

# Here, Everybody Dances

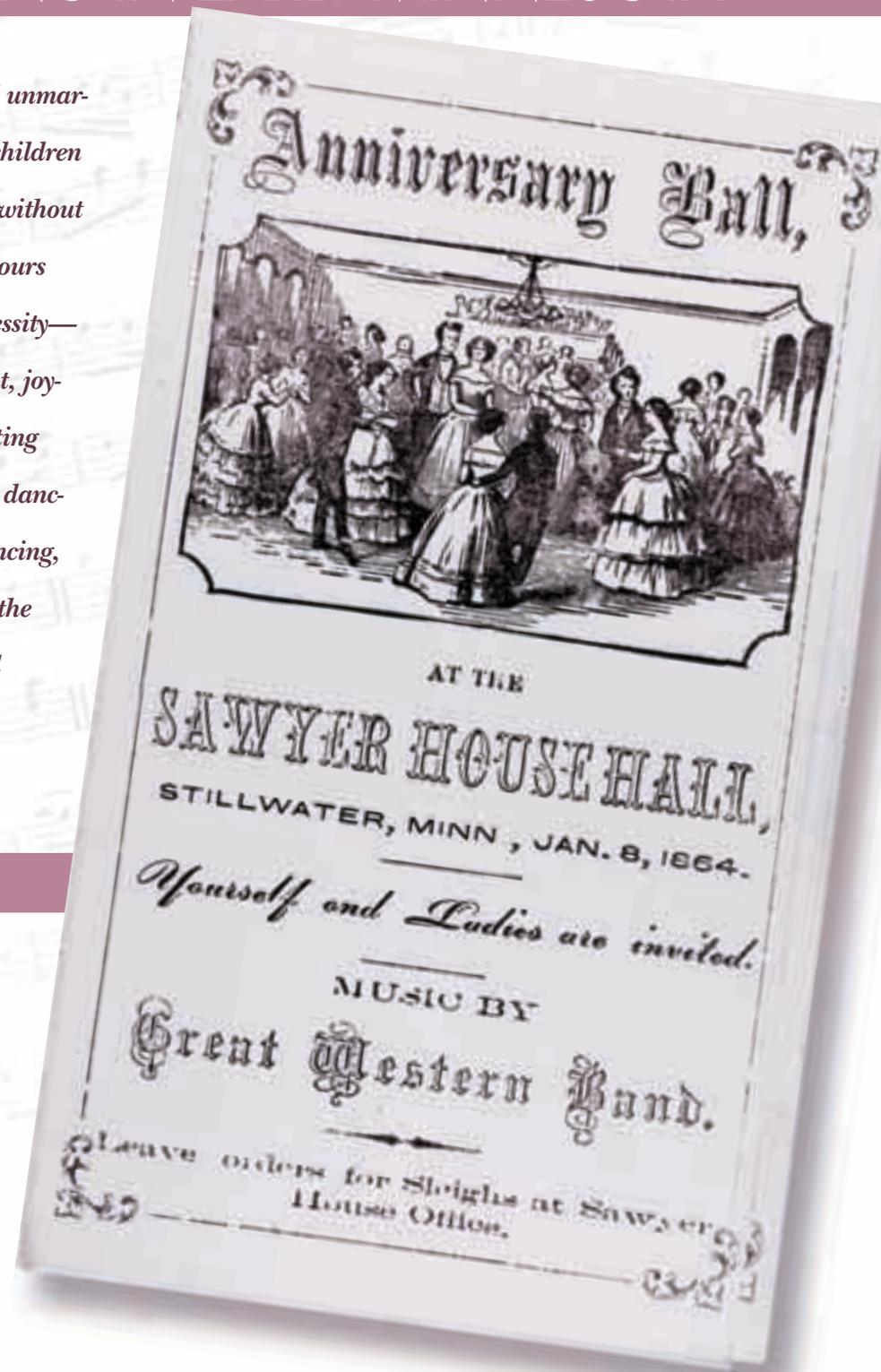
## SOCIAL DANCING IN EARLY MINNESOTA

*“Here, everybody dances—married and unmarried—maids and matrons—laughing children and the grey-haired sexagenarian, all, without distinction, meet, to ‘Chase the flying hours with giddy feet.’ Dancing is here a necessity—the natural expression of that exuberant, joyous flow of feeling, which this exhilarating atmosphere begets. And then, too, such dancing—none of your languid, formal, mincing, automaton, city-ified stepping through the figures, but live dancing in which head and heels, arms and ankles, soul and body all participate.”<sup>1</sup>*

### BOB SKIBA

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<sup>1</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, Feb. 11, 1854, p. 2. All quotations in this article preserve the original orthography and punctuation.





*Dancing at a holiday party, portrayed in Godey's Lady's Book, a national magazine, 1849*

In 1854, when editor George D. Bowman of the *St. Anthony Express* wrote this article for a skeptical friend back East, St. Anthony, Minneapolis, and St. Paul were still only collections of scattered wooden buildings connected by muddy, unpaved streets and tied to the water power and commerce that the Mississippi River made possible. The villages, whose combined population totaled only a few thousand, were offspring of nearby Fort Snelling, established in 1819. The fort had acted as a magnet for squatters, including a group of Irish, Swiss, and Scottish settlers from the failed Red River colony in nearby Canada, as well as French-speaking voyageurs. They seemed to mix easily with each other and with the local native population.<sup>2</sup>

From the beginning, dances were a happy excuse for social interaction among the area's

newest arrivals. As early as 1834, surgeon Nathan Jarvis reported from Fort Snelling, "The soldiers amuse themselves by having Balls in the Fort twice a week. . . .

Their partners are mostly those ladies of the garrison . . . Camp women together with the Crapaud ladies [from] without [the fort]. If they do not dance with grace they at least make it up in strength and duration, generally continuing it from 8 o'clock in the evening until 8 in the morning." By the late 1830s Mendota was considered the center of all social life at the head of navigation, where American Fur Company employees held "many dances during the long winter months." It was there, according to an early St. Paul account, that fate led James Clewett. . . . five thousand miles out of the east to stand in the doorway, an onlooker at the dance. Among the dancers was a girl who had traveled a weary way from the north, Rose Perry. And when the eyes of these two, brought together in such a strange fashion, met, the thing was done—he went home that night with the Perrys when they crossed the ice." On April 9, 1839, the couple wed in the first legal marriage ceremony celebrated at St. Paul.<sup>3</sup>

When tracts of land east of the Mississippi River were opened to settlement in 1838, the squatters near the fort were evicted from government holdings, relocating at the future sites of Minneapolis and St. Paul. Lured by the promise of open land and limitless opportunity, settlers from eastern states, as well as emigrants from Germany, Ireland, and the Scandinavian countries, would swell the population in the next few years.<sup>4</sup> As they made the long journey across the open country and up the Mississippi by steamboat, they carried the things that were precious to them: books, clothing, and a few pieces of furniture, as well as the music and

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of The City of St. Paul to 1875* (1876; reprint, Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 38–43; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1956), 1:213–17.

<sup>3</sup> N. S. Jarvis to Dear Mary, Feb. 2, 1834, copy of typescript in files at Historic Fort Snelling, St. Paul, original in New York Academy of Medicine Archives, New York City; W. B. Hennessy, *Past and Present of St. Paul, Minnesota* (Chicago: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1906), 25.

<sup>4</sup> Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, 1:216–23.

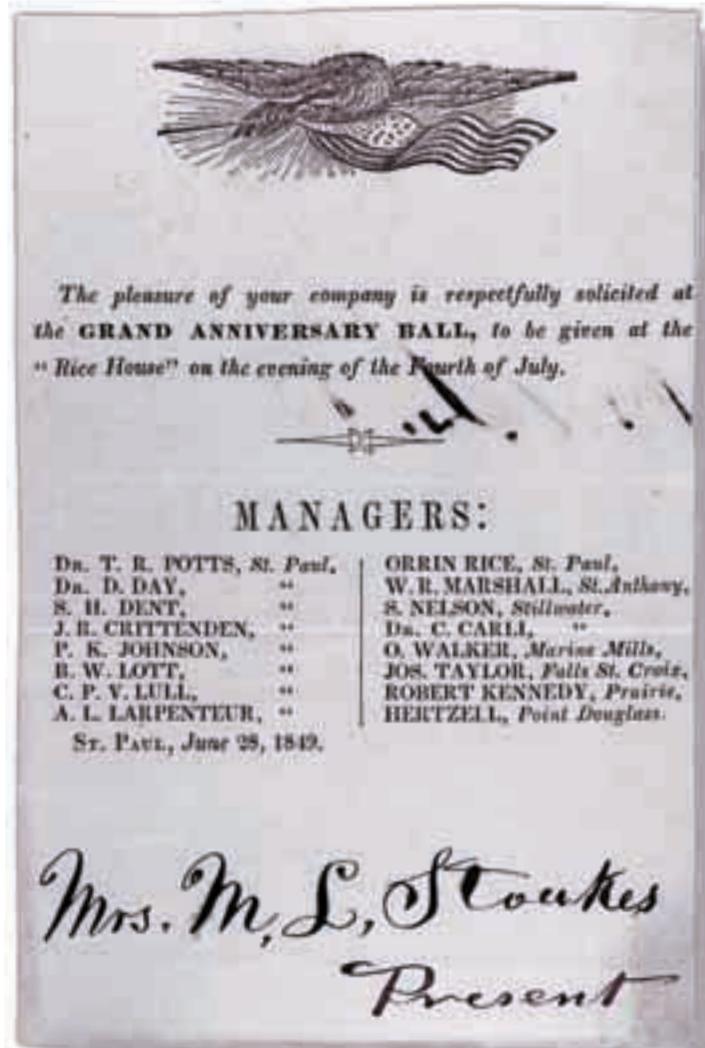
dances that had been a part of the lives they had left behind.

In the midnineteenth century, America still turned to Europe for culture—fashion, art, and music. European ballrooms were models for the fashionable salons of New York and Boston, and those, in turn, were models for the growing towns and cities of the frontier. Like the lyceums, music societies, and theaters that would blossom in the area, balls and fashionable dancing marked the level of refinement that Minnesota Territory had attained. The story of European-American dancing in early Minnesota's principal settlements shows a rough and awkward frontier transforming into a proud and polished urban center. As Bowman of the *St. Anthony Express* remarked:

No where is the advance of society more apparent than in the parties and social gatherings which have occurred during the past winter in St. Anthony. That stiffness and reserve, that apparent sense of distrust with which neighbor meets neighbor, in a village of such rapid growth as this, is fast disappearing before the influence of a more familiar acquaintance with each other, and the influx of more polished and refined society.<sup>5</sup>

By the time Minnesota Territory was organized in 1849, St. Paul, its capital, had a population of just under 1,000, and about 300 more lived at nearby St. Anthony. The editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer*, the territory's first newspaper, recognized the value of social events to the well-being of a new and heterogeneous community. Soon after it began publication in St. Paul in 1849, the *Pioneer* announced a grand ball at the American House (formerly the Rice House) to celebrate the Fourth of July. "We trust there will be a large assemblage. Let the occasion be one of free interchange of social feeling, and of forming acquaintances among our people of the different localities, who at so early a period of the settlement of Minnesota are necessarily strangers to one another."<sup>6</sup>

There is wonderful civic pride evident in announcing a "Grand Ball" in a small frontier town on a holiday of such patriotic significance as the Fourth of July. The editor, James M.



*Invitation to the Fourth of July ball at the Rice (or American) House, 1849, a hotel on the corner of Third and Exchange Streets in St. Paul*

Goodhue, had cause to balance his cheerful optimism, however, with a lighthearted warning published six months later, after a ball at Central House attended by "about 30 gentlemen and 30 ladies":

Dancing, properly conducted, with chaste, correct music, has a tendency, not only to improve the manners, but to elevate, to etherealize the mind. . . . The ballroom is a place where every gentleman will avoid any degree

<sup>5</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, Apr. 15, 1854, p. 2. The long history of dancing by Native Americans, métis, and voyageurs passing through the area deserves further study but is beyond the scope of this article.

<sup>6</sup> *Minnesota Pioneer*, July 5, 1849, p. 2; Williams, *History of St. Paul*, 228; Lucile M. Kane and Alan Ominsky, *Twin Cities: A Pictorial History of Saint Paul and Minneapolis* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1983), 6.

of coarseness. . . . Gentlemen should not wear pumps nor thick boots in a ball-room; nor worse yet moccasins . . . but fine boots. No person should presume to dance without gloves. Clattering, thumping time, pigeon-wing and all fantastic splurges with the feet, are extremely vulgar. It is improper to shake hands in a ballroom. [*Bowing was the accepted norm.*] . . . It is ill bred, yes! and ill gotten bread, for a lady to sweep a quantity of cakes and nuts into her handkerchief, at the table, to carry home. She might as well pocket the sugar bowl and the tea-spoons. Of course no lessons in these elementary principles of etiquette, are needed in the refined society of Minnesota; but we have readers in the Sandwich islands.<sup>7</sup>

Well-meaning but high-spirited Minnesotans apparently still fell short of eastern ideals.

Fashions in dancing change as often as any other fashions. The waltz itself had only been around since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the popularity of the polka, a newcomer, only dates from the 1840s. It was the country dance that ruled European (and therefore American) ballrooms since the early 1700s. By the midnineteenth century, however, quadrilles were replacing in popularity all but a few favorite country dances. In the latter, each couple progresses up and down a line to dance with every other couple. In cotillions and quadrilles, on the other hand, sets of four couples form a square, and each couple dances only with the others in that set. Getting together a dancing party was often referred to as “finding enough ladies to make up a set.”<sup>8</sup>

Early in the century, quadrilles had used more complicated steps and patterns such as pigeon-wing—a showy maneuver involving, in part, jumping into the air and striking both legs together—and jigging at the corners. By midcentury those fancy steps, with a few exceptions, had been replaced by simple walking steps. This made quadrilles accessible to dancers of even modest abilities. As Edward Ferrero, a New York dance instructor, explained:

The quadrille of former times was adopted as a medium for the display of agility . . . the execution of difficult steps, vaults and pirouettes. . . . could be attained only by years of

devoted study and unwearied zeal. . . . The quadrille now in use, in which performers walk or slide gracefully through the dance, may be executed without any special knowledge of the art of dancing, a familiarity with the figures being all that is essential.

Newspapers such as the *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), the *St. Anthony Express*, the *Minnesota Republican* (St. Anthony and Minneapolis), and the *Minnesota Democrat* (Minneapolis) documented the popularity of dancing in Minnesota Territory. There were weekly cotillions at every hall large enough to hold them. Mazourka Hall, the second story of a small frame building that housed Elfelt’s dry goods store at Third and Cedar Streets in St. Paul, was one such place. Rebecca Marshall Cathcart, who was 20 years old when her family moved to St. Paul in 1849, later remembered, “It filled a great need during several years; almost all our public dancing parties were held there.” There were holiday balls at hotels such as the Rice, Central, and Winslow Houses in St. Paul, the St. Charles in St. Anthony, and the Cataract House in Minneapolis, all built to accommodate the flood of new arrivals and tourists who made the upper Mississippi their destination. The growing number of civic groups and clubs—for example, the Odd Fellows, Sons of Erin, and the Minnesota Pioneer Guard, as well as a volunteer fire organization, the Cataract Engine Company—hosted informal hops and more formal balls to raise money. And there were private dancing parties; Cathcart remembered, for example, “Mr. and Mrs. Elfelt were most hospitable, and many dancing parties were given in their beautifully appointed home” in Irvine Park. As early as 1850 St. Paul could boast a social season that began in about November and ended on Ash Wednesday before Easter. This coincided almost exactly with the period that the Mississippi was frozen over, effectively isolating the territory from its distant southern “neighbors” such as Galena and St. Louis.<sup>9</sup>

These first balls usually included not only dancers from St. Anthony and St. Paul but also revelers from Stillwater, about 20 miles to the east. Carriages were made available to bring in residents from outlying areas, and floor man-

<sup>7</sup> *Minnesota Pioneer*, Jan. 23, 1850, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Here and below, Edward Ferrero, *The Art of Dancing* (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1859), 121.

<sup>9</sup> Rebecca M. Cathcart, “A Sheaf of Remembrances,” *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, vol. 15 (St. Paul, 1915): 517, 519, 544.



*Elfelt's dry goods store, home to the original Mazourka Hall. In this photograph from about 1852, Joel Whitney's daguerreotype gallery occupied the building's top floor.*

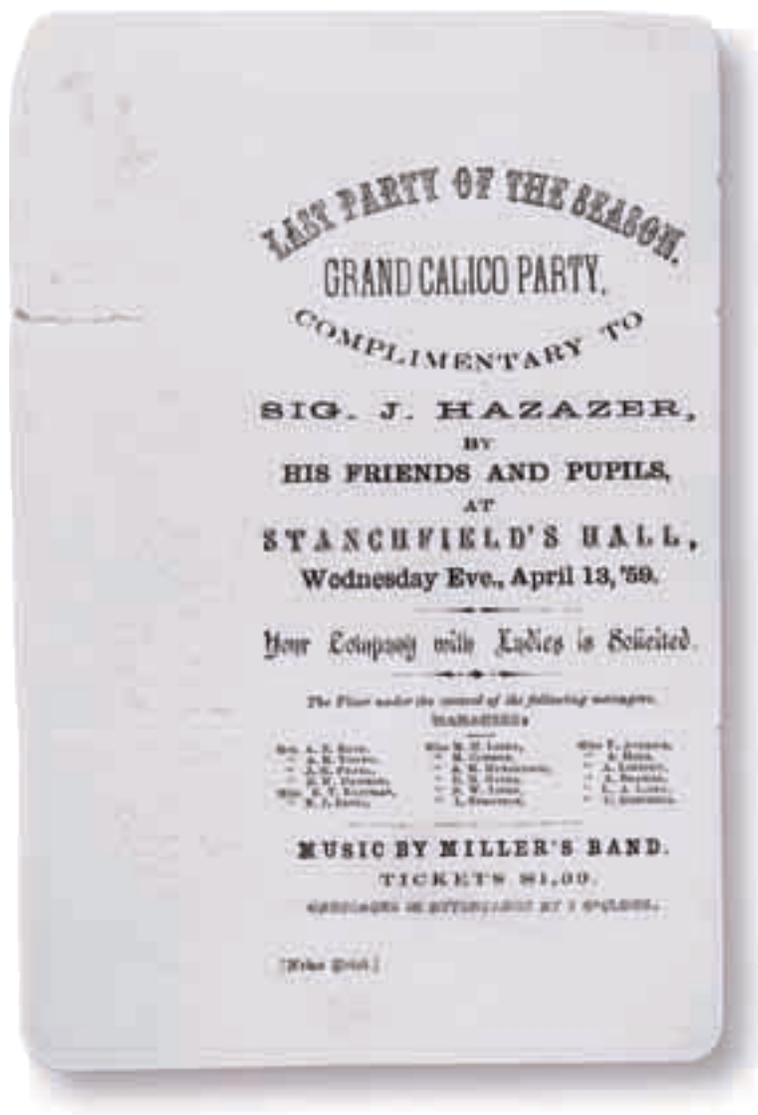
agers were hired “to form the sets, and see that they are complete; to find places for all persons who may wish to dance; to direct the musicians when to commence, and to decide all questions which may arise during the ball.” The floor managers were usually socially and politically prominent men who added a sense of importance and propriety to balls.<sup>10</sup>

Since men outnumbered women in the territory, free invitations were sometimes sent to ladies. Their gentleman escorts were charged fifty cents or a dollar. It is pleasant to imagine the coaches and sleighs arriving at a cheerfully lit hall on a clear Minnesota midwinter's night and the ladies alighting, shivering in their fashionable, thin dresses. Sarah Fuller wrote to her sister in Connecticut in January 1853:

Must tell you what a great dance we attended

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Hillgrove, *Hillgrove's Ballroom Guide* (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald, 1868), 237. On carriages, see invitations and dance cards in the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society (MHS), St. Paul.

*Invitation to the last ball of the 1859 social season, in honor of St. Anthony's dance master*





## Cotillion Parties.

A SERIES of Cotillion Parties will be held at "Cataract Hall" during the winter on every Wednesday evening, commencing with Wednesday, the 5th of December. The best of music will be provided, and the lovers of this popular pastime will be able to "trip the light fantastic toe" to their heart's content. Tickets can be had from Mr. O. W. Stoughton, at his store, or Mr. J. A. Lenon at the Hall. 201f

*Cataract Hall, 1860, a consistently popular place for dancing, as shown in a St. Anthony Express announcement from 1855. The elaborately encased dagguerreotype of the St. Anthony building is by John W. Monell.*

Wednesday eve. at Mazourka Hall, greatest one there ever was in the Territory. If it was not the greatest, I enjoyed it the best. Must tell you how I was dressed, wore my double skirted muslin, and pink satin waist, low neck

and short sleeves, three rows of lace round the neck and two round the sleeves, and pink flowers in my hair. Good many down from the fort. I suppose it will be the only one I shall attend this winter probably.<sup>11</sup>

As later letters show, there were many more dances for Fuller that winter. These parties were a great chance for women to show off their silk finery and elaborate coiffures trimmed with flowers, feathers, and ribbons. No fashionable dance began before nine o'clock in the evening. At midnight, a huge dinner was the norm, like the one Bettie Russel described in 1858 to her mother in Vermont:

The rooms were crowded, and a very showy crowd it was. . . . Of the table before it was spoiled I don't know any thing, But I do, how things tasted. Turkey, Tongue, Ham, Biscuit, Ice cream, Charlotte Russe, Cake of all kinds, Coffee, Wines, all very nice. . . . We came home about one, and were the first that left, but I was tired and sleepy.<sup>12</sup>

Although Russel left at one, dancing resumed after dinner and, as was usual, continued until dawn.

Like the rest of the country, Minnesota at this time was clearly divided over the temperance question. The constant presence of alcohol at dancing parties gave ammunition to the "dry" contingent. After a New Year's ball at the Winslow House, the *Minnesota Republican* fulminated in 1858:

"There is no harm in dancing, you impertinent scribbler; don't make such a fuss about the innocent amusement." Granted; "no harm in *dancing*" but isn't it strange, dear madam, "passing strange," how Bacchus is one of the managers at almost every public dance?—how lasciviousness leers and stares through the thin gauze of the Ball Room? How dissipation, vanity and late hours elbow each other through the cotillion?—how 400 foreheads throb through the next forenoon with pent up volcanoes—the inevitable result of last night's spree. . . . isn't it queer how a few dozen cannot gather together in the name of Terpsichore, without one at least getting his head broken mysteriously, and a bevy of his first cousins groping their oblivious ways home about sun-rise, with all the

<sup>11</sup> Sarah to Dear Lizzie, Jan. 16, 1853, in Abby Abbe Fuller and Family Papers; invitations and dance cards—both MHS.

<sup>12</sup> Bettie Hockley Russel (Palmer) to My dear Mother, Feb. 9, 1858, MHS.



*Fashionable attire for the ball, illustrated in Godey's Lady's Book, 1854*

directness of a Virginia rail-fence?<sup>13</sup>

Music for balls in the 1850s was supplied at first by the regimental bands from Fort Snelling; the Sixth Regiment Band under Robert Jackson played frequently for civilian balls during the decade. Later, local groups, such as the St. Paul Brass Band, Taylor's Band, Ingall's Cornet Band, and Memmler's Band, formed in St. Anthony and St. Paul. Another of

<sup>13</sup> *Minnesota Republican*, Jan. 8, 1858, p. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Merritt C. Nequette, "Music in the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota, to 1900" (master's thesis, University of Minnesota, 1973), 7–9, 15–16; 30–32.

<sup>15</sup> Cathcart, "Sheaf of Remembrances," 525, 545; Williams, *History of St. Paul*, 249. William Taylor appears in the 1850 census as a married, 29-year-old "mulatto" who owned real estate worth \$900; Patricia C. Harpole and Mary D. Nagle, eds., *Minnesota Territorial Census, 1850* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1972), 45. He was killed in the Dakota War of 1862.

these, the Great Western Band, would remain popular until the end of the century. Music for smaller parties in private residences was a bit more modest—usually just a fiddler.<sup>14</sup>

According to both the *Pioneer* and early census records, the black community in the area found employment not only as barbers but as musicians. Rebecca Cathcart remembered a Christmas dinner and dance in 1849: "After supper the dining room was cleared, and we had a grand dance. The musicians were colored barbers from St. Paul, and the leader was a large, fine looking man named Taylor; he had a voice a brigadier general might envy, and as at that time the figures were called off, a clear, strong voice was much sought for. . . . This colored band was in great demand in both St. Paul and St. Anthony during several years." Her contemporary, historian J. Fletcher Williams, called William Taylor a "famous ball musician of early days" who had "'called figures' for hundreds of balls and dances, almost." Party invitations show that Taylor's Band played for cotillions in St. Paul and St. Anthony.<sup>15</sup>

Although Minnesota in the 1850s was far from the glittering centers of style, the music and dances popular in the territory were equally fashionable not only back East but in the ballrooms of Europe. Reminiscences of the era document dancing styles on the verge of change. Mrs. Samuel B. Dresser recollected that in

*St. Paul's popular Great Western Band, 1868*



Taylor's Falls in the 1850s, "We used to go to dances and dance the threestep waltz and French four with a circle of fours all around the room, and many other old style dances too. We put in all the pretty fancy steps in the cotillion. No prettier sight could be than a young girl, with arms circled above her head, jiggling on the corners." Mrs. Mary Harrison described her memories of the same period in St. Anthony: "On the Fourth of July we went to a dancing party or ball at the hotel. . . . We danced contra dances, such as 'The Tempest' and Spanish dances. The waltz too, with three little steps danced very fast, was popular. We took hold of our partner's elbows."<sup>16</sup>

At midcentury, the waltz *à trois temps*, in which dancers whirled around in a constant right turn with three neat little steps to each measure of music, was still popular. It was begin-

ning to lose ground, however, to the waltz *à deux temps*, which consisted of a shuffling two-step that had the advantage of turning both to right and "reversing" to the left.<sup>17</sup>

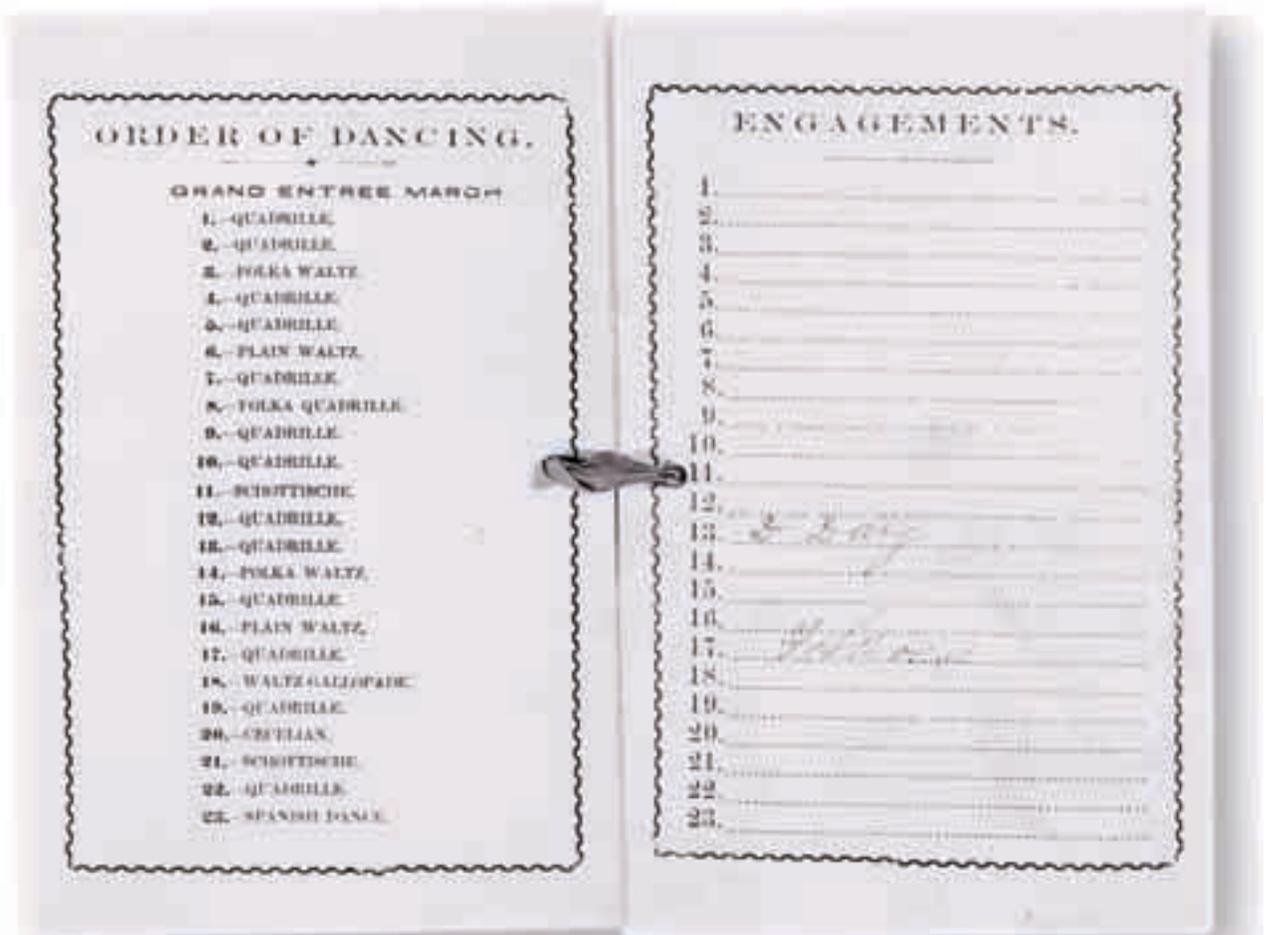
The "French four" to which Dresser referred was possibly a variation of the dance Harrison called the Spanish dance, or Spanish waltz. In the latter, dancers arranged themselves in sets of four around the perimeter of the ballroom, couple one within each set facing clockwise around the circle, and couple two facing couple one. Each set of four completed a series of figures alternating with plain waltzing. Couple one then proceeded clockwise around the large circle and couple two counterclockwise, each forming a new set of four with a new couple and repeating all the figures.

Dance cards from Stillwater and St. Paul from the early 1850s through the 1860s show

<sup>16</sup> Lucy L. W. Morris, ed., *Old Rail Fence Corners: Frontier Tales Told by Minnesota Pioneers* (1914; reprint, St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1976), 50, 57.

<sup>17</sup> Here and below, Hillgrove, *Ballroom Guide*, 149-52; Ferrero, *Art of Dancing*.

*Dance card for ball at the American House, St. Paul, 1854; the card's front appears on the cover of this magazine.*



most of the evening at balls given over to quadrilles. Another factor in their popularity, besides the simplified dance steps, was the growing awareness of social class in nominally equality-minded American society. Country-dance formations meant that couples might find themselves dancing with others of markedly lower social class as they moved down the line. A four-couple quadrille, however, meant that floor managers at large balls could place dancers in sets with their social equals.

Was this a concern in Minnesota? Matilda W. Rice, born in New York, raised in Virginia, educated in Washington, D.C., and the wife of Henry M. Rice, Minnesota's territorial delegate to Congress in 1853, described her first ball in St. Paul in the early 1850s: "About 8 o'clock, there was a rapping at the door . . . and on opening it we beheld a gentleman, his face wreathed in smiles, who announced, with an air of delightful anticipation, that there was to be a ball at the American house . . . and that if I would consent to be one of eight ladies, they could have two sets." She accepted, but on reaching the ballroom, actually the hotel's dining hall, "what was our chagrin to find that one of the ladies was unable to come, and consequently it seemed that we could have but one set." One gallant man undertook to fill the vacancy:

The boat from Galena had arrived shortly before, and on board was a pretty chambermaid. She readily accepted the ingenious gentleman's invitation, and entered the ballroom in a pink dress in a state of elation. For owing to the scarcity of "lovely women" in those early territorial days, she had been a belle from the moment the boat landed. . . .

But here a new complication arose, for the gentlemen, jealous of their social standing, refused to dance with the P.C., and even the one who had brought her from the boat joined, with charming inconsistency, the ranks of the ungallants. There was a politician-statesman, we called him then, present, however, and he saw the opportunity of a lifetime. He would show the people that he was democratic, that he drew no social lines, that his sympathies were with the struggling masses. Before his enchanted vision his column of votes grew higher and higher. With a courtly bow, he requested the honor of dancing with the P.C. So the ball proceeded.<sup>18</sup>

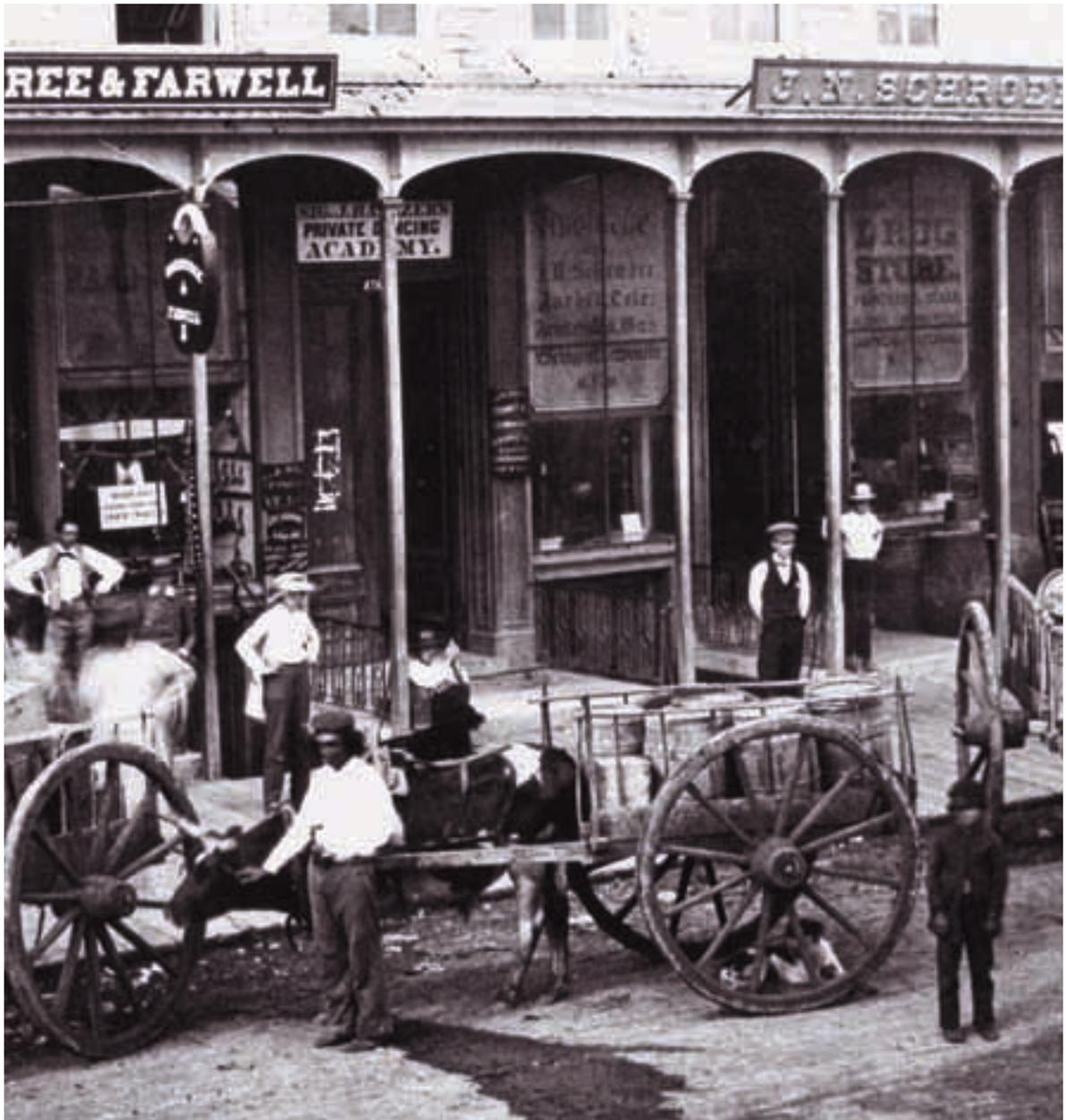


*Studio portrait of Matilda W. Rice dressed in day-wear, probably 1860s*

In addition to quadrilles and polkas and plain waltzes, dance cards of the period show the gradual introduction of newer dances like the mazurka and the redowa. These dances had swept Europe's ballrooms as new interest blossomed in things eastern European. Intricate combinations of slides and hops, the steps certainly taxed dancers of ordinary abilities. A satirical article in the *St. Anthony Express* in 1851 provides a look at what many must have thought of these exotic and fussy but fashionable dances:

THE SOMERSETSKI.- This is the name of a new dance, introduced at the fashionable watering places, as an improvement on the Polka, or the Schottische. It is described as

<sup>18</sup> Matilda W. Rice, "Fourth of July in the Fifties," *St. Paul Dispatch*, June 27, 1895, p. 8. On Rice, see article by same title in *Minnesota History* 49 (Summer 1984): 54.



*A modest sign announced Signor J. Hazazer's dancing academy on St. Paul's bustling Third Street, 1861*

follows by an exchange:—"It is danced by four persons—two ladies and two gentlemen. The ladies are dressed in a frock reaching to the knee, and the continuances are of stockinet, fitting as close as possible to the skin. One lady wears a white stocking and a black stocking. The gentlemen are dressed in shorts, and their dresses are of pink and purple colors. The dance begins by the gentlemen turning somersets over the ladies, after

which the ladies turn somersets over the gentlemen, and then the whole party turn somersets over each other promiscuously. During the last named movement, the performers, with their variegated costumes, present all the changes of the kaleidoscope. Those who have seen this dance admire it exceedingly."<sup>19</sup>

Learning new and demanding dance steps required a professional teacher and lessons, and

<sup>19</sup> *St. Anthony Express*, Oct. 4, 1851, p. 2.

by 1854 St. Paul, with a population of only a few thousand, could boast its own dancing academy. Playing up the need to learn the latest dances in order to be fashionable, Professor De Gray Bennie, describing himself as “of the Italian Opera, late of St. Louis,” advertised:

FASHIONABLE DANCING ACADEMY, Mazourka Hall (over Elfelt’s store.) PROF. DE GRAY BENNIE respectfully begs leave to inform the young Ladies and Gentlemen of St. Paul that arrangements are now being made for a select series of Demi-Balls, and Fancy Dress Soirees. Instructions will be given to the subscribers on the Polka, Quadrilles, Mazourka, Spanish Dance, and all the popular Ball Room Dances at present in vogue in the East. Those wishing to join the assemblage are invited to call at Mr. Bennie’s Rooms.<sup>20</sup>

Bennie may have been the first dance instructor in the territory, but another soon followed. Signor J. Hazazer, 22 years old and claiming to be a native of Brazil, began teaching in Hastings in 1857 before moving to St. Anthony and giving lessons in Stanchfield Hall. By 1859 a St. Anthony newspaper described Hazazer as a “skillful and successful dancing teacher” whose school numbered 80 pupils: “He is probably one of the most popular professors of the art ever in Minnesota.” Two years later he was teaching in

St. Paul, but by 1862 the peripatetic instructor apparently moved on; no mention of him appeared thereafter except in reminiscences.<sup>21</sup>

Bennie introduced something new to the territory—the fancy dress ball. Elaborate costume balls would remain a staple of the St. Paul social season throughout the nineteenth century, especially in the German community. In the 1860s, these “masquerades” alternated general dancing with short comic operas and tableaux representing historical scenes such as “The Retreat of French Troops from Mexico.”<sup>22</sup>

Dance masters like Bennie and Hazazer gave Minnesotans something besides instructions in dance. They offered parents the opportunity to add polish to their children’s education. In the nineteenth century, external appearances were thought to reflect breeding and birth. Instead of the idea that everyone was equal, democratic society was beginning to mean that everyone had equal opportunity to be better than everyone else. Children who behaved like ladies and gentlemen might pass for them, no matter what their birth. What surer sign of gentility than the ability to dance well? With a dozen clothing shops, several bookstores, a university, and at least two dancing schools, Minnesota on the eve of statehood was shedding its rough, makeshift pioneer ways and developing the sense of society with a capital “S” that would typify the second half of the nineteenth century, the Gilded Age.

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<sup>20</sup> *Minnesota Pioneer*, Nov. 8, 1854, p. 3.

<sup>21</sup> *United States Census*, 1857, Dakota Co., roll 1, City of Hastings, p. 290, MHS; *Minnesota State News* (St. Anthony), Feb. 25, 1859, p. 3; *St. Paul Daily Press*, Jan. 8, 1861, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup> See *St. Paul Daily Pioneer*, Jan. 17, p. 4, Feb. 16, p. 4, Feb. 23, p. 4—all 1868.

*All illustrations are in the MHS collections, including the two volumes of Godey’s Lady’s Book (music is from 1854 volume) and the dance cards and invitations from museum collections.*



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