

# Ten Cents A Dance: Taxi-Dancing, Jazz-Dancing, and the Folk Dance Revival

by

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Picture a dark, smoky room on the second floor of a ramshackle building. The high windows are boarded up and the stifling air is redolent of cheap whisky, stale perfume and other, less

attractive, odors. At one end, a piano-player and saxophonist wearily pound out a few bars of “Walkin’ My Baby Back Home.” Couples move jerkily across the floor, watched apathetically by an equal number of men lining the walls. The music stops, each man rushes towards his chosen partner, the girl puts his ticket in the top of her rolled up stocking, and the dancing begins again. At two in the morning when the hall closes, the tired girls walk slowly down the stairs,

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some in couples, many singly, to meet the men waiting at the door. The sign on the building may say "Dancing Academy," but the cops and the social workers know that this is really a "taxi-dance hall."

The taxi-dance hall was a phenomenon that flourished in most major cities in the U.S. from as early as 1913 until roughly the repeal of Prohibition in 1933. It originated partly as a response to a new determination of public officials to close houses of prostitution, but it continued and spread because it fulfilled a legitimate social need of the rapidly swelling urban population--especially that of single men. Taxi-dance halls were condemned on their own account (as corruptors of youth, and centers for prostitution or the drug trade) and because of the "jazz dancing" performed there as well as in other public and private venues. Social reformers--including leaders of the nascent folk dance movement--sought, varyingly, to abolish taxi-dance halls, to clean them up or to provide healthful alternatives to them. This article provides a brief view of the taxi-dance hall, the jazz dancing performed at it, and the response of what might be loosely called the folk dance movement to both.

### *The Taxi-Dance Hall*

The first few decades of the twentieth century saw an enormous increase in the population--particularly of men--in cities, both from foreign immigration and from a transfer of jobs from agriculture to industry. The population of the city of Chicago, for example, grew from 1.7 million in 1900 to 3.4 million in 1930, and other cities of the period experienced similar growth. The public dance hall, along with other forms of mass entertainment such as professional baseball, motion picture houses, automobiles and radios, flourished to satisfy the social needs of this influx of workers.

Public dance halls could range from being clean, reputable spaces run by proprietors with a legitimate interest in dance to low dives with unsanitary facilities and boarded-up windows to encourage patrons to spend more on drink. Many such halls were centers for prostitution, drugs (principally cocaine and opium), gambling, the sale of alcohol to minors and other unsavory activities. Such perils were luridly described in treatises such as *From Dance Hall to White Slavery* (1912), which included the allegedly true tragedies of the factory girl, the wallflower, the young mother, the country girl and the Polish immigrant girl—all caused by dance halls. This book, written under the banner of the Juvenile Protection Association, concluded that in Chicago annually “5,000 girls [are] offered up as sacrificial victims to the Social Evil...the majority are tragedies of the dance.”<sup>1</sup>

Paul Cressey, who also began his landmark study of the taxi-dance hall in 1925 under the auspices of the Juvenile Protection Association of Chicago, defined a series of public venues of varying social acceptability where dancing would be performed. These ranged (in rough order of social nicety) as follows: the municipal ballroom, the dancing academy, the social-service dance, the fraternal or “benevolent” dance, the “pseudo-club” dance, the hotel dance, the dine-and-dance restaurant, the cabaret or “night club”, the dance palace, the dance pavilion, the roadhouse, the rent party, the pleasure-boat dance and, finally, the taxi-dance hall.<sup>2</sup> He formally defined the taxi-dance hall as “a commercial public dance institution attracting only male patrons, which seeks to provide them an opportunity for social dancing by employing women dance partners, who are paid on a commission basis through the ticket-a-dance plan, and who are expected to dance with any patron who may select them for as few or as many dances as he is willing to purchase.”<sup>3</sup>

The taxi-dance hall originated in San Francisco, where as early as 1913, the Police

Commission had separated the saloon and dancing by prohibiting the sale of liquor wherever dances were held. "Closed" dance halls immediately sprang up and multiplied.<sup>4</sup> The phrases closed dance hall or taxi-dance hall were used to distinguish the "ticket-a-dance" type from the so-called "'49 [i.e., 1849] dance hall" or the "'49 camp" which was a heritage of San Francisco's notorious "Barbary Coast": a saloon/whorehouse/gambling district of unparalleled viciousness. In the '49 dance halls, the dancing was free, and the "hostesses" secured their income not from dancing, but upon the amount of liquor which they could persuade the patrons to buy at the adjoining bar.<sup>5</sup>

By contrast, the taxi-dance hall, or closed dance hall as it was known by social workers, was ostensibly a private club, "closed" to women patrons.<sup>6</sup> Male patrons paid an admission fee that bought them a few dances, then paid for a strip of tickets at "ten cents a dance." There were always more men than girls. The extra men would line the walls (most dance halls did not provide seats, to encourage patrons to dance more; those that did charged the same ten cents a dance to sit out). When one dance ended, a man would rush to the girl of his choice, give her a ticket, half of which she put in the top of her rolled-down stocking where it formed a strange tumor by the end of the evening, half of which she gave to the ticket taker. Dances were short, usually less than two minutes, sometimes less than a minute. At the end of the evening, the girl would turn in her tickets for her pay: usually four to five cents a ticket. "Like the taxi-driver with his cab, she is for public hire and is paid in proportion to the time spent and the services rendered."<sup>7</sup>

Despite being advertised as a "lady instructress," the taxi-dancer was anything but a dance teacher. The work was arduous. Cressey noted that: "The girl must have almost unlimited physical stamina to stand up indefinitely to the many forms of physical exercise which the patron

may choose to consider dancing....Some couples gallop together over the floor, weaving their way in and around the slower dancers; others seek to attain aesthetic heights by a curious angular strut and a double shuffle or a stamp and a glide. Still others dance the 'Charleston,' and are granted unchallenged pre-emption of the center of the floor."<sup>8</sup> The exploitation of the girls' hard work and the patrons' heavy spending was criticized by the dance hall reformer, Maria Ward Lambin, who was instrumental in the clean-up of San Francisco's taxi-dance halls as well as dance hall reform in New York City.

Patrons must spend two or three dollars for any reasonable number of dances, and it is not unusual for them to spend as much as five or six dollars in an evening.

The girls are paid four cents a dance, or five if they are on duty both Saturday and Sunday nights. In order to make a fair living, say twenty dollars per week, a girl must dance 400 dances a week or about seventy dances an evening.<sup>9</sup>

Still, for many girls, this was better pay for a shorter time than a long stint on the factory floor, and besides, it was glamorous, fun and liberated--an attraction particularly for immigrant girls eager to break out of Old World constraints. Many of the girls who staffed the dance halls were young--fourteen to twenty. Patrons included the young, old, "bad boys of good blood," raw country youths, suave young businessmen, newly arrived immigrants, and men with physical disabilities, many of whom, in the analysis of Cressey, found in the anonymity of the dance hall their only contact with women and with the American way of life.<sup>10</sup>

Whether open or closed, the dance hall was big business. In 1924, Lambin published a report prepared under the joint auspices of the Women's City Club and the City Recreation Committee of New York. She calculated that in Manhattan alone, there were 238 licensed dance hall, aggregate total attendance of 6.1 million people, and a total of \$5.0 million spent in cash on the activity--large numbers for the period.<sup>11</sup>

In an effort to curb abuses, many municipalities licensed their dance halls of all types and/or began to run their own public dance halls. An annual inspection was usually required for a permit. A dance hall proprietor might request--or the city might require--the presence of a policeman or a lady supervisor.

In 1921 a survey was sent to 400 large U.S. and Canadian cities on the topic of dance hall legislation. 180 cities responded, and of these, 147 had some type of legislation.<sup>12</sup> These ranged from the hours of business, the type of advertising permitted, and ventilation and safety requirements to the types of dancing and behavior permitted or prohibited. Frequent inspections were key: The social reformer Jane Addams, of Hull-House in Chicago, noted in the winter of 1911 that the Juvenile Protection Association had made an inspection of 328 public dance halls for signs of drink and vice in connection with juveniles, and was continuing to so inspect regularly.<sup>13</sup> Other municipalities established their own investigations with results both pro and con; in Pittsburgh in 1925, for example, it was noted that while occasionally the clandestine courtships of the dance hall led to gruesome and sordid results, “it is easy to attribute pure malignity to an institution with which we have little acquaintance, but the impression of the baleful influence of the dance hall tends to pale with intimacy. At present the dance hall, despite its numerous and serious shortcomings, is serving a genuine social need.”<sup>14</sup> Still, sterner steps were sometimes needed. In 1931, for example, the New York City Police Commissioner prohibited closed (taxi-dance) halls.<sup>15</sup>

### *The Evils of Jazz Dance*

Irrespective of whether it was performed at a college hop, a private party or a taxi-dance hall, “jazz dancing” had many critics. Its close embrace, swaying, dipping and slithering motions,

suggestive dance names and lyrics and sensual music all made jazz dance shocking to conservatives. Remember that a popular, sentimental view at the time of womanhood was exemplified by the actress Mary Pickford, “American's Sweetheart,” as well as fictional characters such as novelist John Buchan’s Lady Mary Hannay of 1915 (“she can’t scare and she can’t soil”) and the slim, boyish heroines of Edgar Rice Burroughs with their pure brows and a code of ethics straight from the playing fields of Eton. The thought of girls like these jazz dancing in public with strangers to whom they had not been properly introduced was horrifying. Many critics tried to turn back the tide. For example, in 1924, some U.S. and Canadian clergy declared that if anyone performed jazz dances, permitted his children to do so, or winked at them in the house, “he would commit a grave sin of disobedience” to the church.

We energetically reprove those dances which are lascivious, either in themselves--such as the “fox-trot,” the “tango,” the “shimmy,” the “cheek-to-cheek,” the “turkey-trot,” the “camel-trot,” the “one-step,” the “two-step,” and others of the same kind, by whatever name they may be called--or in the manner in which they are executed--as is the case with the waltz, the polka, and other dances which are commonly danced to-day in a lascivious manner; we energetically reprove these dances as immediate, proximate occasions of sin, and we expressly forbid them throughout the entire diocese.<sup>16</sup>

The popular *Ladies Home Journal* also took a strong stand against jazz dance, with a series of articles describing their different deleterious effects.

The road to hell is too often paved with jazz steps. If a refined girl were alone with a man in a drawing-room and be offered the familiarities of the ultra dance, she would resent them as insults. But she accepts them without question on the dance floor.<sup>17</sup>

In response to the perceived wickedness of jazz dancing, many municipal dance halls hired off-duty policemen or lady supervisors to monitor the dance, or posted regulations, such as these

from Chicago, which strictly prohibited the following:

- (a) Close Dancing. An open space must be maintained between two dancers, and the faces must not be held so as to touch each other.
- (b) Improper Position. The position or posture of dancers should be erect and respectable, and the position of the arms such as not to give the dancers a distorted position of the body.
- (c) Objectionable Dancing. All dancing must be void of freak, unnecessary or indecent movements of any part of the body, such as suggestive wiggling, frequent low dipping, extreme swaying.

Ragtime music or any other music with suggestive title or words, or with any form of improper dancing as mentioned above, is positively prohibited. All music must conform to the proper movement of the dance.<sup>18</sup>

Chaperones, dance hall inspectors and policemen were specifically instructed to break up couples who were dancing improperly. In Philadelphia, "the police class in censorship is told not to permit cheek-to-cheek dancing, abdominal contact, shimmy, toddle or the Washington Johnny, in which the legs are kept spread apart."<sup>19</sup> Professional dance teachers provided further guidance:

Animal names for dances, such as cat step, camel walk, bunny hug, turkey trot, and so on, are disapproved as of degrading tendency. Rapid and jerky music is condemned, while a medium dance tempo, ranging from forty measures to the minute for the fox trot to forty-eight for the waltz, fifty-four for the two-step and sixty-six for the one-step is recommended. There are ten "Don'ts," which may be summarized: Don't permit vulgar jazz music, don't let young men hold their partners tightly; no touching of cheeks which is public love making; no neck holds, no shimmy or toddle, no steps very long or very short, no dancing from the

waist up but rather from the waist down; suggestive movements barred; don't copy stage stuff; don't hesitate to ask offenders to leave the room.<sup>20</sup>

Dance tempo was an issue: fast dancing was preferable to slow. Lambin recommended the elimination of "slow jazz" because "This tempo in itself is the cause of most of the sensual and freakish dancing."<sup>21</sup> Other observers noted happily that in good dance ballrooms, "the music has been improved by use of faster tempo, [and] toddling and shimmying have been modified or barred."<sup>22</sup>

The criticisms continued in popular circles as well as social work journals. One successful proprietor of clean dance halls in Chicago was quoted as saying: "Many of the couples performing these dances should have a marriage license before stepping on the ballroom floor, and--if they had a marriage license there would be no excuse for committing such acts in public." He added that anyone who says that "youth of both sexes can mingle in close embrace"--with limbs intertwined and torso in contact—"without suffering harm lies." Add to this embrace the wriggling movement and the "sensual stimulation of the abominable jazz orchestra with its voodoo-born minors and its direct appeal to the sensory centers, and if you can believe that youth is the same after this experience as before, then God help your child."<sup>23</sup>

Some jazz dances were regarded as worse than others. In 1921, *The Survey* noted that some cities' dance hall legislation prohibited certain dances by name, such as "coast to coast," "bunny hug" and "shimmy."<sup>24</sup> In Cleveland, however, the county court ruled that the dance hall inspector or other police authorities had no power to forbid a certain dance by *name* (i.e., the tango), but could only stop such a dance when any vulgarity or indecency actually occurred.<sup>25</sup>

Jazz music--with its wailing saxophones and syncopated beat--was criticized independently of the dancing performed to it. One critic, a music specialist who had claimed to have worked out scientifically the relation of music to human emotions from both the

psychological and physiological standpoints, confirmed “the view that jazz music amounts to a physical stimulus of a degrading kind; it acts exactly like a drug on specific nerve centers. It is no less direct in its effect on certain contacts of nerve centers that are witnessed on the dance floor.”<sup>26</sup> Another critic wrote: “Those moaning saxophones and the rest of the instruments with their broken, jerky rhythm make a purely sensual appeal. They call out the low and rowdy instinct.”<sup>27</sup>

In addition, a racial component was occasionally expressed in the criticisms of jazz music and dance. Since the music had clearly African-American origins and since so often the musicians were African-Americans, there was a sense of distaste, as one contemporary put it, at the thought of “pure young white girls” writhing “night after night to the music of rapturous negroes, as years ago the girls of the pavement used to dance with their masters at the Sans Souci.”<sup>28</sup>

Despite all this criticism, occasionally writers--even dance hall inspectors and reformers--would speak more moderately about jazz dance. In 1913, the Cleveland Dance Hall Inspector (where municipal dances were run very tightly), opined that:

While the present craze for dancing has brought with it certain dances which are extreme and freakish yet it has also brought certain others which are not only graceful, when danced properly, but also more stimulating and healthful as an exercise for minds and bodies wearied with the routine drudgery of office and shop.<sup>29</sup>

Even Maria Ward Lambin acknowledged that not all dance halls (except for the closed or taxi-dance halls) were evil; modern dance styles and dance palaces satisfied a natural desire of youth to have fun and meet friends of the opposite sex.

Much objection has been raised to certain features of the dance-halls, such as the sensual dancing, drinking, the ease with which promiscuous acquaintances can be

made. But in justice to the dance-hall, it must be noted that these are characteristic common to all classes of society. They can be no more easily observed in a large dance-hall than in upper-class homes and hotels, but they are present in both places. Since this is so, it would seem that the dance-hall is not in itself the cause, but rather an effect of conditions operating throughout our society.<sup>30</sup>

### *Folk Dance And The Dance Hall Reform Movement*

The move to regulate all dance halls and to close taxi-dances was closely linked to the other great social reform movements led by individuals such as Jane Addams of Hull House in Chicago (active 1889 to 1935); women's clubs and civic organizations ( such as the Juvenile Protection Association), many founded to aid the working girl; the YWCA (national organization formed in 1906) and YMCA (founded 1844, but particularly active after the turn of the century); the Boy Scouts (founded in England in 1908 and reached the U.S. by 1910); and the Girl Scouts (founded in England in 1910, reached the U.S. by 1912). These organizations sought to ameliorate the dreadful lives of industrial workers, such as those of the immigrant Chicago meat-packers described in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906). Their collective goals were to improve the health and the working, social, and moral lives of the urban poor.

This period was one in which many cities took responsibility to create public libraries-- under the patronage of individuals such as Andrew Carnegie, who commenced his philanthropic work after his retirement in 1901 until his death in 1919. They created public play spaces and functions, city parks, settlement houses, field houses or gymnasiums and encouraged school buildings to be used to provide "literary club meetings, gymnastics, and athletics for the boys, and folk dancing for the girls."<sup>31</sup> Social reformers managed to convince community leaders that it was time to recognize the urban population's need for play, as well as for education and clean living conditions. There was a related reformation in children's school curricula, with the

addition of gym classes, music, art and home economics to the program.

A minor part of these reforms was what might be loosely called the Folk Dance Movement, a social work and artistic movement that promulgated the “Value of Play.” Thus, for example, Lambin noted that, “the dance hall is not a mere problem of regulation; it is a phase of the whole leisure-time problem--the task of creating institutions which shall give the mass of people opportunities for using their leisure creatively.”<sup>32</sup> She noted that in New York, one dance hall had discovered that the old-fashioned Paul Jones (a mixer) was popular. “During the marches and cotillion figures the patrons romp and play and really relax--for all too short a period. Several others halls, notably one in Philadelphia, have found that cotillion figures and”old-fashioned” dances can be used exclusively with success.”<sup>33</sup>

Those involved in the collection and dissemination of folk dances, including English dances, did not, so far as the writer knows, take an active role in combatting the perils of the public dance hall and the evils of jazz dance. However, many social outreach programs, such as the YWCA, eagerly promulgated their materials. In 1909 in England, for example, the Board of Education agreed to recognize Cecil Sharp’s collection of folk dances as part of its course of physical exercises and organized play, while part of Sharp’s emphasis on the standardization of dance movements and the training of “certificated” teachers was to satisfy the demand of organizations such as the Women's Institutes, the Workers' Educational Association, Girl Guides and Boy Scouts, which were clamoring for folk-songs and dances.<sup>34</sup> Thus, in 1919 the mission of the English Folk Dance Society was amended to include the objective: “to disseminate a knowledge of English Folk Dances, Folk Music and Singing Games, and to encourage the practice of them in their traditional forms,”<sup>35</sup>--an educator’s, not a collector’s or a preservationist’s statement.

One of the most vociferous and well-known opponents of jazz dance, and proponent of “old-time dancing”, was Henry Ford, the automobile magnate. By mid-1925, his missionary labors, as they were termed, included running dances for his workers and staff, first in the Engineering Laboratory of Ford Motor Works, and later in a specially-built dance hall. Contemporaries noted that Ford “was doing his bit toward driving jazz into the discard by reviving interest in the dances of our grand-daddies;” dances such as the Fisherman’s Hornpipe, Speed the Plow, French Four, St. Patrick’s Day in the Morning, Scotch Reel, and Hull’s Victory. Ford teachers taught in physical education departments of 24 universities in many states, and his proselytizing was such that it was estimated that more than one million people were instructed by teams of Ford teachers who toured the country. Ford’s favorite dances and philosophy were put forth in 1926 in the dancing manual, “*Good Morning*”, written by his dancing master, Benjamin Lovett.

In America, one of the most important leaders in the folk dance movement in America (including but not specifically limited to English materials) was Elizabeth Burchenal, founder and president of the American Folk Dance Society in 1916 and Chairman of the Folk-Dance Committee of the Playground Association of America and Inspector of Girls’ Athletics of the Public Schools Athletic League and the Board of Education of the City of New York as early as 1909<sup>36</sup>. Burchenal felt that folk dances were “the very essence of *social group play*...they provide happy relaxation, pleasant physical activity, forgetfulness of self and sociability.”<sup>37</sup> She wished that they not be reserved as a form of exercise for children, and emphasized the opportunities which folk dancing offered as “Recreation For Adults, its possibilities as a Democratic Socializing Agent, and its value as a form of *real* ‘Americanization. (Emphasis original.)”<sup>38</sup>

In one article, Burchenal tackled the “commercialized public dance hall” and criticized it

for its sensuality that corrupted young people until they were unfit for work or play. She felt that too much emphasis on recreation that isolated one boy and girl together was bad for social development, and that the dancing itself was ugly and unmusical. As an alternative, she offered five types or categories of dances that the American Folk Dance Society (not the progenitor of CDSS) believed met all of the requirements of uniting families and communities, cultivating an appreciation of beautiful rhythm and movement, and providing suitable exercise. She recommended a combination of both dance formations and individual dances: 1) the Virginia Reel--for six couples only; 2) Quadrilles--the "Old American type" or what we would call square dances; 3) the Circle, or Sicilian Circle, by which she meant simple quadrille figures in the circular formation; 4) the Waltz—the "true" waltz, not, as she emphasized, the shuffling two-step waltz popular at the time; and 5) the Polka—"one of the fundamental and universal dance steps."<sup>39</sup>

The success of this dance reform movement was mixed. It is doubtful that the proprietors of taxi-dance halls felt that the Sicilian Circle was a crowd-pleaser equal to the Charleston. Indeed, thirty years after the English Folk Dance Society was founded, Douglas Kennedy noted that the Playford country dance--the basic material of the English dance movement--was too complicated. "It needed more detailed instruction and careful practice than the ordinary person, especially the ordinary man, was prepared to stand."<sup>40</sup> On the other hand, educators as well as the outreach groups certainly adopted some of the folk dance movement's materials and principles; after all, many readers of this article probably had a folk dance segment in his or her middle and high school gym classes.

## *Conclusion*

The repeal of Prohibition in 1933 began the decline of the taxi-dance hall. A brief study performed in 1954 stated that only six cities with populations in excess of 200,000 had them-- New York City, Oakland, Newark, Miami and Detroit--and the numbers of halls in those cities had declined significantly from the late thirties: New York, for example, had only 10 taxi-dance halls in 1951-52 compared to 27 in 1930. The surveyor (who was also a part-time piano player in the halls) felt that part of the decline was the recent emphasis of police departments to fingerprint the taxi-dancers, as well as the managers; while part was due to the gradual return of the saloon, the cocktail lounge and the "B-girl".<sup>41</sup> Taxi-dance halls still existed as late as 1969--there were four in Los Angeles, double the number reported fifteen years earlier--but they served more a tourist and transient (such as servicemen) population than an immigrant and uprooted clientele, as had been observed in the Twenties and Thirties.<sup>42</sup>

Over time, changing social patterns, Repeal, World War II and familiarity quelled the criticisms of taxi-dance halls as of jazz dance. New dances came into vogue--some of these condemned as severely as their predecessors. The relationship between the folk dance pioneers and their organizations to the general social reform movements of these years remains an area rich for exploration.

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<sup>1</sup>. Dillon, John, *From Dance Hall to White Slavery* (New York: Wiley Book Co., 1912), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>. Cressey, Paul G., *The Taxi-Dance Hall; A Sociological Study in Commercialized Recreation and City Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1932. Reprinted with permission and an introduction by Ronald C. VanderKooi by Patterson Smith Publishing Corp., Montclair, New Jersey, 1969), pp. 20-23.

<sup>3</sup>. Cressey, p. 27.

<sup>4</sup>. Lambin, Maria Ward, "This Business of Dancing," *The Survey*, vol. 52, No. 8, July 15, 1924, p. 458.

<sup>5</sup>. Cressey, pp. 24-25.

<sup>6</sup>. Cressey, p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>. Cressey, p. 3.

- <sup>8</sup>. Cressey, pp. 7-8.
- <sup>9</sup>. "New York's Dance Halls," *The Literary Digest*, vol. 83, October 11, 1924, pp. 33-34.
- <sup>10</sup>. Cressey, pp. 9-10.
- <sup>11</sup>. Lambin, Maria Ward, "New York's Dance Halls," *The Literary Digest*, vol. 82, October 11, 1924, p. 33.
- <sup>12</sup>. Phelan, John J., "Our Dancing Cities," *The Survey*, vol. 45, January 29, 1921, p. 631.
- <sup>13</sup>. Addams, Jane, "The Public Dance Halls of Chicago," *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 30, July 1913, p. 19.
- <sup>14</sup>. Stocking, Collis A., "A Study of Dance Halls in Pittsburgh; Made Under the Auspices of The Pittsburgh Girls' Conference, 1925," *The Pittsburgh Girls' Conference, 1925*, p. 28.
- <sup>15</sup>. "Cleaning Up New York's Dance Dives," *The Literary Digest*, vol. 110, August 1, 1931, p. 10.
- <sup>16</sup>. "Trotting' To Perdition," *The Literary Digest*, vol. 80, March 22, 1924, p. 34.
- <sup>17</sup>. McMahon, "Unspeakable Jazz," op. cit., p. 116.
- <sup>18</sup>. Smergalski, T. J., Superintendent of Recreation, "Social Dancing in the West Park Recreation Centers of Chicago, Illinois," *The Playground*, vol. 16, no. 10, January 1924, p. 546.
- <sup>19</sup>. McMahon, "Unspeakable Jazz," op. cit., p. 116.
- <sup>20</sup>. McMahon, "Unspeakable Jazz," op. cit. p. 225.
- <sup>21</sup>. "New York's Dance Halls," op. cit., p. 34.
- <sup>22</sup>. McMahon, John R., "Our Jazz-Spotted Middle West," *Ladies Home Journal*, vol. 39, February 1922, p. 181.
- <sup>23</sup>. McMahon, "Unspeakable Jazz," op. cit., p. 116.
- <sup>24</sup>. Phelan, op. cit., p. 632.
- <sup>25</sup>. "Report of the Dance Hall Inspector for the Year Ending December 31, 1913," City of Cleveland, p. 5.
- <sup>26</sup>. McMahon, "Our Jazz-Spotted Middle West," op. cit., p. 38.
- <sup>27</sup>. McMahon, "Unspeakable Jazz," op. cit., p. 34.
- <sup>28</sup>. Inglis, William, "Is Modern Dancing Indecent?" *Harper's Weekly*, vol. 57, May 17, 1913, p. 12.
- <sup>29</sup>. "Report of the Dance Hall Inspector for Year Ending December 31, 1913," City of Cleveland, p. 6.
- <sup>30</sup>. "New York's Dance Halls," op. cit., p. 33.
- <sup>31</sup>. Daggett, Mabel Potter, "The City As A Mother," *World's Work*, vol. 25, November 1912, p. 116.
- <sup>32</sup>. Lambin, "This Business of Dancing," op. cit., p. 461.
- <sup>33</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 461.
- <sup>34</sup>. Croft, W. D., "Fifteen Years' Progress," *The Journal of the English Folk Dance Society*, Second Series, No. 1,

1927, pp. 4, 9.

<sup>35</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup>. Burchenal, Elizabeth, *Folk Dances and Singing Games* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc.; 1909), title page.

<sup>37</sup>. Burchenal, Elizabeth, "Folk Dancing as Social Recreation for Adults," *The Playground*, vol. 14, October 1920, p. 404.

<sup>38</sup>. *Ibid.*, p. 405.

<sup>39</sup>. Burchenal, Elizabeth, "Reviving the Folk Dance," *National Education Association Journal*, vol. 15, November 1926, p. 241.

<sup>40</sup>. Kennedy, Douglas, *England's Dances: Folk-Dancing To-Day and Yesterday* (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1949), p. 21.

<sup>41</sup>. Vedder, Carl B., "The Decline of the Taxi-Dance Hall," *Sociology and Social Research*, vol. 38, July 1954, pp. 390-391.

<sup>42</sup>. VanderKooi, Ronald C., from the 1969 introduction to Paul G. Cressey's *The Taxi-Dance Hall* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1932. Reprinted with permission by Patterson Smith Publishing Corp., Montclair, New Jersey, 1969), p. xviii.