in the psyche, but is a trace of how such histories remain alive in the present. (p. 66)

The sideways movement is a dance of relationship, where navigating the racial context between bodies is navigating the signs and traces of history that remain alive. The habitual faculty evaluations of Hinkson that occurred rather frequently seem to elevate to the level of being an "exceptionally fine type of person" especially as it relates to excelling in disposition and attitude towards teaching. Yet ultimately the connection between how she understood and how deeply

she showed such interest equated to the satisfaction teachers felt with who she was as a person. For example, faculty member Cronin's evaluation of Hinkson stated, "Miss Hinkson is an exceptionally fine type of person and should develop into an excellent teacher. One is immediately impressed by a lovely quality in her voice and manner and later by her good mind and sincere attitude toward her work" (Cronin, 1946). The quality of her voice and the quality of her manner related to the pleasantness of her presence and was emphasized by how her mind and attitude towards her work followed.

Praise was an exchange of social capital. Job advancement, professional exposure, financial stability, and even the solidifying of living quarters were Hinkson's benefits of such behavior. Recommendation letters carried significant weight towards such social and financial capital. Inside the program and among the internal evaluations, what was understood about Hinkson's race did not need to be said. However, to those outside of the program, documents reveal that those perceptions of Hinkson were ever present within the character cultivating of the self-development dance program. Emphasis on "any teaching staff" pulls together the assertion that this popularity was working. Hinkson needed to be liked by all to navigate both white and Black spaces.

Sharpe would agree with Ahmed's construction of racialized bodies, naming this as not only an aspect of social rejection, but rather they name it as an ontological negation of Black being. Various archival documents across her career revealed that Hinkson was conscious of the reality of her Blackness in society, yet that did not keep her from questioning its viability. In the face of being rendered inferior, Mary Hinkson was quoted saying,

> Race… It is an area of enormous sensitivity in this country. You know. Oh God, the things I listen to on public radio, I can't believe it. But, you know, the part that's

> unpleasant about that is: why do you have to transcend? What's so bad about it, what's so bad about your race that you would have to transcend it, right? (Law, 2020)

What's so bad about my body, she insinuates. Why must she be pressed to move beyond it? Understanding this dynamic, Hinkson is navigating distrust and political disgust, an element of the experience of Blackness. The politics of likeability and threat were apparent within the discourses of exceptionalism related to Mary Hinkson. Here, likeability does not simply refer to an attractive personality, which is surely a part of the construct, but rather a power relation between people. Likeability is part of the affective economy found within the cultural politics of emotion.

The context of the history that Hinkson existed in operated within such systems of reasoning that her livelihood depended on protecting herself from being seen as a potential threat. The themes of appearance and the emphasis on being well-dressed relate to the constructs of Black womanhood. For example, in a report on Mary Hinkson from the Philadelphia YMCA, a prior employer of Hinkson wrote, "We were very happy to have Miss Hinkson working with us this summer…She was on time, pleasant, efficient, cooperative, and neat in appearance" Wood, M.E. (1947). This quote, given by Mary Elizabeth Wood in 1944 during the summer of Hinkson's undergraduate years, also identifies Hinkson's neatness in appearance and her pleasant manner as evidence of her success as a teacher. In the Victorian age, fashion was a reflection of character:

> The American home during the period of the 1880s to the 1920s was a place where another Victorian idea—that of separate spheres of existence for men and women—was doggedly maintained…Lois Banner suggests that change played out in fashion as well, where Victorianism as a social code was based on static and kinetic visual appearances—how individuals dressed and moved. (Ross, 2000, pp. 24-25)

Fashion, or dress and appearance, was a social code that acted as a value-signaling mechanism. Ross goes on to link feminism and fashion to ideas of order, morality, and repose (Ross 2000). The point is Hinkson's use of strategy in presenting herself in a particular way while understanding the landscape by which she was learning the required performance of her being.

Hinkson's movements and behavior constituted a choreography, or rather a manipulation of sentimental powers, managing how her body is received. Ahmed (2015), in her book, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* deconstructs the relationships between people and communities. She discusses the emotions that interact with bodies in community with one another (i.e. hate, love, disgust, fear, etc.). Rewards and consequences were given to Hinkson accordingly and this was threatening for a woman to exude such powers. As Roosevelt says earlier, self-indulgence—a facet of the uncontrollable body—or a 'twisted nature' was seen as what truly threatens the nation. In racialized relations, white space seeks proximity of others like them, territorializing safe and non-safe space, while moving away from *othered bodies.* Othered bodies operate as threats, or anticipated actors of pain, injury, or loss, towards the surface of white bodies. Ahmed distinguishes between bodies that fear, bodies that are feared, and the anxiety that occurs between them. She says, "fear works to restrict some bodies through the movement or expansion of others" (p. X). Through the restriction of movement, space becomes divided by that which makes one feel safe and that which does not. This is the power of emotions and feelings.

Dancing in the Wake of Blackness

Hinkson would be keenly aware of how her presence in the space of UW-Madison was contingent upon her reception. Turney would experience such hesitation to accept her. Together, we see that the orders of suspicion and disgust exist as part of the Black social, cultural, and political abjection from the realm of the human. Glymph's explanation of perceptions of Black

women within the plantation household reflects such suspicion and disgust. Black Studies scholar Christina Sharpe's conceptual metaphor of the "wake" as both a consciousness and as a resemblance of the ongoing legacies of slavery's denial of Black humanity frames these conditions of Black womanhood (Sharpe, 2016). It is within this frame, that Black people live in the wake of a death politic. Blackness and therein also Black woman-ness, exists as part of the "impassioned dynamics", about a body, producing a non-fixed condition and lived experience of death in the midst of life.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

There were shadows in the dance archive. Those shadows haunted me from day one in the UW-Madison stacks. I find it amusing how the metaphor of shadows makes me consider how the presence of light creates shadows—a double-bind of sorts. Just as the naming of an object creates an implicit meaning and the acknowledgment of a truth enforces its opposition. This was true as I learned of the students and staff of the UW Madison Dance program. A young Black woman, Marion Scott, was the first young Black woman, Choaya, the research librarian, brought to me. Though she did not make it into the dissertation, I honor her part of this story; her presence in the third space that was my embodied archival excavation. Choaya handed me Scott's file with a box of tissues and the caveat that "there's going to be some…hard language in here." Little did she know that hard language was the crux of my exploration.

I thanked Choaya while silently chuckly to myself as I opened Marion's file. There is nothing here that I will not either be accustomed to or have been aware of as an African American woman. I had no idea the toll it would take on me until much later. I opened the file to see permed, bouncing, shoulder-length hair, iconic of the 30s, laid across Marion Scott's pressed wide-collared shirt. Her hair was pinned back just so to reveal her deep, solemn eyes and a straight mouth. There is no telling what or whom she was looking back at. There was no telling how she felt in the school during that time. A sample recommendation letter sat behind the file's photo. They (whoever they were; there was no name signed) believed that Marion Scott was nothing short of a typically acceptable young girl. Yet, it was the way her acceptability was articulated—through her beauty, her refinement, her intelligence, and her race—that stood out to me. I read a shadow between the lines of this praise itself. I mumbled to myself, "How are these

valuation structures related?" From here, I would encounter Jessie Abbott, Mary Hinkson, Matt Turney. This was where the archive was being revealed to me.

As the observer in the archive, I was seeing how the discursive formation of dance both is limited by its overdeterminism of iconographies of whiteness[19]—a system that was cultivating character, emotion, perception, and various forms of normative being, as an image of a good dancer, existing within the curricular formations of concert dance. While offered as a curricular medium for developing creative potential, I argue that the Eurocentric body discourse of dance could witness, yet was incapable of recognizing Black subjectivities in dance.

The navigations of the Black women in the program, some aligning with expectations of fitness, health, and charm such as Mary Hinkson, others, such as Jessie Abbott who existed outside of those expectations, and still others, such as Matt Turney, who negotiated the limits of said expectations, all navigations were dynamically present on the stage of bodily discourse and archives.

I am left contemplating the moments of oppositional consciousness that appeared and disappeared through these archives, particularly in relation to the dancing subject. Scholars such as Sylvia Wynter have discussed the power of dance to be a cultural medium that makes possible alternative ways of being. I wish to continue this work by looking into new anticolonial imaginaries.

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[19] I use this phrase "enlightenment iconographies" to denote the western, Eurocentric image that is reproduced and represented in society. I recognize that this phrase as a move of strategic essentialism to refer to the various regimes of power that coalesce onto the privileges afforded to being and moving as a "white" body in space and determining all others as "others". Other scholars have named this iconography as Hellenic iconographies, referring to the physical elongations of the vertical carriage, or "lift", as seen in dance forms such as French, Russian, and German ballet that can be traced and exemplified by Hellenic sculpture and architecture (Veder, 2015).

Revisiting The Discursive Navigations of the Black Dancing Body

We return to the gallery metaphor of this dissertation. The hallway is a gallery, an homage to the history and stories of the past that made UW-Madison dance possible. Yet, the pictures leave holes in this narrative. UW-Madison's dance program reflected many of the eugenic ideas of the time, personal competence, achievement, and social worth. Humanity exuded from the dancing subjects displayed on the walls of Lathrop Hall, the main hallway of the UW-Madison dance building, the very first of its kind. In 1926, the University of Wisconsin-Madison was the very first dance program in higher education that sought to standardize a teacher preparation program for the nation's K-12 physical education programs.

Three questions allowed us to enter in the conditions of the proverbial "picture" of dance. The questions were as follows: a) How do reasoning systems inform how Black women dancers were trained and disciplined within the UW-Madison dance program? b) What did Black women dancers' experience reveal about the gendered and racialized governing systems in the UW-Madison dance program? and c) How have Black women dancers negotiated through these

systems of gendered and racialized systems in the UW-Madison dance program and, conversely, dance?

The argument in chapter 2 forwards what reasoning systems informed the training and disciplining of Black women in the UW-Madison dance program. Beginning with chapter 2, I excavate discourses of Jessie Ellen Abbott. I argue that racializing categorizations colored the uniformity and ordered movement patterns involved in the choreography structures that determine where the body goes, what the body does, and ultimately, what meanings the body conveys. These are curriculums of bodily control and refinement that subject the dancer to forces of authority and command. I name how the nation-state's fear of an unfit populous was the precondition emerging to develop a certain kind of student: a student displaying fitness through creativity, control emotionality, and physical acumen.

The second layer involves revealing how the program's movement techniques, with dance exercises such as somatic floorwork, isolations, and rhythm building, were geared towards such fitness. Dance operationalized a principle of life, problem-solving, and expression that refined your fullest moral and bodily potential. These life principles predetermined conditions of valuation for physical attractiveness, professionalism, and participation, leading to the final layer where these principles could not be separated from the racial consciousness of the 1930s.

Discourses of curation, control, and self-formation most affected the Black body through the convergence of the conditions of social exclusion and the norms of physical strength. Eugenic ideas informing poverty, morality, and fitness influenced even the student-centered narratives. I argue that the experience of Jessie Abbott exposed the racial consciousness enacted by the curriculum (Woodson, 1933), and further complicates the matrices of intersectionality of the dancer. Jessie Abbott embodied reasoning systems found in her physical education history,

that were particularly predetermined as intellectually inferior. Judgements of Abbott's location-bound and culturally specific education from Tuskegee Institute were determined intellectually as "meager" and "unimpressive". Through the dancer's body, the rules and sensibilities of the dance curriculum's racial consciousness are revealed.

Chapter 3 discusses what Black women dancers' realities reveal about the governing systems of race in the program. In this chapter, I address who Black women became as they navigated this system of reasoning in their education. It begins with the context of Black health leaders who sought to encourage individual and collective action against the eugenic notions circulating throughout working class and middle-class communities. The Black elite often saw their role both as the saviors of the lower classes and as the representation of the ideal. Media discourses reflected the public sentiment that Black people would see an inevitable extinction, yet Black health leaders promoted racial pride through the refinement of physical exercise and hygiene as the counternarrative. Both Matt Turney and Mary Hinkson are presented in this chapter as both the representative ideal of this racial pride and as the student needing the refinement.

I trace the shifts in discourses of racial uplift emphasizing homemaking, home management that aligned with bodily narratives of grace, thin bodies, comportment, and general aesthetic representation that came with fashion. Voices from the margins, particularly Black women educators and activists such as Anna Julia Cooper, determined that Black women had a duty to step into the gap for the Black community. Matt Turney navigated these conditions as a student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison with less than excellent results. The UW-Madison program's apparent and collective discomfort with Turney exposed the pressure points by which these narratives of domesticity and sexuality clashed with the Black woman's body.

However, media representation upon her return to Wisconsin signaled how the curriculum changed her. Newspapers and daily columns showered her with praise for how she maintained her dancer's body, her family life, and ultimately her professional dance career, signaled student success. This was especially true for the Black newspapers of Milwaukee. I identified narratives of domesticity and sexuality that worked to shape Turney's image, a practice, I argue, that continues to be the governing system of gendered racialization for Black women today.

Finally, chapter 4 answers what resistances Black women used to shift through the gendered racialization of the UW-Madison dance program by highlighting the inner man and the nature of the racial consciousness in modern dance. Here, it was imperative to point out the gendered racialization of the curriculum's construction of threat and strangeness. Dancer Mary Hinkson experienced a conditional acceptance through practices of apparent exceptionalism. She, too, was a product of the UW-Madison reasoning system. Mary Hinkson's experience as a student and as a teacher of dance suggests strategies of charm, likeness, and perfectionism that can be techniques of agency and freedom.

Yet, I argued that the ways Hinkson moved—the choreopolitics of her being—complicates arguments of Black assimilation and accommodation that have commonly come from the Black scholars. This was also a burden for Black women, who, up to this point, would put their own bodies through a rebirthing of themselves as a "fit body" that would be strong enough to bear fit children. This was their embodied potentiality, entrapped by their wombs. This chapter further exposes the principles of control, social order, and participation that are maintained through the dance curriculum of the UW-Madison program in that era. This chapter not only illustrated the conditions of control experienced by Hinkson, but it also illuminated what Hinkson did as her resistance strategy of preservation both in her dance and her teaching.

Tracing back to domesticity politics on the plantation and then back again to Hinkson's experience as a developing dancer in the UW-Madison program, this chapter explored the possibilities influencing how the self is developed. Hinkson's experience reveals the limits of such gendered racialization as governing systems in the UW-Madison program. Ultimately, each of the last three chapters of this dissertation traces the conditions of UW-Madison's gendered racialization shaping Black women and how those systems played out symbolically on their bodies.

Reading Black Bodies within Iconographies of Whiteness

There needs to be a return to the common assumption that all modern dance is liberatory for the body—returning to the subject—to be suspicious of the systematic cultivation of character, emotion, and perception that creates the iconography of whiteness. This comes from modern dance being known for its "moving away" from the structured and strict movement of ballet into a free flowing, creative practice (Martin, 2000). Yet, embedded in modern dance is the systematic cultivation of character, emotion, and perception that makes visible the iconography of whiteness.

According to the Cambridge dictionary, an iconography is a collection of visual images, symbols, or modes of representation that are associated with a person, cult or movement. What this iconography reveals is that the racialized and gendered apparatuses systematically producing what is known as "visual" whiteness are not visual markers at all, but rather sentiments and perceptions between subjects and enforced through institutions such as school and training. This was what was made known between the body of the Black woman dancer, the curriculum, and her teachers. The body—what she wore, how she reacted, what she wanted/desired, where she

went, or how she managed others as well as herself—this body of the Black woman dancer was the text and the archive by which this was uncovered.

Instead of attributing the possibility of H'Doubler's statement of a "refined negress" to the moral judgement resulting from the black dancing girl's own body (thus thinking the only solution is to fix black dancing girls' body that causes the projected stereotypes of black girls in such a way)–it instead expands our perception of what it is that makes this statement, both the refined negress (a discourse of necropolitcs) and the dancing body (as a set of racialized and gendered assemblages), possible and, in doing so, opens up a statement like H'Doubler's to a type of interrogation whose outcome/solution is enforced on a single point of intervention–the young black dancing girl' body.

This Black feminist embodied archival approach opens up new realms of interrogation because rather than focusing on what is "wrong" with the teacher of dance, we can re-center them and ask, "what caused this thought?", "why this rule?", and "for what ends?". It also gives us more language with which to ask questions–it brings the questions that we could ask out of the realm of the biological and into the realm of the sociogenic and corporeal; into the realm of the sociogenic, the social, and the historical.

By recognizing these Black women as archives, thus unveiling these expectation and mutations of the standard, we can admit these standards are no longer just "training", where standards of improvement seem to be natural. We now see standards of improvement born from an eugenical idea of the human being and a particular person's idea of how to get people to reflect that idea.

The Subject of Curriculum History

Black women archives would have not been made visible without the *subject* of curriculum history. Diversity or *difference,* in curriculum discourse, is merely the genres of said subject of history. Therefore, I am advocating for curriculum history's return to the subject. The archive is a system of discourses—AND it is space that is already constructed, in so many ways, by already existing told histories and people already unearthed. One limitation of this work was that narrative representations were forsaken in favor of analytic decentering of the subject. While I could explain the strategies of the women in this dissertation, I can only imagine the dynamism and richness to be gleaned from narrativizing their stories. These narrative representations would not only emphasize more of the political and rhetorical value of their stories, but it would also foster empathetic, rather than cognitive responses. Narratives can make things happen in ways that other forms of representation cannot (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007). Rarely is compassion moved by logic.

The move to explore further the history of the present, with the subject intact, is what Wynter suggests is the third-event; that with our storytelling capabilities, we begin to move into that new anti-colonial imaginary. Dance allows for us to do the intellectual labor of taking a great leap forward into the making of new genres of humans, an inherently curricular project.

Implications for Dance, Black Studies, and Curriculum

This dissertation contributes to how curriculum studies understand the conditions of discrimination, nonbelonging, and assimilation that marginalized people may experience in the United States. This particularly responds to Popkewitz (2002) call for the field to "reformulate questions of diversity" by identifying "a particular curriculum enactment that has consequences for social exclusion and inclusion" (p.262). Scholars investigating the racialized power dynamics within schools might be curious as to how the production of knowledge around the disciplined

dance body shapes the social and cultural curriculum informing racial anxieties. Dance curriculum scholars who walk the line between dance and curriculum, such as Blumenfeld-Jones (1997), argue for a curricular focus that considers students' bodily experiences because they understand that these experiences create very tangible consequences for how identities are understood and valued today. In fact, disciplines such as physical education, disability studies, and art education attend to this gap in their various ways, pointing to the historical mind/body divide in higher education.

The dancer's body is a site for contestable action and therefore is also a layered curriculum. The dancing bodies of Black women are bodies of enunciation, existing between prescription and practice. Hinkson and Turney simultaneously were regulated by dominant discourses and resistant to their totalizing effects. The archives "speak to these bodies", while the dancers "speak back" through their performances and career decisions. And we would not be able to see the embodied presence of the dancers if not for the return to the subject of curriculum history. This embodied archive approach reveals these strategies of refinement and the agentic navigations of Abbott, Hinkson, and Turney as curricular enactments.

This dissertation also speaks to dance studies understanding of diversity of the dancer and the processes of gendered racialization occurring in modern dance movement and its curricular formations. Dance is a professional field, not only bounded by discipline but also associated with deep colonial histories of elitism. This elitism excludes many for not being the "right" fit, not having the "right" style, or not having the "right" training, which has created barriers. The dance community constantly redefines belonging in this highly exclusive space, so much so that of the many people who dance, not all would identify as dancers. Yet these dynamics were revealed in the dance program, where excellence was assessed less by dance content and more by inner

character and social demeanor. While scholarship mattered, qualities like poise, sincerity, and presentation were more heavily valued—revealing how assessments were what Kyla Schueller calls sentimental power, or how bodily sentiments act as shaping mechanisms. Modern dance, often seen as a break from ballet's rigidity, systemic and scientific cultivation of character, emotion, and perception are what upholds an iconography of whiteness experienced as dehumanizing training and exclusion from the identity of "dancer".

Finally, this dissertation speaks to Black studies' understanding covert forms of antiblackness in racially integrated spaces and for black people, especially Black women. This dissertation described a history of dance and physical education within Black history that showed us how the United States used rationales about health, strength, and hygiene to regulate access to citizenship through being an able-bodied and creative citizen. The Black community's response to these eugenic exclusions of the Black person within these discourses draws attention back to Black communities in the United States living in a nation within a nation. Their politics of respectability concerning exercise and education as collective action operated as a necropolitical navigation, rather than an act of being accommodationist.

Their desire to dance was not an act of accommodation, rather, this was the movement toward a new anti-colonial imaginary of being for them. Much like the varied navigations of enslaved Africans in the Transatlantic Slave Trade featured in McKittrick (2006)'s Demonic Grounds, Hinkson and Turney moved through layered constraints colored by threat and imbued with histories of antiblackness and misogynoir—managing how they were seen, how they were expected to make others feel, and what they were allowed to want. Abbott was doubted for her HBCU origins, causing her experience to be influenced by her teachers' disappointments. Hinkson's presence at UW-Madison depended on how she was received. Turney faced hesitation

for stepping outside expectations. Yet, due to the way dance currently understands the body as a relational, thinking, extension of ourselves offers a unique contribution to this conversation, especially considering race and racialization. Black women's bodies were not just constrained—but placed under suspicion, marked by social and political abjection.

These remnants of the afterlife of slavery remind us that the colonial grammars inherent in art discourses carry the legacies of histories many want to forget. To address this, it is not enough to call out "power" broadly, but rather we must call out the specifics of sentimental power in the constructs of the compliance/control dynamics of modern dance. Insights gained from this study can inform us of how these constraints on the body are a dynamic formulation, a regime, of moral, economic, sexual, institutional, political, and aesthetic functions. As embodied archives, the women revealed not just the limits placed on them, but the strategies Black women use for navigating those limits. Through Hinkson, Turney, and Abbott, the possibilities of Sylvia Wynter's "third event", the creation of new genres of humanity, made visible.

I show how dance privileges the apparatuses of racialization on bodies, shaping perceptions and attitudes about the proverbial "other" through contrived ideals of national fitness and health. With this thorough understanding of such bodily, affective dynamics, there is hope to address such inconsistencies in the diversity initiatives that may improve not only the experience for dancers across communities but also marginalized children in schools. This study offers a valuable glimpse into the conditions of moving Mary Hinkson, Jessie Abbott, and Matt Turney into careers as dance professionals during and beyond their time at UW-Madison. However, it is also important to recognize that their journey extends beyond this narrow window. Subsequent research following their time at the university could shed further light on the evolution of their careers as dance professionals, presenting a more holistic portrayal of the exceptionalism and

determinations of students within professional training curriculums. Due to UW-Madison's central role in dance history as shaping the trajectory of dance education, examining its dance curriculum offers a window into how uncriticized philosophies in education shape oppressive constructions of the body. Dance education reveals a significant part of the historical foundations of progressive education not previously explored by curriculum studies, adding to the understanding of the construction of the student today. This research calls for a deeper examination of these physical formations within dance education.

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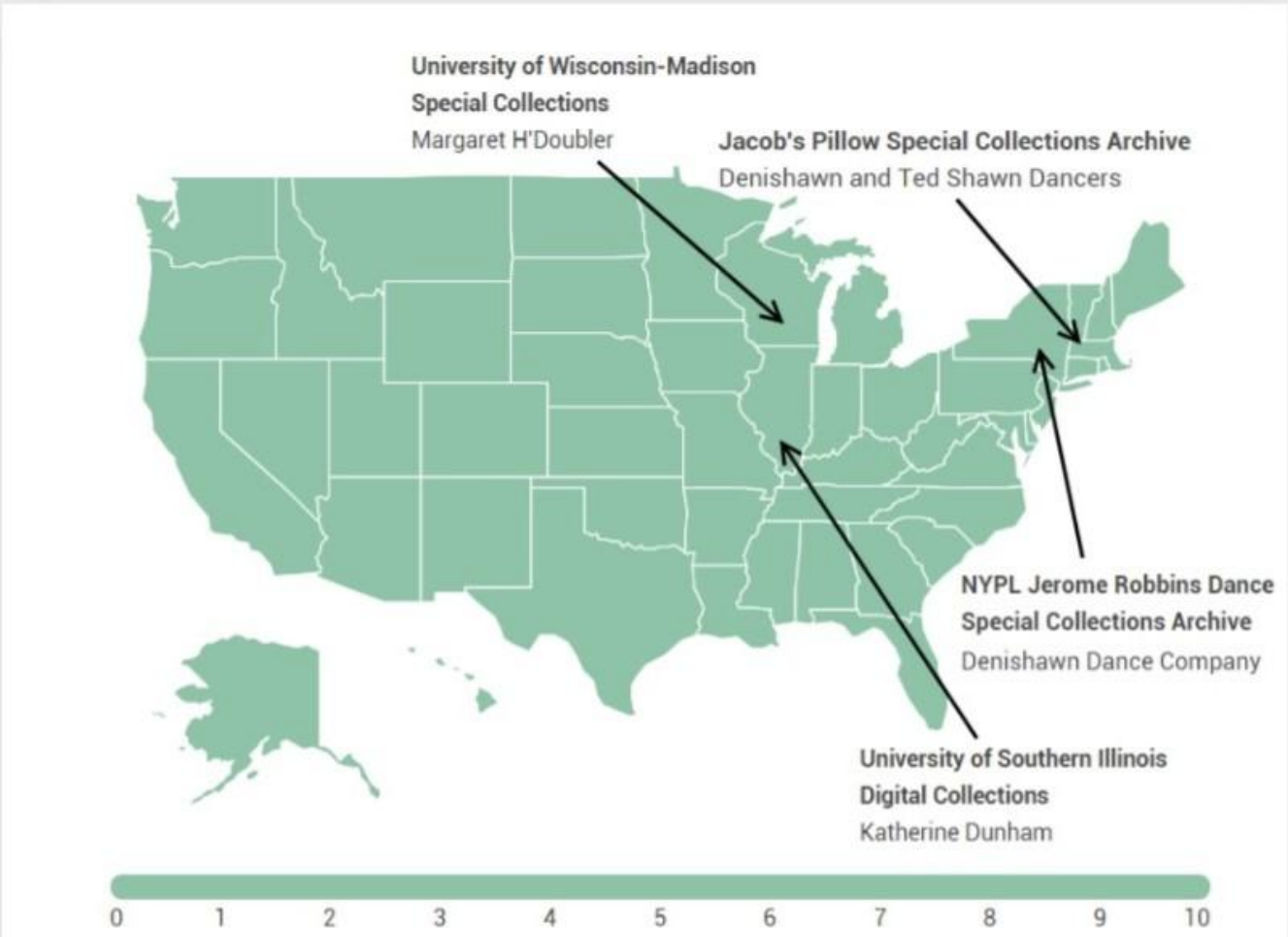
APPENDIX A

Table 2

Persons of Interest	Major or Minor Role	Archive	Archival Materials
Margaret H'Doubler	Major	UW-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin	Private collections of Margaret H'Doubler's lesson plans, syllabi, books, and images of her classroom. Lesson plans, report cards, student evaluations, and newspaper dance reviews from the demonstration company, Orchesis, are all found in the archive.
Mary Hinkson	Major	UW-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin	Photos, report cards, student records, resumes, and teacher recommendations were all found in the archive.
Matt Turney	Major	UW-Madison, Madison, Wisconsin	Photos, report cards, student records, resumes, and newspaper dance reviews were all found in the archive.
Katherine Dunham	Minor	Southern Illinois University (Carbondale), Carbondale, Illinois* Digital Collections Library of Congress Washington D.C.	Photos, films, and interviews with known associates were all included. Personal records and institutional records, curriculums, and student records were found here.
Pearl Primus	Minor	Duke University, Durham, North Carolina	Documents, essays, choreography, and ethnographic notes of Pearl Primus' dissertation. Primus' teaching philosophy, grant funding process, and curriculum for the Pearl Primus Dance Language Academy.

APPENDIX B

Table 3



APPENDIX C

Table 4

Historical Timeline

Margaret H'Doubler, Professor at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (1924-1954)

Jessie E. Abbott, Student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (1940-1942)

Matt Turney, Student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (1944-1946)

World War I (1914-1918)

1910

1920

1930

1940

1950

1960

World War II (1939-1945)

Great Depression and Stock Market Crash (1929-1941)

Mary Hinkson, Student & Instructor at University of Wisconsin-Madison (1943-1952)