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Fandangos and Bailes: Dancing and Dance Events in Early California

BY ANTHONY SHAY

Dancing and Dance Events in Early California

"A Californian would hardly pause in a dance for an earthquake, and would renew it before the vibrations ceased."¹ It would be simplistic merely to say that the *Californios* loved to dance and play, because it is a truism. Dancing fulfilled a number of very real needs of a society which was politically and economically peripheral, and which was characterized by rigorous social customs and segregation of the sexes.

Almost every description of early California attests to the fanatical love for dancing, the numerous occasions when the Californians danced, and the importance and prestige accorded to an outstanding dancer. For an understanding of Colton's oft-quoted remark which depicts the passion and intensity with which the Californians danced, two factors must be taken into consideration.

The first key to an understanding of the early Californians and the society in which they lived is isolation. Isolation — geographic, economic, cultural, and social — greatly shaped the social conditions that existed in early California. Because of this isolation the *Californios* had to fall back on their own resources for entertainment and art.

The extreme popularity of dancing and music also owes a good deal to the status of women in traditional Spanish society. Since Spanish cultural values and the economic necessity of rancho life dovetailed nicely, Spanish society was largely equestrian. This was also true of the English gentry, but in Spanish society women rode much more rarely and were more sequestered. In addition,

the presence of a large body of inexpensive Indian labor, and the disdain for manual labor hampered the performance of physical exercise, and thus dancing became a popular and desirable outlet.

One apt description tells us:

The ladies of Monterey in 1828 were rarely seen in the street, except very early in the morning on their way to church. We used to go there attended by our servants, who carried small mats for us to kneel upon, as there were no seats. A tasteful little rug was considered an indispensable part of our belongings and every young lady embroidered her own . . . One of the gallants of the time said that 'dancing, music, religion, and amiability' were the orthodox occupations of the ladies of Alta California . . . We were in many ways like grown-up children. Our servants were faithful, agreeable, and easy to manage. They often slept on mats on the earthen floor, or, in the summer time, in the courtyards. When they waited on us at meals, we often let them hold conversations with us, and laugh without restraint. As we used to say, a good servant knew when to be quiet and when to put in his *cuchara* (or spoon).²

Most of the physical activity of male-oriented horseback riding and such rough-and-tumble sports as bullfighting and bear and bullbaiting relegated the women to observers. "There were some skilled horsewomen, but not many. When a woman rode, it was sidesaddle, with a wooden or straw platform on which her feet could rest. A protective male sat just behind her on the crupper, one arm holding her and the other handling the reins."

This physical restriction, coupled with the Spanish tradition against manual labor for aristocrats and the large amount of cheap Indian labor, restricted the activities of the California lady to embroidery and the management of servants. Thus, the only physical activity open to them was dancing. "I was astonished at the endurance of the California women in holding out, night after night, in dancing, of which they never seemed to weary, but kept on with an appearance of freshness and elasticity that was as charming as surprising. Their actions, movements and bearing were as full of life and animation after several nights of dancing as at the beginning, while the men, on the other hand, became wearied, showing that their powers of endurance were not equal

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to those of the ladies. I have frequently heard the latter ridiculing the gentlemen for not holding out unfatigued to the end of a festival of this kind."⁴

Living conditions were quite primitive in the first few decades, but by 1800, life was congenial, and by the Mexican Period (1822-1846), many were able to command the elegancies of life as well as the necessities. Accompanying this growth and expansion, the stratification of society along Spanish caste lines grew apace. This occasioned a division in society unknown in the earlier period which resulted in a concomitant division into two types of dance events: the *fandango* and the *baile*. The *baile* became an exclusive, invitation-only ball, whereas the *fandango*, which in its beginnings had been an open event to which all were welcome, gradually became a public dance event of the lowest order. By the time the gold rush began, fandango houses became the rage and, as often as not, wild brawls ending in killings ensued.⁵

Although change was resisted on many levels, the Californios avidly followed change, as far as they were able, in dancing and clothing. Change was slow, and the major agents of change were new colonists. The Padres-Hijar colony of 1834, for example, inaugurated new dances and new clothing innovations because in the colony were several well-educated persons of social rank.

The occasions for dancing and the types of dance events in early California were many and varied. For our purposes they can be essentially classed in two categories: formal and informal. The difference between formal and informal dance events is reflected in the scope and function of the two types, the dances performed, who danced and when during the event, etiquette, etc.⁶

Normally informal dance events were for the entertainment and amusement of the participants. Beyond this the ramifications on a social level were few. It was important as a learning environment, for children are never mentioned as attending formal dance events. Indeed, as we shall see, matters of age were important and the elderly were held in great honor and younger men and women did not dance without their consent, not even until the strains of the stately minuet and *contradanza* died away were the vivacious

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dances appealing to the younger participants played. But in informal dance events etiquette was greatly relaxed.

Dancing was a passion with the Californians. It affected all, from infancy to old age; grandmothers and grandchildren were seen dancing together; their houses were constructed with reference to this amusement, and most of the interior space was appropriated to the *sala*, a large, barnlike room. A few chairs and a wooden settee were all its furniture. If a few people got together at any hour of the day, the first thought was to send for a violin and guitar and should the violin and guitar be found together in appropriate hands, that of itself was sufficient reason to send for the dancers.⁷

Dr. Platon Vallejo recalls these informal events:

The evenings were given over to pure merriment. Every hacienda had its stringed band of several pieces, the harp, the guitar, and violin — once in a while a flute. And every night rain or shine — except at times of death or sorrow, there was a *baile*. In this every one had his part. The elder people stepped the stately *contradanza*. The budding generations enjoyed the waltz and the beautiful Spanish folk dances to the accompaniment of the castanets, and even the little ones had their own figures to romp through. In short, the occasion was one for all-round pleasure of the natural unconscious style, without restraint or starchiness, where not a few, but everyone enjoyed themselves.⁸

These descriptions are a far cry from the rigid etiquette that obtained at formal balls or fandangos. Formal dance events had far-reaching social ramifications in early California. It was one of the socially sanctioned occasions when marriageable men and women could meet. And it is certain that much matchmaking took place during these events since the parents could look over the crop of eligible bachelors and maidens. The young were not permitted to attend these events.

The respect in which our parents and elderly persons generally were held was so great that no young man ventured to dance in their presence without first having received permission. From 1831-1832 on, customs became less strict; dances became more exclusive and were usually given in the homes of private persons.

What I have said about dances I learned at long distances from

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them, for I was never permitted to attend one of them until I was twenty or twenty-one years old. All the other young men were in the same situation.

It was also considered very ill-mannered for a young man to smoke in the presence of an older person, even though the difference in their ages might be only five or six years. I confess that even when I reached an age when I could attend dances, I went to them merely out of curiosity and never danced or sang.

Dances were generally opened by older persons, and the young people were not permitted by any chance to take part in them unless they happened to be married; and even then it was not often allowed. But when the hour came for the old folks to retire, the older of the young fellows began to enjoy the dance.⁹

During the earliest period until 1830, the population was so small that formal balls and events were open, indiscriminately to all no matter what the class or social standing (i.e., *gente de razon* — Spanish speaking).

Social relations between different classes of society were very equitable; since a sizable part of even the lowest class had claims to better origins (ordinary soldiers had such names as de la Cruz, Mercada, and de Roca Verde), from the outside society did not exhibit that sharp cleavage between different classes that we see in other countries. External official relations always seemed to be on an equal footing, and even the lowest class behaved with dignity before high officials. At parties given by the Russian officers or Spanish authorities everyone entered the dance hall without differences in rank and without a special invitation, except a general announcement that there would be a *fandango* (the name of a certain dance). Single girls of all classes straightaway joined the circle of dancers equally with the highest members of society; married women and widows sat in the first unoccupied seats, and the men placed themselves in the corners and at the door, standing or sitting unceremoniously on the floor.¹⁰

Formal dance events were prearranged affairs and the formality was marked by the presence of a master of ceremonies known as *el tecolero* or *el bastonero* who essentially mediated between the men and women present. In formal dance events they were always segregated except during the dancing.

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The *señoras* and *señoritas* occupied a platform on one side (of the *enramada* or outdoor arbor), the men remaining entirely separate. If there were many ladies and all the seats were occupied by them the men had to stand outside the door of the arbor, which was very wide. Some were on foot and some on horseback. The musicians occupied a place assigned to them in the center of one of the sides. There was one individual called the *tecolero* (master of ceremonies) who went around the edge, keeping time with his feet, and taking out the ladies to dance.

The manner of inviting a lady to dance was by making some pirouettes or dance steps before her, accompanied by clapping of the hands . . . The lady who went out to dance returned to her post when she was ready and the *tecolero* went on making his pirouettes and taking out the ladies one by one until they all had danced. Anyone who was not familiar with the dance, or was not able on account of some illness, arose, took a turn, and sat down again in her place.¹¹

In formal dance events the dancing was inaugurated by the *tecolero* dancing *el son* which seems to have been a dance of a highly improvised nature and which was accompanied by a myriad of tunes. The improvisational nature of the *son* allowed those with exceptional choreographic prowess to make themselves known.

In the *sones* the *tecolero* stepped out keeping time with his feet, and stopping in front of the first woman in the row, while we clapped hands, led her out. As soon as she finished her dance she sat down and he led out another until the last one had danced.¹²

At this point in the dance, if a woman was very skilled, the *tecolero* would honor her by placing his hat on her head as she danced, and the other men would then follow suit.

. . . when a lady was prominent for her skill and grace in *El Son* or *El Jarabe*, the men placed their hats on her head, one on top of the other; and when she could carry no more they threw them at her feet. Then they threw their *mangas*, or wraps, on the floor for her to honor them by dancing on them.

When she retired to her seat, each man had to ransom his hat or other property with money, giving the lady what he could afford or wished to give . . .¹³

The musicians again commencing a lively tune, one of the managers approached the nearest female, and, clapping his hands in

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accompaniment to the music, succeeded in bringing her into the centre of the room. Here she remained a while, gently tapping her feet upon the floor, and then giving two or three whirls, skipped away to her seat. Another was clapped out, and another, till the manager had passed the compliment throughout the room. This is called a *son*, and there is a custom among the men, when a dancer proves particularly attractive to any one, to place his hat upon her head, while she stands thus in the middle of the room, which she retains until redeemed by its owner, with some trifling present.¹⁴

As the population grew and social stratification created cleavages between the classes, the Californios reverted to the traditional Spanish order of society. Formal balls were by invitation only, and these events were no longer referred to as *fandangos*, but called *bailes*. The term *fandango* was then used to describe the dance events of the lower classes, which during the 1830s and after became increasingly unruly affairs, sometimes resulting in death and injury.

Then there were the dances of the people of very low class, the dances being the same (as the upper classes) but much exaggerated and unrestrained. These affairs generally ended in blows, wounds, accidents with horses, or at least with dirty and insulting words.

This business of the dances was modified as time went on; thus in the rule of *Echeandía* it was usual to put a guard at the door, for the balls of the decent and respectable people were generally held in the *sala* of the government house, within the square of the old presidio. A committee was appointed to invite the families, and entrance was not permitted to any but invited guests, who had to present their cards of invitation to the guard. All the respectable families were invited, even though they were poor. Later, everything was demoralized and the best families withdrew from those dances. From then on, there were instituted dances of "tone" at which were present only those who gave the dance. At that time, they were beginning to use some of the modern dances, such as the *contradanza*, the waltz, cotillion, etc.¹⁵

It is probable that the authorities tried to keep some of the more excessive behavior of these dance events in check, the local authorities of the various presidios and pueblos began demanding permits and fees.

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The permission of the authorities had to be obtained to hold a ball and illumination; as for instance, the one at Carillo's house, in honor of Fitch's return with his bride in 1830.

In 1837, at San Jose, a fandango required the permission of the alcalde. Owners or occupants of the house were held responsible, jointly with authors of the ball, for disorders. In a non-licensed dance, the first offense was a fine of \$20 and the stoppage of the festivity.¹⁶

Formal dance events were extremely important to the Californios and were marked by some prior notice in the form of announcement or invitation. All important occasions such as the arrival of a governor or other official, an important visitor, a ship, as well as calendrical sacred and secular holidays, and rites of passage such as weddings, engagements, christenings, and the like, were marked by a dance. The participants to many of these most important occasions came from long distances requiring many hours, or even days of travel.

Still living are some who have memories of these old *fandango* days and the journeys taken from suburb to town in order to participate in them. Doña Petro Pilar Lanfranco used to tell me how, as a young girl, she came up from the old Palos Verdes ranch house in a *carreta* and was always chaperoned by a lady relative. On such occasions, the *carreta* would be provided with mattresses, pillows, and covers, while at the end, well strapped, was the trunk containing the finery to be worn at the ball. To reach town even from a point that would now be regarded as near, a start was generally made by four o'clock in the morning; and it often took until late the same evening to arrive at the Bella Union, where final preparations were made.¹⁷

The variety of locations in which dance events were held is intriguing. Aside from the large halls (*salas*) found in most private homes and the halls of the government in the presidios, the Californians danced in the open air. Most often the ranches were the scene of these events for which a special temporary structure was erected called the *enramada*.

The Californios had still other diversions — such as the *fandangos* or dances which took place at all kinds of fiestas, religious or profane.

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For these dances a great arbor was constructed in front of the house which was chosen for the function. The inside of the arbor was covered with white goods and some ornaments, such as ribbons, artificial flowers, etc. The arbor was closed in on three sides; the one left open was for the men on horseback, who placed themselves there, that side being well guarded with palings or posts to keep out the horses. On the inside the ladies sat down on seats placed around the sides. The music, which consisted of a violin, a guitar, and two or three singers, was placed at one end, in order not to be in the way.

The master of ceremonies, or leader was given the name of *tecadero*. He at once placed himself in the center of the arbor to organize the dance.¹⁸

Dancing in the enramada was almost always for formal dance events, for it took several days of preparation to ready the dancing floor or surface. This was sometimes a platform, but just as often the earth was watered and pounded for days to create a hardened surface. Since people came from such long distances to the ranchos, which were measured in leagues, the festivities often lasted for days. Weddings, for example, lasted at least three days during which there was almost nonstop dancing.

The married couple then enter the house, where the near relatives are all waiting in tears to receive them. They kneel down before the parents of the lady, and crave a blessing, which is bestowed with patriarchal solemnity. On rising, the bridegroom makes a signal for the guests to come in, and another for the guitar and harp to strike up. Then commences the dancing, with only brief intervals for refreshment, but none for slumber: the wedded pair must be on their feet . . .¹⁹

The differences between the informal and formal dance events in town and on the ranches is well illustrated by Davis:

The rancheros and their household generally retired early, about eight o'clock, unless a *valecito casaro* (little home party) was on hand, when this lasted till twelve or one. They were fond of these gatherings, and almost every family having some musician of its own, music and dancing were indulged in, and a very pleasant time enjoyed. I have attended many of them and always was agreeably entertained. These parties were usually impromptu, without formality and were often held for the entertainment of a

guest who might be stopping at the house. The balls or larger parties were of more importance, and usually occurred in the towns. On the occasion of the marriage of a son or daughter of a *ranchero* they took place on the *ranch*, the marriage being celebrated amid great festivities, lasting several days.

Fandango was a term for a dance or entertainment among the lower classes, where neighbors and others were invited in, and engaged themselves without any great degree of formality. The entertainments of the wealthy and aristocratic class were more exclusive in character; invitations were more carefully given, more formality observed, and of course, more elegance and refinement prevailed. An entertainment of this character was known as a *baile*.

In November 1838, I was a guest at the wedding party given at the marriage of Don Jose Martinez to the daughter of Don Ygnacio Peralta, which lasted about a week, dancing being kept up all the night with a company of at least one hundred men and women from the adjoining *ranchos*, about three hours after daylight being given to sleep, after which picnics in the woods were held during the forenoon, and the afternoon was devoted to bull-fighting. This programme was continued for a week, when I myself had become so exhausted from want of regular sleep that I was glad to escape. The bride and bridegroom were not given any seclusion until the third night.²⁰

Towards the end of our period, with the great influx of foreigners, balls and *fandangos* began to be held in rented public halls. At first this was a respectable amusement.

... Only for the first few years after I came was the real *fandango* — so popular when Dana visited Los Angeles and first saw Don Juan Bandini execute the dance — witnessed here; little by little it went out of fashion, perhaps in part because of the skill required for its performance. Balls and hops, however, for a long time were carelessly called by that name. When the *fandango* really was in vogue, Bandini, Antonio Coronel, Andrés Pico, the Lugos and other native Californians were among its most noted exponents; they often hired a hall, gave a *fandango* in which they did not hesitate to take the leading parts, and turned the whole proceeds over to some church or charity. On such occasions not merely the plain people (always so responsive to music and its accompanying pleasures) were the *fandangueros*, but the flower

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of our local society turned out *en masse*, adding to the affair a high degree of *eclat*.²¹

After the Gold Rush when the dramatic influx of immigrants overwhelmed the Californios, certain of the lower classes opened fandango houses which dealt a death blow to the institution of the baile and fandango.

As Horace Bell lamented:

... The old-fashioned fandango is a thing of the past. Reader, let us go to a fandango in 1853. Before we start, let us examine well our revolvers . . . We are now in front of the fandango house, where we elbow our way through the dense crowd of Indians, peons, and pelados, the riff-raff, scruff and scum of our angel population, and amid jibe and jeer we gain the corridor or veranda . . .²²

. . .

The actual dances performed by the Californios were numerous and many names of dances and pieces of music as well as the descriptions of a few of those remembered by the descendants of the early Californians are available.²⁴ These dances can be reduced to three basic types of dance that correspond to the types of dance events and social environments in which they were performed. These are: play party games, formal, patterned ballroom dances, and highly improvised solo and couple dances, requiring technical skill, of Spanish and Mexican origin.

The play party games, described in many sources, were performed almost exclusively in the informal, family-oriented social gatherings for which early California was famous. In the largely rural, religiously conservative society of that period in which no other form of entertainment was available, young and old, male and female could derive much pleasure and amusement from the many innocent play party games that they performed. In the play party game miming, singing and dance movements are all equally important, and more significantly, the skills required were so minimal that all could join in on some level, even if they only sang from the sidelines. These play party games could be very impromptu and require no musical accompaniment other than the performers own singing, although all of the literature em-

phasizes that in virtually every household there were those who played the guitar, violin, harp, piano, or flute. Some popular and typical play party dance-games were: *el borrego* (the lamb), *el caballo* (the horse) *la canasita de flores* (the little basket of flowers), *el burro* (the donkey), *la zorrilla* (the vixen), etc. Many of these play party games under different names and perhaps tunes, had analogues throughout Western Europe and the United States, thus when the first foreigners arrived many of these play party games were familiar and they could join in the festivities.

Spanish dances, especially in America, included many dramatics; the combination of the dramatics, the music, the singing, and the improvisations made them more like excerpts from a theatrical performance than proper dances . . . There was always general animation, especially with dramatic dances presented as if they were excerpts from operas. Everyone, even the old men and women, joined in the singing and followed the course of activities with the greatest interest.²⁵

The skill required in the dancing the *jota aragonesa*, a *son*, a *jarabe*, *la bamba*, or the *fandango*, on the other hand, was considerable. There was considerable rivalry, especially among the women, to outdance and outlast all of the others.

At the time when I came from Loreto to San Diego I was very fond of dancing, and was considered the best dancer in the country. I also sang in the Church of the Presidio of Loreto. Once Chepa Rodriguez and I danced together at Santa Barbara. Chepa was much lauded as a great dancer. We danced the *jarabe*, and she got tired and sat down, leaving me still dancing. I also beat another lady who was a famous dancer. A challenge was sent out as far as Monterey for dancers to come and compete with me, but nobody came. That was on the occasion of the blessing of the Church at Santa Barbara.

When I was young I danced everything — *sones*, *jarabes*, *pontorico*, *medio catorce*, *fandango*, *la zorrilla*, *las pollitas*, and *el caballo*.²⁶

As one can see, dancing for many Californios was not merely a lighthearted diversion, but an activity upon which they expended many hours. A fine dancer of *la bamba*, for example,

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could perform all of the *zapateado* (footwork) of that vigorous dance with a glass of water balanced on her head. Castanets were employed for several of the dances as well. These improvised dances were performed in formal dance events, as well as informal ones, and the dance master, *el tecolero*, often used a son to introduce each lady, allowing her to show her skill.

It is clear that the expertise for these dances was acquired by the young at home, for many years of practise and exposure are required for the expert and skilled performance of these dances, and the playing of castanets. Also clear is that these dances were the first to disappear with the appearance of large numbers of Americans and other non-Spanish Europeans, since the background and training of the newcomers did not prepare them for their performance. By the 1850s they had either been changed, such as the conversion of the *jota aragonesa* to a patterned ballroom dance, retaining only a few of the simpler elements of the original dance, or disappearing all together such as the *son*, *la hamba*, or the *jarabe*. Nevertheless, the many descriptions left in memoirs, including Dana's, coupled with our knowledge of current Mexican and Spanish folk dances of the same names and types, give us a rather accurate picture of the dancing one could see in early California from 1790-1860.

The ballroom dances of early California were performed most often in formal dance events. They tended to be introduced and performed long after their fashionableness had waxed and waned in Europe. "The minuet was fully preserved, although it was mainly danced by elderly people," one observer noted in 1824." The waltz, forbidden by the Church under threat of *excommunication maior*, was not performed here until the year 1830, nearly two decades after its social acceptance in Europe, at the close of the Napoleonic Wars. The most often mentioned ballroom dance of early Californians was the *contradanza*, mentioned in many sources, and remembered and still performed today by descendants of the Californios, as well as folk dance groups.

In conclusion, one can see that the types of dances and dance events answered many requirements of the people of early Cali-

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fornia: entertainment, physical exercise, aesthetic outlet, and social interaction. The types of dances and dance events changed with the concomitant changes in social environment, economic factors, political life, and ethnic composition. Thus the dances and dance events were an integral element in the fabric of life.

NOTES

¹ Walter Colton quoted in Nellie Van de Grift, *Spanish Arcadia* (San Francisco: Powell, 1929) p. 314.

² Brigida Briones, "Domestic life in Monterey in 1827," in Donald DeNevi, *Sketches of Early California* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1971) pp. 43-44.

³ Lynn Bowman, *Epic of a City* (Berkeley: Howell-North, 1974) p. 52.

⁴ William H. Davis, "Indian Insurrection and Treachery," in DeNevi, *Early Sketches*, p. 39.

⁵ Horace Bell, *Reminiscences of a Ranger* (Los Angeles: Yarnell Press, 1881) pp. 195-203.

⁶ Anthony Shay, "An Exploration of the Dance Event as a Unit of Analysis," in *Functions of Dance in Human Societies* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Los Angeles: California State University, 1970), Chapter 2.

⁷ Hubert Bancroft, *California Pastoral 1769-1848* (San Francisco: History Co. Pub., 1888), p. 408.

⁸ J. H. Wilkin, "Memoirs of the Vallejos" in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, February 5, 1914, quoted from Lucille Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California Days* (Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1950), p. 19.

⁹ Don José del Carmen Lugo, "Life of a Rancher" (trans. T. Savage), *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XXXII (September 1950), 235-236. The original MS, in Spanish, is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. It was recorded in 1877.

¹⁰ Dmitry Zavalishin, "California in 1824," trans. from Russian, and annotated by James R. Gibson, *Southern California Quarterly*, LV (Winter 1973), 395.

¹¹ Esteban De la Torre, "Pre-American Monterey," *Touring Topics* (October 1930), 30.

¹² Eulalia Perez de Guillen, "Keeper of the Keyes," *Touring Topics* (January 1929), 25.

¹³ Lugo, "Life of a Rancher," pp. 235-236.

¹⁴ Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. 53.

¹⁵ Bancroft, *California Pastoral*, p. 408.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

¹⁷ Harris Newmark, *Sixty Years in Southern California, 1853-1913* (Los Angeles: Zeitlin & Ver Bruege, 1970), pp. 136-137. The Bella Union was the largest hotel in Los Angeles in the 1840s and 1850s and was about fifteen miles distant from the Palos Verde Rancho.

¹⁸ Don Antonio Francisco Coronel, "Things Past," *Touring Topics* (September 1929), p. 22.

¹⁹ Walter Colton, *Three Years in California* (New York: Barnes, 1850), p. 104.

²⁰ Davis, "Indian Insurrection and Treachery," pp. 39-40.

²¹ Newmark, *Sixty Years*, pp. 136-37.

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²² Bell, *Reminiscences*, pp. 195-203. Another interesting account of the decline of the *fandango* may be found in William Redmond Ryan, *Personal Adventures in Upper and Lower California in 1848-49* (2 vols., London: Wm. Shoberl Pub., 185), 2: 110-117. An excellent account of the dancing in the period following that dealt with in this article is Gretchen Adel Schneider, *Pigeon Wings and Polkas, The Dance of the California Miners* (New York: Dance Perspectives Foundation, 1969). Two works also cover this period and are well illustrated with lithographs and photographs. Richard Erdoes, *Saloons of the Old West* (New York: Knopf, 1979) is the superior of the two, while Cy Martin, *Whiskey and Wild Women* (New York: Hart, 1974) is a second choice.

²³ Czarnowski, *Dances of Early California Days*, p. 19. This work contains several dance descriptions and instructions with piano accompaniment for anyone wishing to try one of the play party games or ballroom dances such as the *contradanza*.

²⁴ Zavalishin, "California in 1824," p. 395.

²⁵ De la Torre, "Pre-American Monterey," p. 53.

²⁶ Zavalishin, "California in 1824," p. 397.