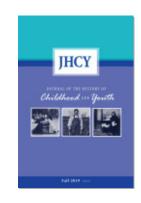


Discipline and the Art of Dancing in Twentieth-Century British and American Ballet Books for Girls

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# DISCIPLINE AND THE ART OF DANCING IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY BRITISH AND AMERICAN BALLET BOOKS FOR GIRLS

In 1916, as a "shy but determined child of nine," Reva Howitt announced that she wanted to be a ballet dancer. Her mother, a respectable California matron, was probably appalled. Nice girls might learn social dancing, but they did not aspire to the stage. And even if Reva wanted to be a ballet dancer, where could she learn to do so? Though ballet had been present on the American scene since at least the early nineteenth century, it still seemed foreign, quite possibly lower class, and therefore suspect. Few ballet classes were available even in big cities. As Willa Cather wrote about ballet in a 1913 McClure's article, "In America we have had no dancers because we have had no schools, and no public that knew good dancing from bad. America has long been the paradise of poor teachers . . . but in nothing has the instruction been poorer than in dancing."

Luckily for Reva, she contracted ballet fever at an opportune moment, just at the beginning of what would become a massive expansion of ballet in twentieth-century America. In the wake of a series of tours between 1910 and 1925 by Anna Pavlova and the much-heralded tour of Russian impresario Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes in 1916, Americans of all walks of life, in small towns and large cities all over the country, encountered ballet and enthusiastically embraced it. Like Reva, thousands of girls, and some boys, demanded classes after seeing these dancers perform. Following the Russian Revolution, a steady stream of emigrès who claimed some association with the Imperial Ballet School of St. Petersburg or the Bolshoi Ballet in Moscow arrived to supply them. Reva convinced her mother to send her to a recently opened local ballet studio and, after graduating from high school, pursued more advanced training at the Hirsch-Arnold Ballet School in San Francisco, where a professional class taught by Russian dancers met six times a week for thirty dollars a month. When Pavlova's company came to San Francisco in 1924, Reva and her classmates

were called into action as background dancers and shared the stage with the ballerina they idolized.<sup>2</sup>

Not everyone who took ballet class, then or subsequently, could boast of such triumphs. And while Reva's primary motivation was artistic, for others who found themselves capable, dancing offered a potential career. As Cather pointed out in 1913, New York City "was full of poor girls of every nationality who were working in sweat-shops and department stores for six dollars a week, while the ballet pays eighteen and twenty" at the Metropolitan Opera. Ballet thus could serve as an attractive career path, with expanding opportunities in the age of mass culture. For a small number of young Americans, ballet class offered an entrée into life as professional dancers. But the growing availability of ballet class had the most important impact on the far greater number of American children for whom such lessons became a cultural experience and introduction to the arts, part of the extracurricular activities integral to a certain kind of gender, class, and race-inflected childhood.

Some idealized elements of ballet, such as tutus and pointe shoes, eventually came to stand in for larger notions of girlhood itself, a cultural elision most recently evident in the proliferation of princess culture. Whether drawn to ballet as a potential profession or as an extracurricular activity, American girls throughout the twentieth century clamored not only for lessons but also for a variety of cultural productions related to ballet. Even girls who never took ballet class eagerly sought out music boxes with twirling ballerina figures or pink diaries adorned with images of pointe shoes. Although these cultural associations could be expressions of traditional femininity and domesticity, the persistence of ballet as a theme in twentieth-century Western girl culture demonstrates empowerment as well as limitation. After all, ballet did not primarily take place in the home or domestic realm, and it required expert guidance, often from professional women. While acknowledging more troubling associations with body image issues and perfectionism, scholars have noted that ballet operates within girl culture as an activity for hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of girls. Ballet serves as a frequent trope of girls' consumer and material culture; as a positive signifier of femininity in the accomplished, independent figure of the ballerina; and as a basis for narratives of self-development and self-expression.4

Reading has long been an important component of girl culture, and during a period when the children's book market expanded rapidly and moved away from the moral didacticism of the late nineteenth century, girls enthusiastically embraced an important subgenre of children's literature: ballet books.<sup>5</sup> As a result, children's and young adult books about ballet constitute valuable historical markers for the consistent interest of girls in ballet across multiple

generations. For much of the twentieth century, they also offered an alternative to the often more passive female protagonists of children's literature.<sup>6</sup> Ballet books vary in their approach, but even those focusing primarily on glamour and glory still generally highlight hard work. The discipline necessary to succeed in even the most casual class distinguishes ballet as something more than a leisure activity in both real life and literature. Children who read the many hundreds of ballet books written during the twentieth century, whether or not they took classes themselves, learned early about the complex relationships among ballet, girls, and work.7

This article will explore three examples of children's books about ballet: Noel Streatfeild's Ballet Shoes, published in 1936; Jean Estoril's Drina books, published during the late 1950s and early 1960s; and Karen Strickler Dean's Maggie Adams books, published during the 1980s. Like other children's ballet series, Streatfeild and Estoril's books originally appeared in England but achieved long-lasting popularity in the United States as well. Ballet Shoes has never been out of print, and the Drina books were republished by Scholastic during the 1980s. Extended content analysis of these books demonstrates both the continuities of some ballet themes and the changes over time related to the historical context of novels from three different time periods. As popular children's literature, the novels are historical evidence of the multiplicity of meanings available to consumers of girl culture over the twentieth century. Girl culture could present avenues toward self-realization and productivity; in these books, ballet operates as a conduit linking traditional motifs of femininity not to helplessness or mere prettiness, but to strength and hard work.

The attraction of such a reading is evident even to those who would otherwise critique ballet as too stereotyped or "girly" for modern readers. As Annie Barrows, author of the *Ivy and Bean* series, put it in 2014:

You would think in this post-feminist era that ballet would be routinely ridiculed in children's books—too pink, too frilly, too much correlation between physical anguish and aesthetic value. But it's not. And for good reason, too: ballet rewards practice. It's the perfect wrapping for the "work hard and you'll succeed" story, because it's both true and pretty.8

Though these books bear marks of their disparate historical contexts, all view ballet not only as an extracurricular or leisure activity but also as a means to economic independence and self-fulfillment that could be realized even before adulthood. To varying degrees they represent the actual labor of ballet, including the physical stress of serious training and the production of a nearly unattainable "ballet body." The books' presentation of the cultural nature of ballet as

girls' work also situates girls as producers of art rather than as mere consumers. The consistent attention ballet books for girls have paid to discipline and work illustrates the way ballet, as a serious and demanding art form, can illuminate girl culture's strength and power and elevate it above consumerism alone.

# **BALLET SHOES: MONEY AND THE CULTURAL WORK OF DISCIPLINE**

Ballet Shoes by Noel Streatfeild (1895-1986) became an instant classic upon its first publication in England and the United States in 1936.9 The book has been reissued scores of times and as of 1994 had sold more than ten million copies worldwide; since there have been more than seventeen further editions since then, that number is surely much higher now. The School Library Journal includes it in its list of top one hundred children's novels, and in 2015 it was added to another prominent list of classic children's titles. There are multiple audio recordings, two filmed versions, and translations into languages as varied as Spanish, Croatian, Hebrew, and Thai. Streatfeild subsequently wrote a successful series of books about talented young people, published in the United States under such titles as Tennis Shoes (1937), Circus Shoes (1938), Theater Shoes (1944), Movie Shoes (1949), and Skating Shoes (1951), but Ballet Shoes remains the urtext for the genre. The story of three adopted sisters who train for the stage while growing up in genteel poverty in London, Ballet Shoes has sympathetically but realistically introduced generations of readers to a backstage world of dance and theater rooted as much in hard work as in glory.<sup>10</sup>

Pauline, Petrova, and Posy, the three protagonists of Ballet Shoes, are adopted separately by their great-uncle, Matthew Fossil, an explorer who leaves his young charges in the care of his niece, Sylvia, and the nanny, Nana. When he disappears without a word for many years, Sylvia takes in boarders to make ends meet. The enlarged household comes to include the Simpsons, a couple who own a garage; Doctor Jakes and Doctor Smith, two recently retired women professors; and Theo Dane, a teacher at The Children's Academy of Dancing and Stage Training. Knowing of Sylvia's straitened circumstances, Theo arranges for the children to become students at the stage school. Although Sylvia at first finds the idea scandalous, she cannot resist Theo's argument that as the girls have no parents, "it's a good thing for them to have a career" (49). Pauline turns out to be a naturally gifted actress and Posy a preternaturally talented ballet dancer, perhaps not so surprising as her birth mother was a ballerina. Petrova, interested in motors and aviation, is not at all inclined to become a performer, but she understands the need to prepare to earn a living and keeps her feelings mostly to herself. In 1930s England, children could go on the stage by special license at age twelve and then full time at age fourteen, so Pauline, as the oldest, soon begins to contribute economically to the household. At the end of the book, Pauline signs a Hollywood studio contract to help support Posy's desire to apprentice herself to Czech ballet master Manoff and train with the best ballet dancers in the world. Petrova is saved from further stage work by the reappearance of Great-Uncle Matthew, who promises to help her become a pilot.11

Ballet Shoes nearly always views dancing and theater through the lens of work and money. There is a brisk, practical tone throughout, something noted in even the earliest reviews of the book.12 Upon hearing of Theo's proposition to send the girls to stage school, Doctor Jakes approves, telling Sylvia, "It may be that you may find later that dancing is not the career for all of them, but the training will have done them good, and you will at least have taken a step towards trying to make them self-supporting" (51). A few years later, when Pauline and her classmate Winifred audition for a lead role, Winifred is incredulous that Pauline seems mainly interested in seeing the costumes and other actors:

"Think of the money!" Winifred added.

Pauline thought of the necklaces. "Would one earn much?"

Winifred looked wise. "It's the Princess Theater; it's a mean management.

Ought to get six, but it'll more likely be four . . . they might squeeze five."

"Five what?" asked Pauline. "Shillings?"

Winifred stared at her. "Shillings! Pounds. Don't you need money at home?"

Pauline thought of . . . Sylvia's gray hairs, and the boarders. "Of course." (147-48)

These explicit discussions of money and earnings represent a break from earlier children's literature, which generally shied away from such grim practicalities.<sup>13</sup> Streatfeild enhances the realism of such conversations further by detailing the licensing procedures for child performers and the legal mandate that at least one third of a child's earnings must be banked each week. Pauline chafes under these rules, and when she turns fourteen and is no longer required to save a certain percentage of her earnings, she insists on giving Sylvia more money for expenses, allowances, and nicer clothes for the sisters (229-31). At fifteen, her first film role convinces Pauline that she prefers the stage, but she signs a Hollywood contract anyway in order to "make an awful lot of money: enough to keep [Posy] and Nana in Czechoslovakia, as well as [Sylvia] and me in Hollywood" (289). The economic aspect of Pauline's success, the goal all along of the sisters' training, trumps her artistic choices.

Streatfeild positions the concept of work differently for Posy, the budding ballerina. Posy becomes the special pupil of Madame Fidolia, the head of the stage school and formerly a famous Russian ballerina, who sees rare potential in the girl. For Posy, work means a kind of pure discipline and dedication to art. Her sisters "had a feeling she was not proud of her dancing, but looked on it as something that mattered more than anything else. She thought that doing an exercise beautifully mattered so much, that in spite of feeling that it was silly to let somebody of six think what she did mattered, they had an odd feeling that she was right" (85). Posy refuses to take classes with anyone but Madame Fidolia and matter-of-factly believes in her calling. When she becomes a ballerina, she tells her sisters, "Nobody else will do instead of me; they'll come to see me, and if I'm not there, they'll just go home" (178). After seeing Manoff's company perform, she runs away from home, crashes his rehearsal, and insists that the famous ballet master watch her dance, whereupon he pledges to help her become "a beautiful artiste" if she comes to work with him (288). From that moment on, Posy will admit no obstacle, pecuniary or otherwise, to working with Manoff in service of her art, something that Pauline enables financially through sacrifice of her own artistic preferences.

Middle sister Petrova, with none of her sisters' special talents, finds stage training to be work of another kind entirely, one less likely to bring either financial reward or personal satisfaction. She is not completely immune to the glamorous pictures of child stars she sees at the school, but she just does not enjoy ballet, even though she "learnt all the exercises as easily as any of the other children . . . she had the sense to see that she would not like the work more as she moved higher up the school. The more efficient you became, the longer hours you were expected to work" (85). Her sustained training eventually turns her into a proficient dancer, and "in fact, there was nothing wrong with her work, except that it bored her, and she looked as if it did" (182). She twice wins significant roles, but she takes little pleasure from these professional experiences and finds the rehearsals so dull that "she brought her handbook on aeroplanes with her, and when not wanted for the fairy scenes, or to work at one of the innumerable ballets, would curl up in a corner, and study it" (213). Although Petrova secretly longs to give up ballet, she also knows that, as a child, dancing and acting is the most practical way she can contribute to the household, so she continues working. Only the last-minute arrival of Great-Uncle Matthew, who is delighted to hear that Petrova's real interests are "flying and motor cars," saves her from what she sees as drudgery in the theater (293).14

Although of the sisters only Posy is devoted to ballet, ballet nonetheless plays a central role in the book and stands for a kind of development of self for the girls. Madame Fidolia had originally wanted to start an intensive ballet academy along the lines of the Imperial Ballet School in Russia, but that proved to be financially impossible. Still, incoming pupils at her school are automatically tested for ballet potential, and all of the students take ballet. Initially the sisters do not know enough to "realize that the half-hour spent holding on to a bar and doing what they thought stupid exercises was very early training for ballet," but they soon learn the basics (69). This plot point is significant, as it counters fantasies in other ballet books of little girls immediately donning pointe shoes and swanning about. It is several years before any of the Fossil girls begin to wear pointe shoes, a realistic timeline. Although Nana is skeptical about Petrova's prospects, she approves the plan for ballet training nonetheless, telling Sylvia, "It might be just the thing for her—turn her more like a little lady; always messing about with the works of clocks and that just like a boy; never plays with dolls, and takes no more interest in her clothes than a scarecrow" (51). In Ballet Shoes, ballet serves many purposes. It is hard work, requiring discipline; it is a means to securing paid work; it is work in the service of artistry; and it is a signifier of gender norms. All of these themes recurred not only in Streatfeild's other children's books, but also in the myriad ballet books for children that followed in its footsteps.

# BALLET FOR DRINA AND DRINA'S DANCING YEAR: BALLET AS AVOCATION AND VOCATION

In both England and the United States, there was a ballet boom starting in the 1930s. Major new companies formed and/or solidified their status in both countries after World War II, and performances and classes became easier to find outside of major cities. At a time when series books for girls were becoming more popular than ever, a number of mid-century series centered on ballet. In England two especially notable ballet series, Lorna Hill's Sadler's Wells books and Jean Estoril's Drina books, appeared during the 1950s and 1960s. The latter achieved significant success in the American market as well, with Kirkus Reviews covering the Drina books as they were released and recommending them to young ballet fans. Jean Estoril was a pen name for Mabel Esther Allan (1915–98), a prolific children's author. Scholastic Books reissued the ten Drina books starting in the late 1980s, a move that Publisher's Weekly applauded, writing of the reissue that "Drina's . . . desire to dance will be joyfully embraced by ballet fans." This positive reception apparently encouraged the seventy-six-year-old Estoril to write another Drina book. Drina Ballerina (1991), the eleventh and final entry in the series, appeared more than thirty years after the first two books, Ballet For Drina (1957) and Drina's Dancing Year (1958), which are the focus here. 15

Ballet For Drina introduces Drina Adams, a ten-year-old girl who has been raised by her grandparents since her parents died when she was a baby. Drina knows nothing about ballet until she starts a new school and meets Jenny Pilgrim. Drina accompanies Jenny to her ballet class and immediately becomes determined to dance herself. She overcomes her grandmother's inexplicable refusal and joins Jenny's class, where she makes swift progress and decides that she will be a ballet dancer when she grows up. When her grandparents announce that the family is moving to London, Drina's dreams seem threatened, but she soon finds a place to continue practicing secretly. At the end of the book, Drina learns that her mother was the world-famous ballerina Elizabeth Ivory, and although her grandmother blames ballet for Elizabeth's death in a plane crash en route to a performance, she reluctantly bows to the inevitable and agrees to allow Drina to audition for the Dominick School of Ballet. In Drina's Dancing Year, Drina earns admission to the Dominick School but decides to keep her identity a secret so she can succeed on her own merit. She makes good friends at the ballet school, in addition to some enemies, and steadily advances, catching the eye of ballet school and company director Igor Dominick. She misses most of one term due to illness but returns, only to be discouraged when she is not cast in the school's Christmas show. Drina's disappointment is assuaged, however, when she wins a role in a West End drama. Once the run of the play ends, Drina looks forward to improving her dancing and moving toward her goal of becoming a professional ballerina.

Drina's introduction to ballet comes through Jenny, for whom ballet class is a significant extracurricular activity because her mother hopes for a ballerina daughter. Both Jenny and Drina's families assume that children will engage in extracurricular activities, a sign not only of class status but also of a postwar attitude toward children and structured leisure time. 16 Despite Jenny's utter lack of enthusiasm, she still reads a lot of ballet stories, describing them scornfully in Ballet for Drina as typically "about girls who want to be ballerinas and who manage it with no effort at all. Madame says she wishes someone would write one when it's made as hard as possible for the heroine" (23). While perhaps not taking her own advice—Drina's grandparents are financially comfortable, so there are never any economic obstacles to her training—Estoril consistently highlights the difficulties faced by children who are serious about ballet. Drina's grandparents are all too familiar with the demands of a ballet career and at first strenuously try to prevent Drina from dancing at all, let alone following in the footsteps of the mother she knows nothing about. When Drina begins class, her grandmother informs the teacher, "I want it to be clearly understood that Drina is to have ballet lessons purely for pleasure" (58). The teacher, puzzled by this

admonition, points out that nonetheless, Drina will "have to work in my class. All the students work very hard" (58). That is as true of the students who take class as an extracurricular activity as it is of the students who hope for careers. There are no illusions of immediate success in the Drina books; rather, there are constant references to hard work with no guaranteed reward. Even after finally agreeing to let Drina pursue her dream, her grandmother warns, "If you stick to your dancing and make it your career, there'll be years of being in the corps de ballet, and after that you may never be a ballerina . . . it's not my idea of a good life" (167).

The question of a balanced life recurs throughout the Drina books, playing ballet as recreation off ballet as vocation. At the beginning of Drina's Dancing Year, Jenny, who remains Drina's best friend even after the move to London, agrees with Drina's grandmother that the life of a serious ballet student is "no life." Jenny says, "I want to be out and free, not shut away in a stuffy dancing school and later in a theatre. . . . I won't let you turn into an inhuman dancing person, who knows nothing but pliés and battements and all those endless idiotic exercises" (13). Drina disagrees with this assessment of what might become of her, but she does understand, as the head of the Dominick School warns at her successful audition, that "the work will grow increasingly hard . . . later on, you won't have the time for many of the things that girls like to do" (47). Again, there is an assumption that if not at ballet class, the students would be busy with other activities, not working to help support their households as would have been more common in both the United States and England during the 1930s setting of Ballet Shoes. For Drina, any sacrifice is worthwhile, even though during her first months at the Dominick School her "sheer concentrated hard work" does not yield noticeable results. But she "set her teeth and worked and practised harder than most people" and eventually begins to make progress (75). Contrary to her grandmother and Jenny's fears, Drina happily explores London with her new friends and develops additional interests in art and music. Though she continues to believe that "learning to dance well was what mattered, practising so that her body would obey her easily and gracefully," she never allows her training to overwhelm her (121). This attitude, which even her grandparents praise as mature in a thirteen-year-old girl, stands her in good stead when she must balance the demands of her first love, ballet, with those of rehearsing daily for the play.

First published only twenty years apart, Ballet Shoes and the first two Drina books contain some notable points of comparison that speak to the way ballet figures as intensive work rather than as a mere leisure-time activity. In Ballet Shoes, ballet is, at least initially, primarily a means to an end in the sense that

going on the stage will provide a necessary career for the Fossil sisters. They have never even attended a ballet performance when they start taking classes, and although artistic considerations eventually become more important to Pauline and Posy, there is a practical, vocational aspect to the sisters' education. Nobody in their social circle sees ballet as merely an extracurricular activity. This is not true in the *Drina* books. Although Drina's friend Jenny takes classes and goes to performances because her mother hopes she will become a dancer, Jenny herself has little aptitude or interest and sees ballet only as an "extra," something she would rather not do even during her leisure hours. Drina is drawn to ballet as a calling rather than a profession; though she certainly hopes it will become the latter, she does not need the world of ballet to provide work, but rather to be an arena for artistic expression.

This outcome is exactly what her grandmother fears. Drina's grandmother has understandably never gotten over her daughter Elizabeth's death, but she also blames ballet for what she sees as a disruption of family. "Once she was famous we scarcely saw her, though she was always a loving daughter as far as she could be," Drina's grandmother laments in Ballet for Drina. "Even her husband and baby scarcely saw her." Drina defends her mother, replying, "She couldn't help it. Dancers have to do that," but the interchange foreshadows what will become a major conflict in the later Drina books, when she repeatedly faces the decision of whether to prioritize her ballet career and artistic ambitions or her romantic life (172). For dance historian Jennifer Fisher, this conflict makes Drina "much more thoughtful and well rounded" than Posy, whose single-mindedness renders her a rather flat character. Similarly, book blogger Jen Rothschild also credits Estoril for keeping Drina grounded through the character of her best friend, Jenny, who "provides a rock in Drina's life" and, through her long-term ambition to become a farmer, reminds readers that there are many possible career paths for girls, not all of them associated with traditional femininity.17

One way in which Drina echoes Posy and the other Fossil sisters is that while they all live in loving homes, they still stand in a long line of orphans in children's literature. Conveniently, this status grants them freedom to explore their talents and pursue their vocations with somewhat less of a family claim than other characters might face. Both Noel Streatfeild and Jean Estoril earned very successful livings as writers, but neither ever married. It is perhaps a sign of their times—though they were born twenty years apart—that while they understood the importance of work and vocation for women, they found it difficult to imagine combining career and family. In very few of either the *Shoes* books or the *Drina* books are there role models for girls aspiring to do just that.

Instead, the characters typically work hard to develop their talents but then forsake anything standing in the way of their professional success. Because the protagonists in both authors' books are generally children or adolescents, the conflict seems less pronounced, but it still raises questions about gender roles and aspiration that seem to apply to both the 1930s milieu of Ballet Shoes and the 1950s setting of Ballet for Drina and Drina's Dancing Year, despite the gradual expansion of career and educational opportunities for women during those decades. Estoril found no real way to resolve this issue until the latter-day Drina Ballerina, in which Drina marries her longtime suitor, but only after achieving recognition as an accomplished ballerina and assuring herself of his support for her career. It may be telling that Estoril did not end Drina's story until secondwave feminism had transformed women's lives, though certainly not solving all problems relating to combining marriage and career. The conflicts between art/commerce and family/career persisted as themes into the next generation of ballet books as well.

# MAGGIE ADAMS, DANCER AND CAMMY TAKES A BOW: THE DEMANDS OF A CREATIVE CALLING

Although Ballet Shoes, Ballet for Drina, and Drina's Dancing Year all focus on the discipline and hard work associated with ballet, they do, by later standards, gloss over or ignore other issues. By the time Karen Strickler Dean published Maggie Adams, Dancer in 1980, children's literature had turned toward social realism, a trend reflected in this book and all of Dean's later books about ballet, including Cammy Takes a Bow (1988), a companion novel in which Maggie Adams plays a minor role.<sup>20</sup> As Dean explained, she chose ballet as the setting for her novels both because "girls like to read about ballet" and since "the world of ballet becomes a microcosm of the larger world," it allowed her to deal with a host of other topics. In Dean's novels, major characters confront injury, body image concerns and mental illness. There are also male dancers in Dean's books, figures almost completely absent from Ballet Shoes and the first two Drina books, though in later books Drina does befriend the talented son of the ballet school and company founder, who becomes both her favorite dancing partner and a potential romantic interest. The Estoril and Dean books share literary DNA with the Streatfeild books in their basic approach to ballet as work and young dancers as creative artists, but the times during which the authors wrote influenced the themes they chose to integrate.<sup>21</sup>

Maggie Adams, Dancer begins with fourteen-year-old Maggie, already a gifted student and member of her local ballet company in San Francisco, experiencing disappointment when she is replaced at the last minute in the

Christmas production of The Nutcracker. Her failure to appear on stage causes her already skeptical father to cast even further doubt on Maggie's future as a dancer and to insist that she pay more attention in school and involve herself in other activities. Maggie is in fact somewhat torn about the demands of ballet on her life, especially in regard to her sometime-boyfriend Doug, who is not very understanding about her lack of availability. She remains committed to dance, though, and cannot fathom how her slightly older friend Joyce can decide to give up ballet for college. In her focused ambition, Maggie is also baffled when another friend, Lupe, is hospitalized with anorexia and seems to lose all interest in ballet. Despite several setbacks, including injuring her ankle and making an enemy out of the premier male dancer from the ballet company she hopes to join someday, at the end of the book Maggie wins a scholarship to the company's ballet school and even manages to impress her father with one of her performances. By the time Cammy Takes a Bow begins, Maggie is a soloist with the ballet company and the idol of eleven-year-old Cammy. Cammy is a promising ballet student, but money is very tight at home and there is no guarantee she can even continue taking classes. She feels threatened both by the appearance of new student Madelaine, who has been impressively trained in New York, and by the antics of Cammy's younger brother, Luke, who decides out of nowhere that he, too, wants to be a dancer and turns out to be quite talented. She also worries constantly that, like her friend Helen, who eventually quits, she does not have the right body type. Cammy ultimately learns a new empathy when she discovers that Madelaine's mother is mentally ill. Cammy and Luke both receive scholarships to continue ballet class, and the book ends on a cautiously optimistic note.

Unlike the Fossil sisters or Drina, Maggie is already an experienced student at the beginning of *Maggie Adams*, *Dancer*. Her teachers expect her to work hard and do well, and she thrives on the challenge to improve constantly in both technique and expression. Maggie refers to her "summer wind[,] a special happiness I get when I dance," highlighting the most successful ballet dancers' goals of subordinating their physical labor to their creative work (18). Maggie is not a passive vessel for technique but, even at a young age, a creator of art, a perspective that likely helped land *Maggie Adams*, *Dancer* on a list of books recommended for student career awareness. However, Dean also highlights the potentially negative aspects of ballet. As an adolescent, rather than a child like Posy or Drina, Maggie confronts head-on the sacrifices she makes to devote herself to ballet. Doug refuses to understand that ballet for Maggie is different than basketball is for him. "It's an after-school sport, Mag. Not my whole life. Not like your ballet," he points out (28). Maggie tries to explain, responding, "You

can't dance part-time. If you want to be a dancer, you have to dance hours and hours every day" (30). This conflict plays out not only in Maggie Adams, Dancer, but also in two sequels, Between Dances: Maggie Adams' Eighteenth Summer (1982) and Stay on Your Toes, Maggie Adams! (1986). The Publisher's Weekly review of the latter praised Dean for showcasing the variety of problems facing artistically ambitious young people (while also questioning Maggie's "total lack of shortcomings"). Not until Cammy Takes a Bow do readers learn that Maggie and Doug have found a way to stay together.<sup>22</sup>

Another theme in Dean's books is the toll ballet takes on the body. Maggie's doctor father complains about "all those damned ballet classes and rehearsals and hours of torturing her tendons and ligaments" (37). He is relieved when Maggie injures her ankle and must stay away from ballet class for a while. Madame Harper, Cammy's ballet teacher, had been the prima ballerina of a company but was forced to retire due to tendonitis. Now, while teaching Cammy's class, she "struggled out of her chair and lurched across the room" (3). Like Maggie, Cammy injures herself in ballet class; she hides her pain because "if Mom found out I'd hurt myself she might claim I was injury prone and add that to her reasons for me to quit ballet" (14).

In addition to injuries, both Cammy Takes a Bow and Maggie Adams, Dancer grapple with other ways in which ballet affects girls' bodies, a popular perspective on ballet during the 1980s.<sup>23</sup> Cammy is frustrated that she cannot achieve the high extension Madelaine easily demonstrates, and Maggie's friend Joyce laments that she'll "never have a decent turnout . . . and without a good turnout I'll never have good lines" (53). While disappointed when Joyce decides to quit, Maggie acknowledges that Joyce's "stocky build is out of favor these days with ballet companies, who like long, supple bodies like mine" (55). Maggie's rival, Cynthia Ann, suffering from an overbearing mother who watches every bite she eats, sneaks off to the doughnut shop whenever she gets a chance but then is referred to by her classmates as "fat old Cyn," demonstrating their internalization of idealized standards for ballet bodies (160).

Most dramatically of all, one of the main characters in Maggie Adams, Dancer develops a life-threatening eating disorder. Thirteen-year-old Lupe becomes so obsessed with getting fat that she stops eating altogether. Maggie and Joyce try to reason with her, but to no avail:

Across the table from me [Lupe] slowly sipped her water. Actually, she was too thin. And getting thinner. In practice clothes her chest and back showed the shape of each rib.

"Lupe," I said, "you're too skinny." She glared at me and grasped her St. Christopher medal.

"Madre mía, do you want me to get fat like my mother and sisters and aunt? I want to be a dancer and dancers have to be thin or the lines of their dancing don't look clean. And their partners can't lift them."

"But you're overdoing it," I said.

Joyce nodded. "Mag's right. If you don't eat properly, you won't have the energy to dance" (40).

Maggie also catches Lupe forcing herself to vomit. When Lupe faints before a performance, Maggie's father helps convince the girl's family to take her to a hospital, where she stays for weeks. Dean spares no detail of the effects of anorexia, writing about Lupe's listlessness, wrecked skin, hair loss, and cardiac problems. The realism with which this character is treated offers a cautionary tale and also reflects the changing norms of children's literature toward the end of the twentieth century. *Maggie Adams*, *Dancer* is one of several notable books published during the mid-1980s that tackle eating disorders; the protagonists of these books often take ballet class, which contributes to their problems.<sup>24</sup>

Although the pink covers of Dean's books are clearly designed to appeal to girls, there are male dancer characters. The canvas of characters in the *Maggie Adams* books is more expansive than the feminized ballet atmosphere of *Ballet Shoes* and the first two *Drina* books; it also echoes a growing, though ambivalent, interest in male dancers following the 1970s defections of prominent Russians like Rudolf Nureyev and Mikhail Baryshnikov.<sup>25</sup> In *Maggie Adams, Dancer* the primary male figures are Ian McMichael, the company's artistic director, and Larry Randall, the handsome but disdainful principal dancer. Though these men have reached exalted ballet ranks, the position of younger aspiring male dancers is less clear. When Joyce is choreographing a piece for the regional ballet festival, she must limit the number of male roles because in the entire school there are only three male students, including "two ten-year-old beginners who took ballet because their sisters did" (58).

Cammy Takes a Bow approaches the issues of boys in ballet class differently. Cammy's eight-year-old brother Luke crashes into her class one day and instead of being escorted out is hailed as "another Baryshnikov" because he jumps so high (18). This reaction demonstrates the hunger of most studios to increase the enrollment of boys. Partially to annoy Cammy and partially because he is genuinely—though perhaps temporarily—interested, Luke becomes serious enough about ballet that with no prior training he wins a scholarship to the school. He is even cast in a ballet to be performed by the professional company affiliated with the school, though the director explains to him that "Luke, you have no technique yet. That will come only with good teaching, time, and hard work" (49). To Cammy's disgust, the irrepressible Luke is a natural jumper and

really does begin to learn proper technique quickly, but at the end of the book he is admonished again that he still has "much to learn about discipline and responsibility," something his sister already understands from her years of ballet class (122).

Despite Cammy's reservations about Luke's invasion of her world, she still defends her brother in a school fight when a group of boys attack him as a "wimpy ballet dancer" (104). Although not exploring the issue deeply in a book clearly written for children, Dean does here refer to the homophobia associated with boys and men in ballet, a theme she engages more intensively in the sequels to Maggie Adams, Dancer, written for an adolescent audience. In his study of gay characters in young adult novels, Allan A. Cuseo notes that there are four gay characters in Maggie Adams' Eighteenth Summer, though the one who is closest to Maggie, her friend Paul, is rendered as an almost asexual brother figure despite his struggles with coming out, and the others do not play a central role in the plot.26

None of these issues appear in Ballet Shoes, in which there are virtually no references to boys and few male characters. Aside from a description of Posy's feet as particularly well-suited to ballet, there are no comments on body type or image, and within the manners of the novel Pauline's good looks are acknowledged but rarely mentioned. Poverty, not poundage, is the main obstacle to be overcome in Ballet Shoes. Ballet for Drina and Drina's Dancing Year both make glancing references to Drina being a good "type" for ballet, and two students at the Dominick School are dismissed when they grow too tall for ballet-significantly, not too heavy, but too tall—but otherwise there are no descriptions of bodies. In the first two books of the series, Drina does not encounter boys, though she is aware that there are male students—presumably on their own track for now—at the Dominick School. Only in later books do male dancers play much of a role in the series, but there is no open acknowledgment of the prejudices many of them would be likely to face. None of these books simplistically present ballet as easy or safe or unworthy of sacrifice, but the 1980s Maggie Adams books by Dean deal with some realities in ways that the earlier books do not.

An additional distinction between Dean's books and the earlier works by Streatfeild and Estoril is the first-person perspective that became more common in children's literature during the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>27</sup> A first-person narrative allows Maggie and Cammy to express themselves more intimately than the Fossil girls or Drina. This is especially relevant in terms of viewing the characters as creative artists who help produce culture as well as consume it. Posy is never very articulate about what ballet means to her, though

she "lived for nothing but her dancing classes" and the rare opportunity to see ballet performances at Covent Garden (184). At the beginning of Ballet For Drina, Drina catches a glimpse of ballet on television, "graceful, white-clad figures . . . dancing . . . as she had never imagined. It was perfect! So perfect that quick tears stung her eyes" (12). That vision stays with her as she moves into the world of ballet, and Estoril writes in Drina's Dancing Year that she "could never be miserable or tense when she was actually dancing," as ballet provided her emotional sustenance (124). For Cammy, too, "the music lifted me, floated me" during her first major performance (120). But Maggie, as a somewhat older character, is the one who best expresses the creative and artistic possibilities girls could find in dance. Even in class, Maggie feels "my summer wind rise and lift me through the flow and rhythms" of the movement, and she relishes the opportunities she gets to play a variety of roles when dancing (127). Joyce, although not as gifted, finds an alternative creative outlet as she turns to choreography and has her first major work accepted for performance at a regional ballet festival. As Dean makes clear, despite its many demands, ballet can offer opportunities for creative cultural work as well.

\* \* \*

As a girl during the 1950s, voracious reader Jessica R. Feldman found dozens of ballet novels in her local library. She recalled, "Very early on I developed a passion for books about young ballerinas: girls who had committed themselves to lives of stern discipline and often futile hope, exercises at the barre, strict diets, interrupted school work, abnormal social lives—all in the service of their art." The authors of these books generally understood their primary audience to be girls like Feldman. They presented what literary scholar Angela McRobbie refers to as "fantasies of achievement," stories about girls and young women who found in the socially acceptable activity of ballet a means of transforming themselves without overthrowing gender norms. This narrative had great appeal for girls who saw their own lives as mundane or who had limited access to culture and the arts. For American girls, especially, this narrative also meshed well with the idea that anyone who worked hard enough could achieve greatness. While in real life class status might have affected girls' access to expensive classes or performances, in novels there was always a way for characters to reach their goals of gaining admission to a prestigious ballet school or being cast in an important role or becoming a famous ballerina.<sup>28</sup>

These tropes have been mocked, with good reason, by contemporary cultural critics. In a 2009 blog post, writer Lorelei Vashti suggested that based on ballet books for girls, the answer to "How to Become a Successful Ballet

Dancer" was to "get yourself impressively orphaned," "get a horrid cousin," "get adopted by someone eccentric," or suffer through parental efforts to quash any dreams of dancing glory. Writing from a feminist perspective, another critic specifically referenced Ballet Shoes and the Drina books in her condemnation of dance as a "staple of girls' fiction" that limits their "fictional universe" because of the gender stereotyping around ballet. Yet such books have remained viable, popular, and most importantly, meaningful to girls for a century. As dance writer Tobi Tobias once explained, "Nothing-neither long experience of life itself, nor the encounter with more adult and exalted literary works, can diminish the power that books like Ballet Shoes still exercise over me." It is therefore necessary to consider the empowering potential of themes of hard work and discipline in ballet books for girls as well as the constraining potential of themes of traditional femininity.<sup>29</sup>

Many of the recurring themes in ballet books have ensured their continuing popularity across the twentieth century, even as children's lives and experiences have clearly changed over time. Ballet books are evidence that girls and boys can be active agents in their own lives. Virtually all ballet books carry positive messages about the importance of discipline as well as talent. By working hard and dedicating themselves, young people can become accomplished and take self-propelled steps to achieve their goals. For girls in particular, a genre of books encouraging the possibility of happiness and achievement through artistic commitment and self-expression rather than popularity or romantic fulfillment opens up opportunities for a more independent and less contingent life. Ballet Shoes and especially the Drina and Maggie Adams books do not gloss over the potential for conflict that a ballet vocation may engender, but there is an expanded sense of possibility for girls in these books.

New ballet-themed books for children and adolescents continue to appear regularly. Amazon.com carries more than 4,000 such titles, both non-fiction and fiction, and that number does not include many of the now obscure books that were popular in the early and middle decades of the twentieth century.<sup>30</sup> Since the 1980s these books have, if anything, become even more popular, as ballet has become increasingly interwoven into the culture of American childhood through television, film, and social media, as well as literature and material culture. Ballet books reflect larger and changing trends in children's life and literature, including attention to sexuality and racial and ethnic diversity, and they provide a lens into the life of aspiring ballet dancers who seek physical challenges, career prospects, and opportunities for artistic expression. For their myriad readers, these books reflect and magnify their own real-life experiences and desires. Whether they have taken ballet class themselves or not, girls who

read ballet books find in them an eternally appealing blend of glamour and grit, of fun and work, and of leisure and discipline.

## **NOTES**

- Reva Howitt Clar, "Pavlova and Me: A Memoir," Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly
  11 (1979): 350; Willa Sibert Cather, "Training for the Ballet: Making American Dancers,"
  McClure's Magazine, October 1913, 86.
- 2. Ann Barzel, "European Dance Teachers in the United States," *Dance Index* 3 (April–May–June 1944): 56–100; Clar, "Pavlova and Me," 350–52. For a comprehensive cultural history of ballet, see Jennifer Homans, *Apollo's Angels: A History of Ballet* (New York: Random House, 2010). On ballet and ballet class in the United States, see Melissa R. Klapper, *Ballet Class: An American History* (forthcoming, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).
- 3. Cather, "Training for the Ballet," 86.
- 4. Mariko Turk, "Girlhood, Ballet, and the Cult of the Tutu," Children's Literature Association Quarterly 39 (Winter 2014): 482–505 and Juliette Peers, "Ballet and Girl Culture," in Girl Culture: An Encyclopedia, eds. Jacqueline Reid-Walsh and Claudia Mitchell (Westport: Greenwood, 2008), 73–84. For an extended treatment of ballet and girl culture in America, see Klapper, Ballet Class. The essays in Miriam Forman-Brunell and Rebecca C. Hains's collection Princess Cultures: Mediating Girls' Identities and Imaginations (New York: Peter Lang, 2015) explore princess culture. See also Rebecca-Anne C. Do Rozario, "The Princess and the Magic Kingdom: Beyond Nostalgia, the Function of the Disney Princess," Women's Studies in Communication 27 (Spring 2004): 34–59; Cynthia J. Novack, "Ballet, Gender and Cultural Power," in Dance, Gender and Culture, ed. Helen Thomas (New York: St. Martin's, 1993), 34–48; and Peggy Orenstein, Cinderella Ate My Daughter: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the New Girlie-Girl Culture (New York: Harper Collins, 2011).
- 5. For more on the history of books for girls, see Emily Hamilton-Honey, Turning the Pages of American Girlhood: The Evolution of Girls' Series Fiction, 1865–1930 (Jefferson: McFarland, 2013); Sherrie Inness, Intimate Communities: Representation and Transformation in Women's College Fiction, 1895–1910 (Madison: Popular, 1995); and Claudia Nelson and Lynne Vallone, eds., The Girls' Own: Cultural Histories of the Anglo-American Girl, 1830–1915 (Athens: University of Georgia, 1994). On girls, women, and reading, see Holly Virginia Blackford, Out of This World: Why Literature Matters to Girls (New York: Teachers College, 2004); Ilana Nash, American Sweethearts: Teenage Girls in Twentieth Century Popular Culture (Bloomington: Indiana, 2006); and Barbara Sicherman, Well-Read Lives: How Reading Inspired a Generation of American Women (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010).
- 6. There is extensive scholarly debate about girl characters' agency in children's literature. Joe Sutliffe Sanders provides a useful overview in *Disciplining Girls: Understanding the Origins of the Classic Orphan Girl Story* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2011). For more on gender stereotyping in children's literature, see Mem Fox, "Men Who Weep, Boys Who Dance: The Gender Agenda Between the Lines in Children's Literature," *Language Arts* 70 (February 1993): 84–88.
- Though not the subject of this essay, there are also hundreds of picture books about ballet. The most popular example is the *Angelina Ballerina* series by Katharine Holabird. See Jennifer M. Miskec, "Pedi-Files: Reading the Foot in Contemporary Illustrated Children's Literature," *Children's Literature* 42 (Winter 2014): 224–45.

- 8. Quoted in Miskec, "Pedi-Files," 239.
- 9. Noel Streatfeild, Ballet Shoes (New York: Dell Yearling, 1980). All subsequent page references are to this edition.
- 10. K. A., "Random to Reissue 'Shoe Books' For Film," Publisher's Weekly, May 18, 1998; Nancy Lyman Huse, Noel Streatfeild (New York: Twayne, 1994), 39, http://blogs.slj.com/afuse8production/2012/05/19/top-100-childrens-novels-78-ballet-shoes-by-noel-streatfeild/#; "PRH Children's Adds 20 Classics," The Bookseller, June 26, 2015, 6. Lois R. Kuznets surveys these books in "Family as Formula: Cawelti's Formulaic Theory and Streatfeild's 'Shoe' Books," Children's Literature Association Quarterly 9 (Winter 1984-1985): 147-49, 201. See also Sally Stokes Sims, "Noel Streatfeild's Secret Gardens," Children's Literature Association Quarterly 29 (Fall 2004): 172-206.
- 11. Though Ballet Shoes ends there, the sisters do make brief appearances in other Streatfeild books. Pauline becomes a movie star, Posy a world-class ballerina, and Petrova a talented pilot.
- 12. "Book Review of Ballet Shoes, by Noel Streatfeild," Theatre Arts, October 1937, 825.
- 13. Streatfeild scholars see this element of all her Shoes books as contributing to a shift in children's literature. See Huse, Noel Streatfeild. For an overview of such trends, see Beverly Lyon Clark, Kiddie Lit: The Construction of Children's Literature in America (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003); Peter Hunt, An Introduction to Children's Literature (New York: Oxford, 1994); and Kimberley Reynolds, Children's Literature: A Very Short Introduction (New York: Oxford, 2011).
- 14. On child performers, see Marah Gubar, "Entertaining Children of all Ages: Nineteenth-Century Popular Theater as Children's Theater," American Quarterly 66 (March 2014): 1-34 and Gubar's introduction to a special issue on children and theater in The Lion and the Unicorn 36 (April 2012): v-xiv.
- 15. Jean Estoril, Ballet For Drina (New York: Scholastic, 1988); Jean Estoril, Drina's Dancing Year (New York: Scholastic, 1989). All subsequent page references are to these editions. "Ballet for Drina," Kirkus Reviews, April 17, 1958; "Drina Dances in Italy," Kirkus Reviews, October 15, 1961; "Drina #01: Ballet for Drina," Publisher's Weekly, December 1, 1988. On British ballet series more generally, see Pamela Knights, "The World at Her Feet: Cultural Embassy in the Post-War English Ballet Novel," Papers: Explorations into Children's Literature 10 (August 2000): 22-34.
- 16. See the essays in Paula S. Fass and Michael Grossberg, eds., Reinventing Childhood After World War II (Philadelphia; University of Pennsylvania, 2012).
- 17. Jennifer Fisher, Nutcracker Nation: How an Old World Ballet Became a Christmas Tradition in the New World (New Haven: Yale, 2003), 67-68; Jen Rothschild, "Ballet Books for Jennie," Biblio File, August 28, 2007, http://www.jenrothschild.com/2007/08/ballet-books-for-jennie.html. The many comments on this blog post testify to the enduring appeal of the *Drina* books.
- 18. On this theme, see Sanders, Disciplining Girls; Claudia Mills, "Children in Search of a Family: Orphan Novels Through the Century," Children's Literature in Education 18 (Winter 1987): 227-39; and Melanie A. Kimball, "From Folk Tales to Fiction: Orphan Characters in Children's Literature," Library Trends 47 (Winter 1999): 558-78.
- There is scholarly debate about whether Streatfeild was a lesbian. See Angela Bull, Noel Streatfeild: A Biography (London: Collins, 1984) and Huse, Noel Streatfeild for differing opinions.

- 20. Karen Strickler Dean, Maggie Adams, Dancer (New York: Avon, 1980); Karen Strickler Dean, Cammy Takes a Bow (New York: Avon, 1988). All subsequent page references are to these editions. On the growth of social realism in children's literature, see Clark, Kiddie Lit; Hunt, An Introduction to Children's Literature; and Reynolds, Children's Literature.
- 21. Quoted in "Karen Strickler Dean," Contemporary Authors Online, Gale 2001, Literature Resource Center. One issue completely absent from all the books under discussion here is racial exclusion within ballet. Dean does take on this issue in one of her other books, A Time to Dance (New York: Scholastic, 1985), which includes an African American protagonist and an interracial romantic relationship. The early twenty-first century has seen a spate of children's ballet books with more diverse characters, including the Sugar Plum Ballerina series by Whoopi Goldberg and Deborah Underwood, in which there are African American and Latina students and teachers at the Harlem ballet school, where the series is set. Memoirs by professional dancers have also taken on the issue of race in ballet. Two recent examples are Michaela DePrince and Elaine DePrince, Taking Flight: From War Orphan to Star Ballerina (New York: Knopf, 2014) and Misty Copeland, Life in Motion: An Unlikely Ballerina (New York: Touchstone, 2014). For more on race and ballet in America, see Klapper, Ballet Class.
- 22. Nancy K. Staley and John N. Mangier, "Using Books to Enhance Career Awareness," Elementary School Guidance and Counseling 18 (February 1984): 203–5; Diane Roback, "Stay on Your Toes, Maggie Adams!" Publisher's Weekly, April 25, 1986.
- 23. Prominent examples of this feminist critique include Suzanne Gordon, *Off Balance:* The Real World of Ballet (New York: Partheon, 1983) and Ann Daly, "Classical Ballet: A Discourse of Difference," Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory 3 (1987–1988): 57–66.
- 24. Other examples include Deborah Hautzig, *Second Star to the Right* (New York: William Morrow, 1981) and Steven Levenkron, *The Best Little Girl in the World* (Chicago: Contemporary, 1978), which includes a ballet element in the plot.
- 25. For an overview of boys, masculinity, and dance, see Doug Risner, *Stigma and Perseverance* in the Lives of Boys Who Dance: An Empirical Study of Male Identities in Western Theatrical Dance Training (Lewiston: Mellen, 2009).
- 26. Allan A. Cuseo, Homosexual Characters in Young Adult Novels: A Literary Analysis, 1969–1992 (Lanham: Scarecrow, 1992), 145–47. Peter Stonely provides an overview of the complicated issues around ballet and homosexuality in A Queer History of the Ballet (London: Routledge, 2007). See also Melissa R. Klapper, "You Shouldn't Tell Boys They Can't Dance': Boys and Ballet in America," Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth 10 (Spring 2017): 248–67. For issues around boys and dance in children's literature, see Ricky Herzog, "Sissies, Dolls, and Dancing: Children's Literature and Gender Deviation in the Seventies," The Lion and the Unicorn 33 (2009): 60–76.
- 27. Herzog also discusses perspective and narrative in children's literature in "Sissies, Dolls, and Dancing," 66.
- Jessica R. Feldman, "Fifth Position," Callaloo 17 (Spring 1999): 570; Angela McRobbie,
   "Dance Narratives and Fantasies of Achievement," in Meaning in Motion: New Cultural Studies in Dance, ed. Jane C. Desmond (Durham: Duke 1997), 207–31.
- Lorelei Vashti, 'How To Become a Successful Ballet Dancer," June 18, 2009, https:// australianballet.com.au/behind-ballet/how-to-become-a-successful-ballet-dancer; Melissa

- McClements, "Girls' Fiction Needs to Learn Some New Routines," The Guardian, October 6, 2010; Tobi Tobias, "Books Remembered," CBC Features 46 (Winter-Spring 1993): 4-5.
- $30. \quad https://www.amazon.com/s/ref=nb\_sb\_noss\_2?url=search-alias\%3Dstripbooks\&field-key$ words=ballet+books+for+children. Search of "ballet books for children" on Amazon conducted April 2016.