

## ENGLISH ABSTRACT

From March 1878 to October 1879, the Johannesénske Balletselskab toured in Norway and thereby gave people in 16 smaller and peripheral towns the opportunity to see ballet for the first time. The main aim of this article is to explore the challenges related to *performance venues* and *lack of audiences* that the Johannesénske faced on their 1878-79 tour. The article is mainly based on an investigation of newspaper material from those years documented on microfilm and stored in libraries. The Johannesénske Balletselskab was used to travelling: in various shapes and forms, this ensemble had been on the road for almost thirty years. During their travelling, Norwegian newspapers were highly supportive of their performances and the article discusses how life on the road was made easier through the support of the press. Life on the road could be challenging in several ways and itinerant life has for centuries required adaptability and the ability to deal with changes and obstacles. Some were dramatic, whereas others more mundane in nature. The challenges of itinerant dance ensembles have been little explored in Nordic and European dance scholarship. In fact, itinerant dancers- and dance ensembles have been a marginalized issue and the aim of this article is make amends for this through investigating a few of the hardships that the Johannesénske encountered.

## NORSK SAMMENDRAG

I mars 1878 reiste det Johannesénske Balletselskab over fjellet fra Østersund i Sverige til Trondheim i Norge. Fra mars 1878 til oktober 1879 ga ensemblet tilskuere i seksten store og små norske kystbyer muligheten til å se ballet, for mange publikummere for første gang. Norske aviser fulgte ensemblet og ga det mye støtte og oppmuntring. Denne artikkelen er i hovedsak basert på undersøkelser av avismateriale fra den tiden, dokumentert på mikrofilm og lagret på biblioteker. Det Johannesénske Balletselskab var godt vant med å reise omkring. Ensemblet hadde i 1878, med ulike dansere og format fungert som et omreisende balletensemble i nesten tretti år. Det omreisende livet kunne være utfordrende på mange ulike vis ettersom mange ting ikke alltid gikk etter planen. Omreisende kunstnere har til alle tider vært nødt til å være fleksible og i stand til å takle hindringer og endringer på stående fot. Noen av de utfordringene ensemblet opplevde var dramatiske, mens andre var mer ordinære. Dette er aspekter som er lite utforsket i nordisk og europeisk danseforskning, og man kan si at omreisende dansekunstnere har vært et marginalisert fenomen i slik forskning. Målet med denne artikkelen er å analysere noen få av de utfordringene det Johannesénske Balletselskab møtte på sin norske turne. Artikkelen diskuterer også den gode avisdekningen som ensemblet fikk i lys av datidens dansemiljø, og viser hvordan det omreisende livet ble gjort litt lettere ved hjelp av avisenes støtte.

## RESEARCH ARTICLE

# ITINERANT CHALLENGES AND NEWSPAPER SUPPORT: THE JOHANNESÉNSKE BALLETSKAB'S NORWEGIAN TOUR 1878-1879

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### The Johannesénske Balletselskab returns to Norway

In March 1878 the *Johannesénske Balletselskab* travelled over the mountains from Östersund in Sweden to the Norwegian city of Trondheim.<sup>1</sup> The Johannesénske Balletselskab was used to travelling: in various shapes and forms, this ensemble had been on the road for almost thirty years. From March 1878 to October 1879, they gave people in smaller and peripheral towns the opportunity to see ballet for the first time. Performances were given in sixteen smaller and larger cities along the Norwegian coast. Trondhjem, Tromsø, Molde, Christianund, Aalesund, Bergen, Stavanger, Arendal, Larvik and Fredrikshald (Halden) were visited in 1879. In 1879 the dancing took place in cities closer to Kristiania: Fredrikstad, Moss, Holmestrand, Tønsberg, and finally Drammen.<sup>2</sup> In several places, the ensemble stayed long enough to offer dance lessons, thus teaching dance was also an important part of their itinerant life alongside the performances. In 1878, Johannesénske troupe consisted of ballet master and director Johan Fredrik Johannesén with wife Catharina and five “grown up children”: Jenny, Augusta, Josefine, Edmund and Alfred. When the family settled in Kristiania in November 1879, they had given 105 performances. The Johannesénske Balletselskab's Norwegian tour is, in my opinion, of great interest to Norwegian dance- and theatre history. The family was, to the best of my knowledge, the first ballet ensemble of any nationality to undertake such an extensive tour of Norway.<sup>3</sup>

### Itinerant challenges and press support

Life on the road could be challenging in several ways for an itinerant ballet ensemble because things did not always go as planned. Itinerant life has for centuries required

adaptability and being able to deal with changes and obstacles.<sup>4</sup> Some of these are universal, whereas others more local. Some were dramatic, whereas others more mundane in nature. Even if revealing interesting aspects of itinerant performing, these challenges have been little explored in Nordic and European dance scholarship. In fact, itinerant dancers- and dance ensembles have been a marginalized issue within international as well as Nordic dance scholarship. The aim of this article is to make amends for this through investigating a few of the hardships that the Johannesénske encountered as well as how life on the road was made easier through the support of the press.

Given that it goes beyond the scope of this article to explore all of the numerous challenges the Johannesénske family faced, the main aim of the article is to explore challenges related to *performance venues* and *lack of audiences*. These are challenges which itinerant artists have had to deal with at all times. A Norwegian aspect discussed in the article is the role of the press. Norwegian newspapers were highly supportive of the ensemble and it is my claim that this support counteracted some of the challenges the ensemble encountered.

The article is based on material previously not presented academically. Given that relatively little research has been done on Norwegian theatre dance prior to 1900, an account of the source situation, particularly newspapers as source material, is included. First of all, however, I would like to offer a few words on the purposes and aims as well as the theoretical framework for studying a half-forgotten ensemble such as the Johannesénske Balletselskab.

### **Itinerant dance and the “dance canon”**

The Johannesénske ensemble operated mainly outside of the institutionalized theatres in the nordic countries. This was the nature of the groupe, and in its own time, the Johannesénske was well-known. The fact that they managed to make a living for almost thirty years attests to good performance skills as well as a deep toleration of, if not dedication towards, an itinerant lifestyle.

Today, the ensemble has more or less fallen into oblivion. Why study a half-forgotten ballet ensemble like the Johannesénske Balletselskab? The answer to this depends, of course, on the perspective taken. My perspective has been developed through research which has revealed that this travelling family ensemble contributed greatly to Nordic ballet history over a long time period. Also, it was a truly Nordic enterprise, even if the family mostly travelled and performed in Finland and Sweden.<sup>5</sup> The Johannesénske Balletselskab can be followed over a period of almost thirty years, during which many changes took place in Nordic and international ballet. When the first version of the ensemble was founded by Johan Fredrik Johannesén in 1851, it focused on acrobatics as well as dance. This changed over time, in accordance with itinerant dance practices. Itinerant ensembles became more and more specialized in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For instance, as discussed in my article “La famille dansant. A

mapping of the travels and repertoire of the *Johannesénske Balletselskab* 1850–1880” shows that the Johannesénske ensemble disbanded acrobatics and focused on a repertoire consisting of ballet and pantomimes during the 1870’s (Fiskvik, 2015, in press).<sup>6</sup> In 1878 it had become a “Balletselskab”. The history of the ensemble is revealing of a personal legend as well as of Nordic dance history.

Johannesén was first and foremost an acrobat, who from 1848 onwards worked with different itinerant theatre ensembles that travelled in Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Sometime around 1849/1850 he married the widow Catharina Altenburg Marvig. He then “inherited” a small itinerant family who had been developed under the directorship of Hans Anton Marvig.<sup>7</sup> In addition to four Marvig-children, who were skilled as dancers, six more children were born into the family between 1851 and 1858. Under a variety of names and with different dancers, the ensemble toured Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Russia and possibly also other countries for almost thirty years. The names of the ensemble varied a lot, but during the latter years of their existence, the ensemble mostly went under the name Johannesénske Balletselskab, signalling a clearer devotion towards ballet.<sup>8</sup> The Johannesénske group was always reliant on the in total ten children as performers, in addition to other hired dancers. The use of children as performers is a feature not discussed here; suffice it to say that training your children into becoming performers was typical of itinerant traditions.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the fact that Johan Fredrik Johannesén was Norwegian, my research so far has revealed that the ensemble performed in Norway only at the very beginning (1851) and towards the end (1878-1879) of the ensemble’s thirty years of existence. This last tour is the topic for this article because I consider it a unique event in Norwegian dance history.

Of course, the Johannesénske Balletselskab has, like numerous other itinerant ensembles and artists, not been included in the typical “dance canon”. Nevertheless, investigating some of the challenges this half-forgotten itinerant ballet ensemble encountered can offer insights into Norwegian as well as Nordic dance history. Dance scholar Sherill Dodds (2011, p. 18) reminds us that the awarding of special values to western artworks has produced a canon within dance scholarship based on specific aesthetic qualities.<sup>10</sup> Companies and dancers contained inside the canon are typically the most well-known and famous persons, repertoires and ensembles. They are also the ones awarded most attention, because “...the discipline of dance studies has perpetuated the hegemony of the dance canon” (Dodds, 2011, p. 19). A small, itinerant ensemble like the Johannesénske mainly offered dance performances to audiences outside of the larger cities, even if they *did* perform in the Nordic capitals. The family’s itinerant challenges have hitherto not aroused scholarly interest. Perhaps this can be explained by the tendency to focus on ensembles and artists who have been taken into the canon. However, as pointed out by dance researcher Beth Genné (2000, p. 135), the repertoire and ensembles, as well as persons contained inside today’s dance canon, are in fact rather limited. It is also a relatively modern construct, largely formed in the first decades of the twentieth century. Given that the Johannesénske Balletselskab’s endeavours have been practically unknown in Norwegian dance scholarship, it is not so strange that the ensemble has been ignored.

▶ This, however, does not mean that they deserve to be forgotten. As I have previously argued in another article (Fiskvik, 2015, in press), the Johannesénske performed in a period where new genres, highly influenced by national romantic trends, were developed and practiced within classical ballet. The Johannesénske followed the trends of featuring national- and character dances, but this is a repertoire which has been somewhat ignored by dance scholars overall.<sup>11</sup> Thus, both the itinerant nature, as well as use of repertoire has contributed to ignorance of the Johannesénske Balletselskab.

The Johannesénske enterprise is thus an interesting example of an ensemble operating *outside* of institutional theatres in numerous Nordic venues. This can open up new perspectives, as dance scholar Lena Hammergren has pointed out: “National or regional sources hitherto not investigated can offer possibilities for new interpretations or complementary analyses” (Hammergren, 2004, pp. 21-22). Through investigating features typical of itinerant ensembles like the Johannesénske, some features emerge which can offer new insights into Nordic dance history. The itinerant nature of the ensemble can shed light on nineteenth century touring practices. In fact, to some degree, several features of itinerant dance practice are still relevant today: Dancers have at all times travelled in order to find work.<sup>12</sup> In addition to what can be learned about the itinerant aspects, I would also like to point out that research into the Johannesénske ensemble *has value in itself*: there is a need to fill the many gaps that exist in Nordic theatre dance history. This having been said, the ensemble is of special interest to me as a Norwegian dance scholar because the family’s dancing and teaching made a difference to a great many spectators. The ensemble was founded and ended in Norway, it was run by a Norwegian and its legacy lived on in Norway through the work of Augusta Johannesén, as well as through a very influential dance- and ballet school, established by Johan Fredrik Johannesén in 1879. This well-renowned school changed several times, in 1879 the name was the *Johannensenske Plastik og Danseinstitut*. Augusta and Jenny Johannesén took over the responsibility when their father retired (Fiskvik, 2014a, pp. 4-6).<sup>13</sup> And, finally, but not least, because they were closely followed and supported by the press during their 1878-1879 tour, it is possible to learn something about the press and the power of newspapers. As will be seen as elaborated in the next section, quite a lot of the material in the article is based on material published in Norwegian newspapers.

### Tracing the Johannesénske Balletselskab through newspaper material

The original contribution of this article stems from extensive work with sources not previously examined for dance historic purpose. As already mentioned, the article has a special focus on the years 1878-1879. A substantial part of the article relies on material found in Norwegian newspapers between 1878-1880, such as notices, advertisements and reviews. Material analysed in this article has been found and selected through reading newspapers on microfilm. This requires an attentive mind and there is always a risk that something significant is missed out or misread.<sup>14</sup>

To the best of my knowledge, this newspaper material has not previously been read and analysed in a dance context. Copies of protocols and applications, various theatre ▶

records, as well as entries into church books are also part of the source material. Additionally, in order to contextualize the family's travels, the article relies on some literature that focuses on itinerant performing. The ensemble has drawn some attention from Nordic theatre researchers and is mentioned briefly in research on itinerant theatre by Sven Hirn (1982, 2002), Claes Rosenqvist (2008), Rosenqvist et.al. (1998), Rosenqvist & Dag Nordmark (1990) and Toralf Berg (2008).<sup>15</sup>

Newspapers are particularly important sources for tracing the history and whereabouts of the Johannesénke ensemble during their Nordic travels because very little other material has been traced so far. Given that my tracing of the family's travels relies heavily on newspaper material, a few words on the use of newspapers as sources, as well as what the newspaper situation was like during this time in Norway, will be offered. After all, the challenges the Johannesénke family encountered were all reported in newspapers and told through the lens of the local press.

By 1878, the number of newspapers had “exploded” in Norway: at least to 6-7 papers came out either daily or several times a week in the capital Kristiania, and most cities featured a local paper.<sup>16</sup> Local newspapers would be published either once, twice or three times a week. Daily newspapers were only common in larger cities such as Bergen, Drammen, Stavanger, Christiansand and Trondhjem. Most papers had four pages, and material concerning cultural events was typically printed on the third or fourth page. Often small notices could be found under the section covering local news. It is also worth noting that most of the reviews and notices published in Norwegian newspapers prior to 1920 were not signed, but published anonymously. Consequently, very often it is not known who wrote the reviews. It would have been interesting to know more about the journalists who wrote about dance: what kind of background they had, if they were familiar with ballet or not.<sup>17</sup> The collected material gives information on repertoire, prices, times and places of the performances, cancellations and changes, accidents and local weather. However, very little is mentioned about musicians, other than that the family relied on local ensembles that were not always reliable.<sup>18</sup> Thanks to the rich descriptions in numerous newspapers, it has been possible to trace the tour undertaken along the Norwegian coast in some detail.<sup>19</sup>

There are, of course, several issues to be aware of when working with newspapers as source material: political agendas and differences in how the newspapers viewed cultural activities are some of the things to be aware of and consider when writing a history. American newspaper-researcher Lucy Salmon points out that the historian is concerned not simply with accounts of material events, but also equally interested in the interpretation of the spirit of a time or locality, and a spirit is revealed both by the true and false accounts given by the press. Newspapers must therefore be scrutinized for their truth-value (Salmon 1973, p. 25). However, most notices and reviews seem to have been written by knowledgeable journalists. If the journalists felt insecure about their competence, phrases like “it looks to us like...” or “As far as we have been able to deduce...” would be added. The journalists very seldom talked about “I”. Through the use of “we” the statement took on a less personal and more polite air of competence.

▶ A major prerequisite for stopping in a city was the newspaper situation. The Johannesénske would have been quite dependent on the newspapers in more than one way. For one thing, my analyses show that the performance schedule was adapted to the distribution of the newspapers. Posters hung on walls, as well as small flyers were also an important means of spreading information: these supplemented information in the newspapers. For instance, when the Johannesénske Balletselskab performed in Molde, it was announced that more details of the performances would be presented on flyers and posters (Romsdals Budstikke, 6 and 9 June 1878).<sup>20</sup> Thus, as often was the case, the local newspaper came out only twice a week and performances were scheduled accordingly. Additionally, “word of mouth” was essential in getting an audience; rumours spread rapidly in a small town. Negative gossip would be detrimental, and the newspaper material reveals that the family took great care to appear solid and decent.

The newspaper material speaks of close, almost dialogical contact between the press and the family. The ensemble was responsive to critique raised in the papers. Often a newspaper would state that they had consulted Johan Fredrik Johannesén, or that ballet master Johannesén had come by to let the editor know about some changes in the evening’s performance. In fact, the press seemed eager to help in recruiting audiences. This is evident in a number notices and reviews expressing the wish for more people to attend the Johannesénske Balletselskab’s performances.

In summary, one could say that the press was eager to cover the Johannesénske Balletselskab’s performances, but the amount of material published varied and sometimes material from other newspapers was reused or cited. The press was then, as now, concerned with dramatic and out of the ordinary events, and positive towards the Johannesénske family’s performances. Newspapers reported a variety of different incidents and challenges encountered by the ensemble, while at the same time supporting them by asking people to attend their performances. In the next part of the article I will discuss and analyse some of the “hardships” as well as encouragements the family met with while on the road.

### **Some basic itinerant challenges**

What were some of the challenges an itinerant ensemble like the Johannesén troupe would encounter while on the road? Based on newspaper material and what is known from other sources, it is possible to create a narrative of how the ensemble was organized and how they “operated”. At the very basic level, underlying all other challenges was the struggle to make enough money. As already mentioned, two sources of income aided the Johannesénske family: performing and teaching. Giving dance lessons to the local inhabitants was usually done after the performances were finished.

An itinerant ensemble would have to travel in order to get from city to city; thus, the Johannesénske Balletselskab would have to deal with travel arrangements. They also would have to apply for permission to perform, find lodgings, locate (and sometimes fight for) performance spaces and negotiate rent for these, acquaint themselves with the

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local newspapers and advertise in the local press, print and distribute posters and flyers. A small itinerant ensemble of this time and age would have to “do it all by themselves”. The Johannesénske Balletselskab did not have an impresario: Ballet master Johannesén served as director and it was he who negotiated prices and sent out applications. After a long itinerant career he must have had numerous acquaintances who could help out in different situations.

Travelling was constructed according to infrastructures, as has been typical of itinerant travels at all times. In 1878 Norway, ships were still the preferred way to travel when visiting the costal cities, whereas horse and carriage, and in a few instances railroads, were available for the cities situated around Kristiania (Gundersen, 1983, pp. 27-66). The family mostly travelled by ship, but also used horse and carriage and even railroads. Thanks to newspaper material it is known that the family travelled over the mountain from Östersund to Trondheim in March 1878: this journey would have been done by horse and carriage. They sailed with the ship “Jupiter” in May from Tromsø down to Molde, a departure which was announced in the *Tromsø Stiftstidende* (26 May 1878): “The Johannesénske Balletselskab will depart today on the ship *Jupiter*”.<sup>21</sup> Travelling was mostly done by ship; the cities visited were all located close to the sea, and accessible through steamships similar to the *Jupiter*.

Even though it will not be discussed in any depth in this article, it must be mentioned that obtaining permission to perform was not always easy and for centuries this has been a major challenge. In fact, artists of all times have been reliant upon central as well as local authorities for permission to entertain local inhabitants. Compared to itinerant dancers like Michael and Doreothea Stuart and Martin Nürenbach, who travelled to the Nordic countries a hundred years earlier (around 1770), the Johannesén family had a major advantage because Norwegian theatre laws had been changed and loosened up in 1877. The new law abandoned theatre prohibitions and thus facilitated theatre- and dance activity outside of the few, privileged theatres. In short, the new law made life for itinerant companies less cumbersome. However, applications for permission to perform were still needed to satisfy the local authorities. Ballet master Johannesén would send applications in advance when this was possible, but the family could also apply directly when arriving in a new city. Local authorities had more power after the new theatre law, and this facilitated performing in Norway.<sup>22</sup>

Once permission was granted, a suitable venue had to be found, and contracts for rent had to be negotiated. The order of things could vary; the family risked being turned down, or, as will be pointed out later, no venues were available. Ballet master Johannesén was rather roughly turned down when he sent out a letter to the administration of the Christiania theatre in 1879, asking to be hired for the market week in February 1879. The letter is shown in Image 1.

JN<sup>o</sup> 208  
Fredrikstad den 22 Januari 1879.  
Høf. Direktion for Theateret i  
Christiania  
Hermed tillader jeg mig forespørge om  
den ærede Direktion vil angagere det  
Johannesenske Balletselskab over  
Markedsugen. Svar med omgaaende  
udbedes.  
Arbødigst  
J. F. Johannesen  
Balletmester  
P.S. Selskabet bestaar af 7 personer men  
kun 3 Damer og to Herrer jøim Danser  
jeg sjeldt anfører Musikken. En Resur-  
tion fra Fredrikshals Amtstidende  
medfølger  
D. J.

Image 1.  
Johannesen's application to the Christiania Theatre. (From the copy books of the Christiania Theatre, held in the theatre collection at the National Library of Norway).

- ▶ Johannesén's application is dated 22 January and written in Fredrikstad (where they were performing at the time, as well as teaching dance). It translates as follows: "I hereby allow myself to ask if the honourable Direction can employ the Johannesenske Balletselskab during the Market week. An immediate reply is requested. Yours sincerely, J.F. Johannesén, Ballet master. P.S. The ensemble consists of 7 persons, but only three ▶

ladies and two gentlemen dance. I direct the music. A review from *Fredikshald Amtstidendede* is included.” Balletmaster Johannsen got the name of the newspaper wrong, but even if the review was very positive, his application was refused. This was not altogether surprising. Christiania Theatre was close to functioning as Norway’s national theatre and favoured spoken theatre. It was difficult to “gain a foothold” for an itinerant dance ensemble. The local theatres in smaller cities were more accessible, but also more cumbersome to work in. Very few of the venues that the Johannesenske danced in were “real theatres”.<sup>23</sup>

### Dealing with suitable and unsuitable venues

One major challenge that itinerant artists of all times have had to deal with is finding a venue. A performance space suitable for dancing was rare in 1878 and 1879 because few Norwegian cities were equipped with a “real” theatre. Thus, the Johannesenske Balletselskab danced in a variety of spaces.

The first performances of the Norwegian tour took place in Trondhjem, where they danced at the city’s theatre. This was at the time a well-equipped venue, but such a nice space was the exception rather than the rule. After ten performances in Trondhjem, the Johannesenske family continued by ship to Tromsø. The Johannesenske was to perform at what served as Tromsø’s theatre, situated inside the “Grand Hotel”.

A closer look at what was often called “local theatre” reveals that many of localities were far from ideal. Sometimes large rooms in private homes, connected to the dramatic societies of a given city were frequently used. In Tønsberg, performances were given at “The theatre in Mr Holth’s Salon” in June 1879.<sup>24</sup> This was most likely a small, intimate and private theatrical space, built inside a private house, lacking an actual stage. Venues could be even less sophisticated, such as large rooms in community houses. In Christiansund the community house “Festiviteten” served as venue for the ensemble in June 1878. In Molde, the Johannesenske Balletselskab performed in the city’s gymnastic hall. It was spacious enough, but lacked theatrical equipment. Nevertheless, primitive stage facilities did not dampen the positive response in the local Molde paper: The family was well received and covered rather extensively. This was probably because, as stated by “S.H” in the *Romsdals Budstikke*, 6 June 1878, they were the first ballet ensemble ever to visit Molde. The enthusiastic and positive reports in the newspaper encouraged audiences to show up. The newspaper support counteracted the primitive stage and the cold and damp gymnastics hall.

Salons inside local hotels were frequently used as theatre venues. In Aalesund (August 1878) the dancing was given in “Hotel Scandinavie” (*Aalesunds Handels og Sjøfartstidende*, 17 August 1878). However, these large salons could be unsuited for dancing, even dangerous. When the Johannesenske Balletselskab performed in Stavanger in September 1878, they danced in what was named locally as the “Theatre inside Hotel du Nord”. Even from that time’s perspective, the stage was primitive and built into one of the larger rooms of the hotel. From the Danish actor Fredrik Garman

we learn that the venue was dangerous, and “horrendous”. Garman had acted together with an ensemble at the “Hotel du Nord” a few weeks prior to the Johannesénske’s visit in 1878, and found it unbelievable that performances were given there at all. Not only because of the smallness of the room, but more importantly, because of the risk of fire. In his memoirs, Garman described the venue in some detail:

Yes, when I think about it now – it is in fact inconceivable how the authorities could have allowed performances to be given in such a venue: An oblong room with space enough for 400 people, on the second floor, with windows on the one side, a wall on the other, and at the bottom, a single, narrow exit to a very steep staircase in the back. (Garman, 1900, pp. 23-26)

The performers got dressed in a room in the back, and entrances and exits took place via this narrow exit in the back of the room. The Stavanger venue was thus *dangerous* in addition to being inconvenient. As Garman pointed out: If a fire broke out, performers would simply either be burned to death or crushed to death by other panicking people. In fact, in early September 1878, only a few days before the Johannesénske Balletselskab danced there, Garman helped to prevent a large fire spreading when the costumes of one of the female actresses caught on fire from the gaslight during a performance.<sup>25</sup> With this, Garman in reality prevented a catastrophe. Even if he writes ironically about the incident, fire was always a very real and deadly threat in theatre venues during the nineteenth century. It was especially threatening for dancers, who moved quickly around the stage, often with flowing costumes that could easily catch fire. There are several examples of tragic fires in ballet history, even in larger and well-equipped theatres. The ballet dancer Emma Livry, for instance, was very badly burnt when her costume caught fire from the gaslights during a rehearsal at the Paris Opera in 1873.<sup>26</sup>

By the time the Johannesénske Balletselskab performed in Stavanger in September 1878, the small damage caused by the fire was mended. However, it is not hard to imagine that the possibility of a fire was nerve-wrecking. Threat of fire was an ever-present danger in all types of venues visited by the Johannesénske Balletselskab. In addition to the fire-threat, the narrow localities inside the “Hotel du Nord” were totally unsuitable for dancing. It must have been difficult to dance in full because of the oblong shape of the room. But the Johannesénske Balletselskab did not have much choice; they were reliant on dancing in venues with a system for selling tickets and attracting audiences. The “Hotel du Nord” was Stavanger’s established theatre space and remained so for many years to come.

One way of adapting to the challenge with unsuitable spaces would be to choreograph the numbers so that they could fit into small spaces and inconvenient shapes. The fact that much of the repertoire was built around solos or duets indicates that this is how ballet master Johannesén coped with this challenge. The repertoire was constructed in such a way that it would fit, with small adjustments, into a variety of spaces. This kind of adaptively would be necessary for an itinerant ensemble and make local adjustments less cumbersome.

### ▶ Challenging accident: Augusta Johannesén is injured in Tromsø

Measures taken to assure security for performers were rather haphazard at this time. Working in "substitute theatres" could mean encountering unforeseen dangers, and itinerant artists had to cope with the fear of accidents. If we return to the second stop on the Johannesénske tour, Tromsø, the family danced in what was described as the city's theatre in local papers, the "Festivitetslokalet", situated inside the "Grand Hotel". Augusta Johannesén suffered a rather serious injury there in May 1878. An eager, but poor spectator without money to pay the entrance fee caused the injury. The mishap was serious enough to be reported not only in the Tromsø press, but also in other city papers in Norway.

On Sunday an accident happened at the theatre during the first act of the ballet performance. A hatch fell down on stage and hit one of the dancers, Ms Augusta Johannesén, in the head. Her brother immediately carried her out, and of course the performance ended. A doctor was called for. She escaped lasting injuries but is in bad shape. It was a miracle that she did not fall down dead immediately. (Tromsøposten, 14 May 1878)<sup>27</sup>

The report was done in the typical dramatic style of the time, but from the above description, it is quite clear that Augusta could have been very seriously injured, even killed. More details were offered in the paper: the cause of the accident was one of the hotel-boys who had climbed onto the attic with several others in order to be able to watch the ballet without paying. He opened the hatch but it was very heavy and without hinges, the boy lost it and it fell down on the stage (ibid.).

Several challenges resulted from this accident. The on-going performance was immediately cancelled, and a few of the subsequent ones had to be postponed while Augusta recovered. For some of the performances, her sister Josefine danced her parts. Audiences were offered their money back, or alternative performance dates. Augusta's recovery demanded restructurings of the schedule. The accident did not have lasting consequences, because a week later, she was back on stage (Tromsøposten, 14-21 May 1878). However, had she been severely injured, this would have affected the ensemble deeply, because in several reviews, she was pointed out as one of the best dancers of the group. Losing a "star dancer" would have been very damaging to the ensemble.

The ensemble's adaptability to unforeseen challenges is clearly revealed through this incident. The incident was reported by the press, and must have been known and talked about in Tromsø, but ballet master Johannesén kept a very low profile and did not address it directly in his newspaper announcements. A single notice discreetly stated that upcoming performances had to be cancelled due to "incidents taken place". Assurances were given that the sister Josefine would take over Augusta's parts and that everything would run smoothly again soon (Advertisements in Tromsø Stiftstidende, 19 May 1878). Johannesén wanted to avoid overly dramatizing the mishap. He never made any accusations publicly, and if he was offered some kind of compensation from the hotel ▶

management, this remained a secret. He clearly did not want publicly surrounding the mishap. This is understandable: The ensemble had a reputation to uphold, and injuries, even if they were not the ensemble's fault, were bad publicity. Better to underplay the incident and continue with "business as usual". No further mention of the incident can be found in the newspapers, and it is not unlikely that ballet master Johannesén asked the newspapers in Tromsø to downplay the incident.

### Competing for performance spaces

In Tromsø and Stavanger the Johannesén family had the venues to themselves. In other cities they had to compete for performing spaces. Booking of a venue before arriving in a city was not always a good idea because bad weather as well as prolonged teaching schedules made the booking uncertain. Consequently, the Johannesénske Balletselskab met quite a few challenges regarding the availability of performance space.

After Stavanger, the next city to "en route" would have been Christiansand, which in 1878 was a city with facilities and tradition for welcoming theatre and dance companies. Dancers from the royal Danish ballet performed Bournonville repertoire there in 1849, for instance. Some twenty years later, the Johannesénske troupe had to "skip" Christiansund, because all performance spaces were occupied by other ensembles.<sup>28</sup> The family thus sailed to the next city of size, Arendal, where they were well received and gave six performances in October 1878.<sup>29</sup>

Early November 1878 the Johannesénske family left Arendal and sailed on to Larvik, but once there, the original performance plans had to be altered several times due to competition for theatre space. The Johannesén family had to negotiate space with two other ensembles, one of which employed another dancer: *Mademoiselle Grünbaum*. She performed together with *Foght's theatre troupe*. Another competing ensemble was the *Manuta brothers*, who performed acrobatics. Consequently, the Johannesén family had to postpone and announce changes several times in the newspaper *Laurvigs Amtstidende*. Notices and advertisements in the paper report that due to other engagements at the theatre, the Johannesénske Balletselskab would only be able to give three performances. Later, this was corrected: space for two more performances had been negotiated.<sup>30</sup> Finally, the newspaper announced that the family had been awarded additional space in the theatre and therefore one last performance could be offered (Jarlsberg og Laurvigs Amtstidende, 12 November 1878). One can sense that heavy negotiations with other ensembles had been taking place behind the scenes, none of which were revealed by the press. Which ensemble arrived at a given city first, could pay most, or was regarded, as most "important" in the performance hierarchy were probably decisive factors in the competition for space. Finally, after much ado, the Johannesénske Balletselskab managed to complete six performances. These types of negotiations and insecurities must have been challenging for an ensemble that was dependent on every penny they could make. It was a major advantage that the press often would try to help the ensemble to attract more audiences.

### ▶ Securing an income: “Spectators, please show up”

Securing a decent venue was one thing, but getting spectators to come was another challenging aspect of itinerant life. A visiting ballet ensemble was, for most Norwegian cities, a major event, especially one comprised entirely of family members directed by a Norwegian ballet master. The large amount of material indicates that most local papers considered them important enough to be thoroughly covered. They printed notices that gave information on the ensemble, as well as reviews. Additionally, the Johannesénske Balletselskab placed advertisements in the newspapers once the schedule was arranged. Often, a notice or two would announce their arrival, thus priming the local spectators and creating positive expectations. For instance, potential spectators had been well informed of the upcoming visit when the Johannesénske arrived at Trondhjem in March 1878. The Johannesénske Balletselskab had been invited by Danish theatre director Christian Foght to perform and share a program with the local theatre ensemble. Theatre director Foght had hired the Johannesénske in order to offer the audiences something “new”, but it was a costly engagement. *Dagsposten*, after praising the gracious and well-seasoned dancing, expressed hopes that:

Numerous spectators would find their way to the theatre, not least for Mr. Foght’s sake, who has incurred upon himself great extra expenses when hiring the Johannesénske Balletselskab. (*Dagsposten*, 30 March 1878)

Thus, the newspapers put mild pressure on its readers to support the event, which seems to have worked. It was reported in the days to come that performances were well visited.

After Trondhjem, the Johannesénske Balletselskab continued to Tromsø. It might seem curious that they chose to travel all the way up to this northern town with no previous tradition for receiving ballet companies. The source material does not speak of any invitation from the theatre environment, but the Tromsø press enthusiastically promoted the family. Upon arrival, two local newspapers, *Tromsø Stiftstidende* and *Tromsøpsosten* had already announced the upcoming performances and written favourably about their engagement in Trondheim. The newspapers were highly appreciative of the visit. It was pointed out that it was the first time a ballet ensemble had visited Tromsø and that the performances would surely enrich the Tromsø spectators.

### Weather challenges

Despite good support from the press, audiences could not be forced into showing up. Lack of spectators was a problem in several cities visited. Sometimes bad weather kept people from coming and this was reported in Norwegian newspapers. Rains, storms and extreme cold and heat have of course always been a challenge to itinerant artists, not least in the Nordic countries, which are prone to rains, storms and low temperatures. The source material reveals quite a lot about the local weather because this was (then as now) always reported and commented on. Storms and heavy rain were frequently

encountered and would be hard to plan around. There are several reports of bad weather forcing Norwegian audiences to stay at home. Storms occurred during all seasons, for instance in Molde, where three performances were given in the city's gymnastics hall in the spring of 1878. The premiere was positively reviewed and well presented in advance, but spectators were few at the first performance, as reported by the local paper:

We regret to mention that the house was sparingly visited. This can be explained by the bad weather, which prevented people from coming out onto the streets. We highly recommend the next performance. (Romsdals Budstikke, 9 June 1878)

Apparently, the summer storm prevented people from going outside. In other cities the Johannesenske Balletselskab had to cope with less dramatic weather. Rain could also keep people at home, especially for outdoor performances. In Drammen during the summer of 1879, the family danced outside in a park pavilion. Numerous advertisements stated that performance would be given even if it rained.

**Parken**  
 Søndag den 31te August  
 optræder Undertegnede med Familie for 19de  
 Gang hersteds  
 i **Parkpavillonen**  
 saamt Koneert i Parken fra Kl. 6 Efterm. og  
 ligeledes mellem Afdelingerne.  
 Imellem 1ste og 2den Afdeling udfører  
 Bugtaleren og Tryllekunstneren  
**Mr. Eduards**  
 i det Frie i Parken sine magiske Kunster,  
 hvoriblandt for 1ste Gang forevises den i Luf-  
 ten svævende søvende Dame, stor elektro-  
 magnetisk fantastisk Scene.  
**Kl. 7½ i Pavillonen.**  
 1ste Afdeling:  
 1. Matrosens Hjemkomst.  
 2. Bugtaleri  
 3. Potpourri, Dans.  
 4. Polka Komique.  
 2den Afdeling:  
 1. Gammel og Ung, dobbelt Karakterdans.  
 2. Fandango, spansk, dans pas de deux.  
 3. Ungarsk Dans.  
 4. Komisk Marionetdans.  
 Til Slutning:  
 For første Gang:  
 "Trolldrosen" eller Cassanders Eventyr,  
 komisk Pantomime i 2 Akter.  
 Efter Forestillingens Slutning afbrændes  
 et brillant  
**Fyrverkeri.**  
 Entré til Parken 20 Ore, til Pavillonen  
 1ste Plads 1 Kr., Børn 50 Ore, 2den Plads  
 75 Ore, **3die Plads 50 Ore.**  
**NB.** De, som løse Billetter til Forestillingen,  
 betale ingen Entré til Parken. Billetter er-  
 holdes ved Indgangen til Parken fra Kl. 6  
 Efterm.  
 Program à 10 Ore erholdes ved Indgangen.  
 I Tilfælde af Regnveir indstilles  
**ikke Forestillingen.**  
**J. F. Johannesén.**

The "finger-arrow" at the bottom of the advertisement shown in Image 2 makes it clear that rain is no reason to stay away because the Johannesenske would dance even if it rained: "In case of rain, the performance will not be cancelled" (Drammens Tidende, 30 July 1879). Numerous notices in the Drammen newspapers reveal that the small theatre was filled almost every night for more than 30 performances. The performances were thus very well visited even if it rained: the little pointed finger in the advertisement text served its purpose. In other instances the weather prevented audiences from coming. Heavy winter storms in Larvik kept people away in November 1878, for instance.<sup>31</sup>

### Financial challenges: lowering prices and adding performances

To compensate for loss of income, the Johannesenske Balletselskab (with the exception of Tromsø, where Augusta was injured) did not cancel performances. Instead, they counteracted loss of income by either lowering prices and/or adding performances for children or benefit performances. Lower prices would make

Image 2.  
 Advertisement in  
 Drammens Tidende,  
 30 July 1879.

▶ the performances accessible to more people, as would matinees with special prices for children. Because they were a small family enterprise, adding performances at a short notice was possible, even if it challenging. Adding performances would cost energy, advertisements in the paper and additional rent. The family was, however, not bound by contracts to outside dancers who had to be paid extra, and this made it possible to respond to the demands of local spectators. One of the many examples of changed performance schedules can be seen in Fredrikstad, where they in January 1879 were meant to give only three shows. Because of poor attendance, the last one was given with lowered prices. When this did not help improve the number of spectators, an additional performance for children was announced with highly reduced prices:

The Johannesénske Balletselskab will end their performances here tomorrow with a performance for children with very low prices. The company's secure, beautiful dance, which is free of everything indecent, deserves to be honored with more visitors than hitherto. (Fredrikstad Tilskuer, 7 January 1879)

The *Fredrikstad Tidende* assured its readers that the performance was suitable for children, given the proper nature of the ensemble. Inexpensive performances for children were part of the itinerant tradition and local audiences expected this from travelling ensembles. Lowered prices for “the poor” were also expected. In the latter part of the eighteenth century such performances were in fact stated in contracts and local permissions.<sup>32</sup> Even if lowered prices and children's performances were no longer contracted in 1878 and 1879, the Johannesénske Balletselskab fulfilled their obligations and gave at least one of each in all cities visited. In Halden (Fredrikshald), a children's performance were given, and a few days later, on 15 December 1878, a “people's performance” (“Folkeforestilling”) was announced with “lowered prices” for all (Smaalenenes Amtstidende, 17 December 1878). This responsiveness to local demands was thus done out of necessity but also out of established expectations of itinerant performers.

### Challenges and hardships counteracted through the local press

Even if the family struggled and met different challenges on their way, they did not have to struggle with the press. This is evident from the large amount of respectful and encouraging notices, small comments and reviews that Norwegian journalists wrote. The newspapers met the Johannesénske family with respect and enthusiasm. This amount of support was not always granted performers; there is ample evidence that itinerant performers were critiqued for lack of skill, decorum and propriety. The Johannesénske ensemble seemed to have fulfilled expectations of propriety and quality.

Cancellations and changes could have confused the audiences. Regardless of the reasons for changes and cancellations, the local papers often tried to help out. A notice in the *Jarlsberg og Laurvigs Amtstidende* asked people in Larvik to please attend the Johannesénske's last performance. A good house could make up for the other performances, which, due to “coincidental circumstances” had been poorly visited. The paper recommended the performance and asked for the audience's “good nature” ▶

in helping the family make up for much needed lost income (Jarlsberg og Laurvigs Amtstidende, 14-19 November 1878). This type of support must have felt assuring to the Johannesénske family. How much it helped in bringing in spectators remains unclear. Sometimes more visits would be reported, other times notices would state that the number of visitors had not improved.

As stated at the beginning of this article, one must not forget that the press brought up issues that they considered newsworthy. Newspapers have, after all, in the words of historian Jerry Knudson been the *lingua franca* of society, and therefore a valuable index in measuring popular attitudes. This is a two-way street, as the picture the mass media draws is a response to predisposed public opinion, which is both satisfied and moulded by it (Knudson, 1993, p. 2). Local interests were emphasized. This is, for instance, very obvious in *Drammens Tidende*, which paid a lot of attention to the entertainments offered in the city's park. This park was an important social meeting place for many newspaper readers and the entertainments offered there were thus scrutinized and reported in detail. At the same time, newspapers typically presented what a given journalist or editor saw as being relevant. Thus, many aspects of a situation could either be left out entirely or be superficially or insignificantly presented. *Fredrikstad Tidende* forefronted the Johannesénske Balletselskab as an interesting ensemble, but failed to publish a review. A review would have given the readers more details and this would perhaps have been more reassuring. The goals of a given newspaper must be measured against the needs and interests of the readers. In one review, *Drammens Tidende* (1 August 1879) pointed out that the quality of the restaurant in the park had to be improved, so that finally the spectators could get a good meal. In the eyes of *Drammens Tidende*, the social side as well as food quality was an important part of the entertainment offered. Also, journalists were often opinionated and could give direct advice. In Christiansund, the *Romsdals Amtstidende* journalist first praised the dancing for being beautiful and done with great precision, then offered suggestions for improvements:

Only we believe that Mr. Johannesén would meet with a common wish, should he in future performances shorten the breaks between the excellent parts, and make sure that there is a tiny bit better light on the stage. (Romsdals Amtstidende, 25 June 1878)

Suggestions like this were considered and acted upon by the Johannesénske family. A few days later an advertisement in *Romsdals Amtstidende* stated that the breaks between the acts had been shortened and the lighting improved (Romsdals Amtstidende, 27 June 1878). Thus, feedback from newspapers was important for the Johannesénske family. In fact, when analysing the material, an almost dialogic relationship between the family and the press can be detected. Ballet master Johannesén fed the newspapers information that he found appropriate to enhance the spectators' interest. He would, for instance, create a mystery around the family and emphasize their Russian training, probably to make audiences curious. When the newspapers complained that prices were rather stiff and asked for lowered prices, this was taken into consideration and performances with "lowered prices" were announced.

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▶ **Itinerant challenges and local support in retrospect**

The aim of this article has been to examine some of many hardships the Johannesénske Balletselskab encountered as itinerant performers. The article has focused on challenges related to performance venues and spectators, as well as on the support offered by the local press. These challenges and the support have been analysed mainly through descriptions given in Norwegian newspapers.

In the beginning of the article I argued that Johannesénske Balletselskab is of great importance not only to Norwegian, but also to Nordic dance history. Hammergren (2004, pp. 21-22) has suggested that venturing outside of the dance canon and examining marginalized phenomena can offer new insights for dance scholars. The endeavours of the Johannesénske Balletselskab offer such new insights, and the Norwegian tour is revealing of local features such the use of steamboats and ships as means of transportation. Insights into the Johannesén family adds important knowledge on what it was like being a dancer on the road. Thus, the family is a great source for understanding itinerant dance practices, the hardships and pleasures included. Thus the ensemble had features which made it both typical but also special at the same time. The analysis of the 1878-1879 tour is an interesting case, which shows the value of doing research on an ensemble that falls outside of “the hegemony of the dance canon” (Dodds, 2011, p. 19). For instance, even if addressed only superficially, knowledge on the consequences of Norwegian theatre laws are revealed through investigating the Johannesénske ensemble. It remains unclear whether an extensive tour of Norway was the family’s intention all along, or if the long tour was the consequence of their itinerant life style; one engagement leading to the next. However, I do believe that it was not coincidental that the family chose to come back to Norway in 1878. As previously mentioned, the new theatre law from 1877 made it easier for itinerant theatre- and dance companies to perform and travel in Norway.

The Johannesénske Balletselskab’s experiences offer interesting insights into challenges of being “on the road”. For instance, my research has revealed that their Norwegian tour was especially challenging when it came to finding suitable and safe venues. Dangerous performance spaces and threats of fire have been a universal challenge for itinerant ensembles. At the same time, the mapping of the Johannesénske Balletselskab gives interesting information on the state of Norwegian theatre spaces. There were very few real theatres in Norway at this time and my investigation has shown that this did not stop the ensemble: they danced in cold and damp community houses, salons in private homes, as well as in primitive theatre spaces built into local hotels.

The unpredictable Norwegian weather was another challenge which was part of what defined the tour. When audiences chose to stay at home, the Johannesénske family compensated for lack of income by adding additional performances. This was a strategy, if not unique to them, one which was possible because the ensemble was comprised of family members.

Yet another unique feature revealed through my research is the support from the ▶

- ▶ Norwegian press. Local newspapers found the Johannesénske Balletselskab's performances positive for the city's cultural life. Thus, the press material has been a major source in tracing the Johannesénske troupe's endeavours. Local newspapers have provided information on where the troupe performed, on programmes, prices, children's performances, benefit recitals and number of spectators present. The newspapers have accounted for numerous challenges that the family encountered, while at the same time supporting the family's performing through positive reviews and constructive suggestions for improvements. Several newspapers were sympathetic to the ensemble's financial difficulties and appealed to readers to attend performances to help cover some of the ensemble's losses. This is revealing of what Salmon has pointed out as the "spirit of the time or locality" (Salmon 1973, p. 25). The enthusiasm of Norwegian newspapers could be linked to the fact that ballet was unfamiliar in many cities, and that the press welcomed the ensemble as a means of "cultural education". Also, the local newspapers welcomed entertainment in the form of ballet and pantomime because there was nothing improper in the performances of the Johannesénske Balletselskab. Newspapers had agendas, then as now, as pointed out by Salmon, and they offered true as well as false accounts. Newspapers must therefore be scrutinized for their truth-value (Salmon 1973, 25).

### **Some concluding remarks**

There are many aspects of the Johannesénske Balletselskab that deserve to be scrutinized in greater detail. The amount of material that I have collected is large, and lack of space prevents me from addressing all that happened to the ensemble during the one and a half years on the road. The issue of musicians is one aspect that would be interesting to explore further. Another is their itinerant ballet school, which was an important source of income during the ensemble's many years of existence. Itinerant dancers have frequently served both as performers and teachers: in order to make enough money it was necessary to teach dance in a number of cities visited. Suffice is to say that their extensive teaching was a typical feature of itinerant "life on the road", and that when they settled in Kristiania in November 1879, teaching became their main source of income.

From today's perspective. itinerant life was unpredictable, even dangerous. What kept the family going for so many years? The need to make money was, of course, instrumental. There were no state supported ballets ensembles in Norway at this time. If you wanted to be a dancer, there was little else to do than to travel from city to city. Perhaps it was all about making a living, but my understanding is that the family possessed and shared a deeply felt desire for performing. This desire was picked up by the press and transmitted through supportive recommendations. Norwegian newspapers were concerned with events that were dramatic or out of the ordinary. The visit of Johannesénske Balletselskab was often presented as a positive contribution to the city's cultural life. Some newspapers followed their activity very closely, others mentioned them more sparingly. What is unique is that, with very few exceptions, the Johannesénske Balletselskab was highly appreciated and mentioned with enthusiasm.

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- ▶ The newspapers aided in spreading “the gospel of ballet”, so to speak. Ballet was, after all, for many Norwegians, an unfamiliar art form and the press wanted to educate their readers and support the initiative. It would be interesting to investigate this positive attitude further. Was the press supportive because of the uniqueness and quality of the Johannesénske Balletselskab, or because they supported any local ensembles visiting?

Once settled in Kristiania, the various family members continued to make an impact on Norwegian theatre dance. The Johannesénske ballet school, for instance, trained a number of Norwegian dancers. More research will hopefully give more information on the family’s endeavours and press coverage in Norway and the other Nordic countries.

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*Fædrelandsvennen* (August-October 1878).

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*Aalesunds Handels og Sjøfartstidende* (Ålesund, July-August 1878).

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## ENDNOTES

1. For the sake of readability, Johannesénske Balletselskab will not be italicized throughout the article.
2. Norwegian cities have often changed names or spellings. I will use original spellings throughout the article. Note that today's capital, Oslo, was termed Christiania until 1877, when, because of a spelling reform, it was called Kristiania. In 1925 the city reinstated its original, medieval name, Oslo.
3. It actually took 30 years until the next extensive dance tour was undertaken by Norwegian dancers: Gyda Christensen travelled with her "Chopin i Dansebilleder" in the summer of 1909 and 1910. See Fiskvik (2014c) for more information on Gyda Christensen and her *Chopin i Dansebilleder*.
4. See, for instance, Schöldström (1882), Dahlberg (1976, 1982), Hirn (1982), Parmer (1967) and Rosenqvist (2008), as well as (Fiskvik 2016, forthcoming) for accounts of itinerant artists in the Nordic counties.
5. The Johannesénske ensemble, to the best of my knowledge, did not perform in Iceland; therefore, when I use the expression "Nordic", Iceland is left out.
6. Great care has been taken to avoid overlap between the article "La famille dansant. Mapping the travels and repertoire of the Johannesénske Balletselskab 1850–1880" and the current one, but some material on the aims and purposes of studying a half-forgotten dance ensemble are forefronted in both articles.
7. Torkel Bråten, dance scholar and archivist at the National Archives in Oslo, has traced some of the Marvig family's endeavours in the Nordic countries in his forthcoming Master thesis *Retten til å framføre offentlige forestillinger i Norge 1814-1875* (fall 2015)
8. I frequently refer to the Johannesénske ensemble, the Johannesénske troupe, group or simply Johannesénske in order to avoid redundant language.
9. See Fiskvik (2015, in press) for an account of the use of children as dancers.
10. For a discussion on the phenomenon of canons within dance, see Dodds (2011) *Dancing on the Canon. Embodiments of Value in Popular Dance*.
11. As pointed out by dance scholars, Lisa Arkin and Marian Smith (1997, p.11), the importance of national and character dances has been neglected in international dance scholarship.
12. In my article "Finding Work in Nordic Dance Venues" (Fiskvik, 2015, in press) I have investigated how Nordic dancers travelled and worked within institutionalized theatres around the fin de siècle.
13. The Johannensénske ballet school had a variety of different names, with different combinations of Dands, Dance, Ballet and Plastik, but always keeping the word Johannensénske (Advertisements in the Kristiania newspapers, 1879-1926).
14. I have spent countless hours in front of the microfilm-reader at the Gunnerus library in Trondheim, and I am thankful to the librarians there for invaluable support and guidance. A special thanks goes to Tore Moen for his encouragement and assistance in getting hold of microfilms.
15. Thoralf Berg (2008) mentions the Johannesénske Balletselskab in "Teater og underholdninger i Tromsø, Hammerfest og Vadsø." Theatre historian and librarian Trine Næss has written a brief section on the Johannesén family's contribution to the *Christiania Theatre* in her book on the Christiania Theatre. This material covers the period after the family had settled in Kristiania, 1885-1890, and is therefore not relevant to this article. See Næss (2005, pp. 135-136)
16. For an account and history of Norwegian newspapers, see Dahl & Eide (2010).
17. When referring or citing relevant material, I indicate a known writer by giving his/or her signature; otherwise, citations or references are all anonymous. Note also that I have translated all the quotations from Norwegian into English, and this is indicated in the text. In doing so, I have tried to keep the some of the "old fashioned" style of language, which typically was embroidered and dramatic in style. However, for the sake of readability, the language has become a little more modernized in my translations. Moreover, emphases or alterations that are not found in the original text are given in italics.
18. In Drammen in August 1879, the local band went on strike, causing the Johannesénske much embarrassment and loss of money.
19. In a few instances, it has not been possible to get hold of the relevant newspaper. This is, for instance, the case for the 1878 editions of *Aalesunds Blad*, where the ensemble visited in June 1878. I know that *Aalesunds Blad* published material through citations in other newspapers, for instance the *Bergensposten*.

20. Flyers and posters would have had to be printed locally in order to give the correct time and place of the performances. Details or content of these are not known because I have as yet not been able to trace any such remaining source material.
21. The journey took approximately four days. This can be deduced because *Romdals Budstikke* announced that the ship *Jupiter* had arrived and would continue down the coast on 1 June (Romsdals Budstikke, 30 June 1878).
22. The different theatre laws that have been issued in Denmark/Norway were indeed decisive for a lot of itinerant artists. See Bråten (2015, forthcoming) which deals entirely with theatre prohibitions and the new theatre law, as well as Gladsø (2004, pp. 23-67) for more information on the new theatre law.
23. The Norwegian text reads as follows: Hermed tillader jeg mig forspørge om den ærede Direktion vil engagere det Johannensenske Balletselskab over Markedsugen. Svar med omgaaende utbedes. Ærbødigst J.F. Johannesén. Balletmester.
- P.S. Selskabet bestaar af 7 personer men kun 3 Damer og to Herrer som Danser. Jeg selv anfører Musiken. En Recention fra Fredrikshalds Amtstidende medfølger. D.J
24. Advertisements in *Tønsberg Blad*, 30 May 1879 and *Tunsbergere*, 31 May 1879 stated performances to be given in "Theatret i Herr Holths salong".
25. The "Hotel du Nord" was situated in a building close to the large cathedral, thus centrally placed.
26. For more information on Emma Livry's tragic faith, see Guest (1963, pp. 54-60).
27. The accident was also cited in *Stavangeren*, 1 June 1878.
28. Examination of the papers *Fædrelandsvennen* and *Kristiansands Stiftsavis og Adressekontors Efterretninger* show that several other theatre ensembles performed in the city in September and October.
29. Notices and advertisements in *Vestlandske Tidende*, 5-12 October 1878.
30. *Jarlsberg og Laurvigs Amtstidende*, 7-12 November 1878
31. The number of spectators as well as weather conditions were reported in *Jarlsberg og Laurvigs Amtstidende*, 14-19 November 1878.
32. See, for instance, Fiskvik (2016, forthcoming) for an account of lowered prices and children's performances by Michael and Doreothea Stuart 1769-1770.

## AUTHOR REVIEW ANNE MARGRETE FISKVIK

Anne Margrete Fiskvik (PhD, Dr. of Arts) holds the position as Associate Professor at the Department for Musicology, Program for Dance Studies, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim. She is also Chair of the same program. Previously a professional dancer and choreographer she has pursued an academic career and today her main research areas are: Early Dance History, Norwegian Theatre Dance History, Choreomusical Analysis and Practice(s) in Theatre Dance, and Popular Dance and Music Cultures. She is the main editor (together with Marit Stranden) of the 2014 anthology *(Re) Searching the Field. Festschrift in Honour of Egil Bakka*. Recent articles include an account on itinerant dancing masters travelling Norway during the latter part of the 17th century: "Information uti Dands i Christiania 1769-1773" in R. Selvik, E. Gjervan & S.Gladsø (Eds.) (2015) *Lidenskap eller levebrød. Utøvende kunst i endring rundt 1800*. Her interest in itinerant practices is also reflected in "Working in Nordic Dance Venues" in K. Vedel & P. Hoppu (Eds) (2014) *Nordic Dance Spaces. Practicing and imagining a region* and "Halling as a Tool for Nationalist Strategies" in S. Dodds & S.Cook (Eds.) (2013) *Bodies of Sound. Studies Across Popular Music and Dance*.

## FORFATTEROMTALE ANNE MARGRETE FISKVIK

Anne Margrete Fiskvik (PhD, Dr.Art) arbeider fra år 2006 som førsteamanuensis og programrådsleder ved Program for dansevitenskap ved NTNU, Trondheim. Hun er utdannet koreograf og danser. Etter fullført doktorgradsstudium ved NTNU har hun særlig interessert seg for følgende forskningsområder: tidlig dansehistorie, norsk teaterdanshistorie, koreomusikalsk analyse og praksis(er), og dans i populærkulturer. Hun var hovedredaktør for antologien *(Re)Searching the Field. Festschrift in Honour of Egil Bakka* (2014, medredaktør Marit Stranden). Hennes interesse for omreisende dansekunstnere har manifestert seg i flere artikler om omreisende dansere og danse mestere, blant annet "Information uti Dands i Christiania 1769-1773" i R. Selvik, E. Gjervan & S.Gladsø (red.) (2015) *Lidenskap eller levebrød. Utøvende kunst i endring rundt 1800*, "Working in Nordic Dance Venues" i K. Vedel & P. Hoppu (red.) (2014) *Nordic Dance Spaces. Practicing and imagining a region* og "Halling as a Tool for Nationalist Strategies" i S. Dodds & S.Cook (red.) (2013) *Bodies of Sound. Studies Across Popular Music and Dance*.