

# DE NUEVA ESPAÑA A MÉXICO

## EL UNIVERSO MUSICAL MEXICANO ENTRE CENTENARIOS (1517-1917)

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## MEXICAN MUSIC, THEATER, AND CIRCUS AT THE LOS ANGELES PLAZA, 1850-1900

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To begin to tell the story of Mexican music and theater in Los Angeles, California, you have to start in the Plaza. It was the first site of Spanish colonial civilian settlement in 1781 and was also the city's first entertainment district<sup>1</sup>. Only a portion of the earlier Los Angeles Plaza area remains, although it was once considerably larger<sup>2</sup>. Today the Plaza retains its historic Roman Catholic Plaza Church, Our Lady Queen of the Angels / Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles (also known as La Placita Church), dedicated in 1822, and which is still an active parish serving a principally Latino congregation (Figure 1.1)<sup>3</sup>. The historic Pico House hotel and Merced Theatre (opened 1870) and Masonic Hall (1858) are adjacent to the Plaza (Figure 1.2). The Merced is the city's oldest surviving theater space, although it has not been used for that purpose for more than a century. Los Angeles civic leaders established touristic Mexican Olvera Street in the late 1920s by the Plaza, as part of the Spanish heritage

\* All internet URL addresses were current as of August 1, 2019.

\*\* Numerous images that visually illustrate this essay appear as Figures in Appendix 1.1.

<sup>1</sup> Important studies of early Los Angeles history include: Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *The Los Angeles Barrio: A Social History*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1979; López, César. *El Descanso: A Comparative History of the Los Angeles Plaza Area and the Shared Racialized Space of the Mexican and Chinese Communities, 1853-1933*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2002; Poole, Jean Bruce; and Ball, Tevvy. *El Pueblo: The Historic Heart of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute and J. Paul Getty Museum, 2002; Estrada, William. *The Los Angeles Plaza: Sacred and Contested Space*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2008; López, César. "Lost in Translation: From Calle de los Negros to Nigger Alley to North Los Angeles Street to Place Erasure, Los Angeles 1855-1951". *Southern California Quarterly*, XCIV, 1 (2012), pp. 25-90; and Torres-Rouff, David Samuel. *Before L.A.: Race, Space, and Municipal Power in Los Angeles, 1781-1894*. New Haven, Yale University Press, 2013.

<sup>2</sup> For a collection of photos of downtown Los Angeles and its early buildings, including those in the Plaza district, see Hylen, Arnold. *Los Angeles Before the Freeways, 1850-1950: Images of an Era*. Los Angeles, Dawson's Book Shop, 1981. For historic maps of Los Angeles, see Harlow, Neal. *Maps and Surveys of the Pueblo Lands of Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, Dawson Books, 1976.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous terms are used today to identify individuals of Mexican heritage in the United States, including Mexican, Mexican American, *Mexicano/a*, Hispanic, Chicano/a, Latino/a, and, most recently, the gender-neutral Chicanx and Latinx. In this study I use all of these terms, except Chicanx and Latinx, since they are of very recent invention (in use since about 2014), and would not have been understood in the period I cover in this essay. See "Why People Are Using the Term Latinx". *Huffington Post*, July 5, 2016, <[https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/why-people-are-using-the-term-latinx\\_us\\_57753328e4b0cc0fa136a159](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/why-people-are-using-the-term-latinx_us_57753328e4b0cc0fa136a159)>; Hernandez, Daniel. "The Case Against Latinx". *Los Angeles Times*, December 17, 2017.

fantasy myth, and it is still an important tourist location<sup>4</sup>. The historic Ávila House on Olvera Street (ca. 1818) is the earliest surviving private house in Los Angeles (Figure 1.3). Italian Hall (1907-1908), long a multi-ethnic site for cultural, social, political, and artistic activities, features David Alfaro Siqueiros's restored mural *América Tropical* of 1932 (viewable from a special roof platform)<sup>5</sup>. Several other surviving historic buildings face the Los Angeles Plaza, including the Spanish-colonial revival La Plaza Methodist Church and church hall, built in 1926 and currently housing the church congregation and the Los Angeles United Methodist Museum of Social Justice; and La Plaza de Cultura y Arte cultural organization celebrating Mexican and Mexican American history and culture, located in the Brunswig Building (1888). The entire district is now known as El Pueblo de Los Ángeles Historical Monument, and is operated by the City of Los Angeles<sup>6</sup>.

The Los Angeles Plaza has been reconfigured and repurposed numerous times over four centuries, and has always been in a state of adaptation and change (Figure 1.4)<sup>7</sup>. Before the building of Los Angeles' Union Railway Station in the late 1930s, and before misguided urban redevelopment in the 1950s, and the destruction of many historic Los Angeles buildings and neighborhoods, it served as the center for the city's vibrant Mexican, Italian, and Chinese communities (Figure 1.5). Civic leaders such as Christine Sterling and *Los Angeles Times* newspaper publisher Harry Chandler, instigators of the romanticized reimagining of Olvera Street, practiced what William Estrada calls "selective preservation", keeping some buildings such as those mentioned above, but almost entirely destroying the original Chinatown and gradually displacing most of the Mexican businesses in the Plaza area<sup>8</sup>.

At different times from about the later nineteenth century through the 1950s, Plaza-district buildings, especially along North Main Street, then the epicenter of Mexican Los Angeles, housed multi-ethnic businesses, churches, restaurants and cafes, social halls, billiard halls, saloons, brothels, music stores, dance halls, rooming houses, phonograph parlors, penny arcades, nickelodeons and 10-cent motion picture houses, and vaudeville theaters. In the early twentieth century, the Plaza was also

<sup>4</sup> Distinguished California historian Kevin Starr succinctly stated the case about "Mexican" Olvera Street: "Olvera Street might not be authentic Old California or even authentic Mexico, but it was better than the bulldozer". Starr, Kevin. *Material Dreams: Southern California Through the 1920s*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1990, p. 205. Also see Kropp, Phoebe S. "Citizens of the Past?: Olvera Street and the Construction of Race and Memory in 1930s Los Angeles". *Radical History Review*, LXXXI (2001), pp. 35-60.

<sup>5</sup> Lothrop, Gloria Ricci. "Italians of Los Angeles: An Historical Overview". *Southern California Quarterly*, LXXXV, 3 (2003), pp. 249-300.

<sup>6</sup> For evaluations of many historic and recent maps of Los Angeles and California, see Creason, Glenn. *Los Angeles in Maps*. New York, Rizzoli, 2010; and Hayes, Derek. *Historical Atlas of California, with Original Maps*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Six important studies that chart the history of the Mexican community in Southern California before World War II, and closely examine its cultural, social, economic, and political life and its connections with Anglo American society, have especially influenced my work: Pitt, Leonard. *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1966; Camarillo, Albert. *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1979; Monroy, Douglas. *Thrown among Strangers: The Making of Mexican Culture in Frontier California*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990; Monroy, D. *Rebirth: Mexican Los Angeles from the Great Migration to the Great Depression*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1999; Sánchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1993; and Deverell, William. *Whitewashed Adobe: The Rise of Los Angeles and the Remaking of Its Mexican Past*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2004. Of these authors, only Sánchez truly engages with music and theater.

<sup>8</sup> Estrada, W. *The Los Angeles Plaza*, p. 245. Also see Ward, Josi. "'Dreams of Oriental Romance': Reinventing Chinatown in 1930s Los Angeles". *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum*, XX, 1 (2013), pp. 19-42. Sterling and Chandler were at least partly motivated to erase Old Chinatown since many of Los Angeles' brothels had been located within its confines.

a site for political and social debate and agitation, and confrontations between the police and working-class peoples.

The development of the Plaza area over time mirrors the transition of Los Angeles from a small Spanish and Mexican pueblo to a larger American frontier city, and ultimately to one of the world's great cities and major metropolitan areas. As the city grew outwards from the Plaza, the performing arts grew with the city, in a diversity of genres and styles and ethnic and racial origins and audiences. New artistic and entertainment genres and venues were regularly introduced, created, or adapted for local use, and older traditions were both maintained and discarded<sup>9</sup>.

Some say that the peoples of Los Angeles and Southern California and their cultural organizations have little sense of or regard for their past<sup>10</sup>. This is a false view that is refuted by the flood of scholarly studies, exhibits, civic historic preservation efforts, and other cultural expressions and projects related to Los Angeles and California history appearing in recent decades<sup>11</sup>. There is a definite interest today in counteracting the erasure of public memory, and the Los Angeles Plaza serves as an exemplary focal point for its recovery. In its fixed and intangible forms historical memory pervades Los Angeles and its large metropolitan area. The documentary and physical record of its daily life is amazingly vast, rich, and complex for a city and region of such comparative youth, whose population explosion only began during the Great Land Boom of the 1880s, a century after its establishment as a Spanish pueblo in 1781<sup>12</sup>. Los Angeles has grown exponentially –in geographic size, population, wealth, and diversity– from its status as a newly conquered city with a reported population of 1,610 in 1850, to a large metropolis with a recorded population of 3,792,621 in 2010. The reported population of Los Angeles County in 2010, of which the city forms a large part, was 9,519,338. Today, the city of Los Angeles encompasses 469 square miles of land within Los Angeles County's 4,058 square miles (not counting bodies of water). Music, theater, and dance have long been an essential expression of life in Los Angeles among all peoples resident in the city and region. The performing arts have developed significantly along with the tremendous physical growth of the city and region (Figures 1.6-1.9; see Appendix 1.2 for Los Angeles population statistics).

Early California boosters and current social and cultural historians alike have presented an exceptionalist view of the state, albeit in different ways<sup>13</sup>. With the rise of European American cultural

<sup>9</sup> A sample of the scholarship on the wide range of musical activities in Los Angeles, on which my work relies, includes: Fry, Stephen M. (ed.). *California's Musical Wealth: Sources for the Study of Music in California*. Glendale, Music Library Association, Southern California Chapter, 1988; Loza, Steven. *Barrio Rhythm: Mexican American Music in Los Angeles*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1993; Loza, S. (ed.). *Musical Aesthetics and Multiculturalism in Los Angeles* [Selected Reports in Ethnomusicology, X]. Los Angeles, University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Ethnomusicology and Systematic Musicology, 1994; DjeDje, Jacqueline Cogdell; and Meadows, Eddie S. (eds.). *California Soul: Music of African Americans in the West*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1998; Marcus, Kenneth H. *Musical Metropolis: Los Angeles and the Creation of a Music Culture, 1880-1940*. New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2004; Smith, Catherine Parsons. *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007; Macías, Anthony. *Mexican American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance, and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1935-1968*. Durham, Duke University Press, 2008; Yang, Mina. *California Polyphony: Ethnic Voices, Musical Crossroads*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2008; and Kun, Josh (ed.). *The Tide Was Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2017.

<sup>10</sup> By Los Angeles I often mean both the city and county of Los Angeles and the greater Los Angeles metropolitan region, including nearby Ventura, Orange, Riverside, and San Bernardino Counties.

<sup>11</sup> The following source provides a good start in understanding some current approaches to studying Los Angeles history: Wakida, Patricia (ed.). *Latitudes: An Angeleno's Atlas*. Berkeley, Heyday Books, 2015.

<sup>12</sup> Dumke, Glen S. *The Boom of the Eighties in Southern California*. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1944.

<sup>13</sup> McWilliams, Carey. *Southern California Country: An Island on the Land*. New York, Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946; and McWilliams, C. *California: The Great Exception*. New York, Current Books, 1949.

and political hegemony after California's admission as a U.S. state in 1850, early promoters trumpeted the state and its beautiful coasts, mountains, deserts, and forests as an Eden, a Pacific Arcadia, a Land of Golden Dreams, a New Mediterranean. California boosters also created a Spanish heritage fantasy story, which converted California's Native American, Spanish colonial, and Mexican histories into a collective imagined, mythic "Spanish" past<sup>14</sup>. Charles F. Lummis and other California boosters used music, especially what they called the "Spanish Songs of Old California", to invoke a positive Spanish exceptionalist musical past, at a time of economic, social, and legal discrimination against local *Mexicano* and Latino peoples, to whom this music actually belonged<sup>15</sup>.

With the large-scale influx of Mexican immigrants during the Mexican Revolution of the 1910s came the strong desire to import Mexican cultural practices to what José Vasconcelos and other Mexican cultural elites called a "México de afuera", a Mexican diaspora abroad<sup>16</sup>. As part of this wish to maintain strong connections to the homeland, these immigrants would establish their own popular music groups, *orquestas típicas*<sup>17</sup> and *mariachis*, dance and wind bands, and operatic and theater companies, creating a vitally alive and mutually supportive musical atmosphere in the Mexican *colonia*<sup>18</sup>.

Physical place and architectonic space, and the chronology of time, directly relate to the artistic practices of music *and* theater –and music *in* theater. A central aspect of this essay is how these practices were and are seen through the lens of physical space and place, and immigration and ethnicity, in the context of music in theater. A recurring process of cultural conflict, maintenance, and accommodation played out in the Mexican musical and theatrical worlds in Los Angeles<sup>19</sup>. Music and theater thus served as forms of communal self-expression and powerful symbols of Mexican (and American) identity, and of both tradition and modernity.

## Plaza and Pueblo

Los Angeles was founded as a small Spanish pueblo in 1781, by 44 original *pobladores* of various races and racial mixtures, primarily from Northern Nueva España. They settled around the Plaza that they established near the Los Angeles River (then called the Río Porciúncula by the Spanish) and near

<sup>14</sup> For evocative California booster iconography, see Zimmerman, Tom. *Paradise Promoted: The Booster Campaign That Created Los Angeles, 1870-1930*. Santa Monica, Angel City Press, 2008; and Kurutz, K. D.; and Kurutz, Gary F. *California Calls You: The Arts of Promoting the Golden State, 1870 to 1940*. Sausalito, Windgate Press, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Lummis, Charles F.; and Farwell, Arthur (eds.). *Spanish Songs of Old California*. Los Angeles, Charles F. Lummis, 1923. On Lummis's Mexican folksong cylinder collection, see Heisley, Michael. "Lummis and Mexican-American Folklore". *Charles F. Lummis: A Tramp Across the Continent*. Daniela P. Moneta (ed.). Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1985, pp. 60-67; and Koegel, John. "Preserving the Sounds of the 'Old' Southwest: Charles Lummis and His Cylinder Collection of Mexican-American and Indian Music". *Association for Recorded Sound Collections Journal*, XXIX, 1 (1998), pp. 1-29.

<sup>16</sup> Vasconcelos, José. "El México de Afuera". *La Opinión* (Los Angeles), June 10, 1928, pp. 9-10.

<sup>17</sup> The Mexican *orquesta típica* (typical orchestra) is an ensemble of representative Mexican instruments typically used in Mexican ensembles such as *salterio* (a trapezoidal triple-strung metal-string instrument played with finger picks) and *bandolón* (a pear-shaped guitar type with metal strings), in addition to mandolin, violin, cello, guitar, flute, and harp, and sometimes other instruments. It often accompanied singers. The *orquesta típica* was the predecessor of the *mariachi* in the affections of the Mexican populace.

<sup>18</sup> The term *colonia* was frequently used before World War II in the local Latino / *Mexicano* community as a positive form of ethnic self-identification. It did not seem to have negative connotations, in the way that it might today. This was also true in Italian American communities in the United States.

<sup>19</sup> Before World War II, much of Southern California's Latino population was of Mexican heritage. Today there is a much greater representation of peoples of Central American, Caribbean, and South American heritage in the state's Latino population.

the Native American villages of the local Tongva peoples<sup>20</sup>. Because of the mestizo, Indian, and black heritage of the 44 original *pobladores*, and intermarriage with local native peoples, Los Angeles was a racially heterogeneous town by the time of Mexican Independence from Spain in 1821<sup>21</sup>. California was admitted to the Union in 1850, following the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848 and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, which ended the war between Mexico and the United States. Los Angeles suddenly became an American city, in name if not always in practice, spirit, or culture<sup>22</sup>. Even after California statehood, Los Angeles, still centered on the Plaza –the main public square and district– and its large surrounding region, retained physical, civic, and cultural vestiges of its Mexican past for several decades. The *Californio* population –Native-born Californians of Hispanic descent– outnumbered newly arrived Europeans and Anglo Americans for some time to come. One measure of the continued importance of *Californio* society in early Los Angeles after the American annexation was the publication in Spanish and English of the city’s first newspaper, the *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles*<sup>23</sup>. The paper was first published on May 17, 1851, and for several years was a four-page publication, with pages 1 and 2 usually printed in English, and pages 3 and 4 in Spanish (the two parts of the paper did not always print the same news or advertisements, however). This balance in racial and ethnic power and cultural dominance –and as represented by this early newspaper– would only shift decisively, however, with the Great Land Boom of the 1880s and the floods of European Americans arriving from the colder, older Midwestern and Eastern states. The Spanish-speaking *Californios* would give way in precedence (unwillingly) to these new arrivals, who increasingly took control of Los Angeles politics, business, and society, often to the general exclusion from power of Southern California’s Latino populations.

### Early Amateur Theater

During the Spanish and Mexican periods in Alta California, as elsewhere in the Hispanic U.S. Southwest, amateur theatrical performances with music, such as the sacred Christmas shepherd’s plays *Los pastores* or *La pastorela*, and secular plays, were given periodically in mission, pueblo, and village churches and chapels; presidios; and in public and private halls<sup>24</sup>. This practice continued well after

<sup>20</sup> Nunis, Jr., Doyce B. (ed.). *The Founding Documents of Los Angeles: A Bilingual Edition*. Los Angeles and Pasadena, Historical Society of Southern California and Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, 2004; and Guerrero, Vladimir. “Caste, Race, and Class in Spanish California”. *Southern California Quarterly*, XCII, 1 (2010), pp. 1-18.

<sup>21</sup> For detailed statistics from 1769-1850 about local indigenous peoples and Hispanic settlers and soldiers in early California, including musicians, see the Huntington Library’s *Early California Population Project*, <<http://www.huntington.org/Information/ECPPmain.htm>>.

<sup>22</sup> Harlow, Neal. *California Conquered: The Annexation of a Mexican Province, 1846-1850*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989.

<sup>23</sup> For a history of Los Angeles’ first newspaper, see Rice, William B. *Southern California’s First Newspaper: The Founding of the Los Angeles Star*. Los Angeles, Dawson, 1941; and Rice, W. B. *The Los Angeles Star, 1851-1864: The Beginnings of Journalism in Southern California*. John Walton Caughey (ed.). Berkeley, University of California Press, 1947.

<sup>24</sup> On the *Pastorela* (*Los pastores*) sacred theatrical tradition, see Rael, Juan B. *The Sources and Diffusion of the Mexican Shepherd’s Plays*. Guadalajara, Librería La Joyita, 1965; Stark, Richard B. *Music of the Spanish Folk Plays in New Mexico*. Santa Fe, Museum of New Mexico, 1969; Flores, Richard R. *Los Pastores: History and Performance in the Mexican Shepherd’s Play of South Texas*. Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995; Russell, Craig H. *From Serra to Sancho: Music and Pageantry in the California Missions*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2009; and Cayward, Margaret. *Missions and Transmissions: Music and the Spanish Missions of Alta California from 1769*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 2012.

the U.S. annexation of the region in 1848. Since Spanish and Mexican military companies employed musicians and maintained musical inventories, instrumental music probably accompanied theatrical events in some way before 1850<sup>25</sup>. Although amateur performances such as these were not usually documented in early California, verification of a theatrical practice with a military connection can likely be seen in a manuscript playscript at the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. The three-act play *Astucias por heredar un sobrino a su tío*, written by Fermín de Reygadas (b. Santander, Spain, 1754) in Mexico City in 1789, may have been performed in Northern California sometime at the turn of the nineteenth century by the Catalonian militia volunteers, perhaps in the Villa de Branciforte (the modern-day city of Santa Cruz), or at the Presidio in Monterey, the capital of Spanish Alta California. Nicolás Kanellos and Pedro García-Caro present a strong case for *Astucias por heredar un sobrino a su tío* as the first secular play performed in Alta California<sup>26</sup>.

Some secular performance spaces in early California have been identified by name and location. Sánchez Hall, built in the 1840s facing the Los Angeles Plaza, was one of the first buildings reportedly given over to public secular performances in the pueblo<sup>27</sup>. Manuel Micheltorena took the oath of office as Mexican governor of Alta California there on New Year's Eve in 1842, followed by a special *baile* in his honor<sup>28</sup>. The social hall Los Amigos del País, which opened in 1844 (or 1841) near the Los Angeles Plaza, was another early performance venue (it may also have been known later as Los Dos Amigos; Figure 1.10). According to local historian J. M. Guinn, it was an adobe building fitted as a dance hall and reading room, with card tables, and was “the first social hall or club house ever built on the Pacific Coast”. It was built “for the leading citizens of the town, both native and foreign born. [...] Their *sala* in course of time became a *vinatería* and afterwards it was ‘Los Dos Amigos,’ the two friends –the friend behind the bar and the one in front of it”<sup>29</sup>. Southern California *ranchero* José Arnaz (1820-1895) remembered that Los Amigos del País / Los Dos Amigos employed a harpist to provide musical entertainment and dance accompaniment, and that Andrés Pico (brother of Pío Pico, the last Mexican Governor of Alta California) and other wealthy *Californio* and Anglo-American landowners

<sup>25</sup> Koegel, John. “Musical Instruments in Mission, Presidio, and Pueblo.” *Diagonal: Journal for the Center for Iberian and Latin American Music*, IX (2009), <<http://www.cilam.ucr.edu/diagonal/issues/2009/Koegel.pdf>>.

<sup>26</sup> Kanellos, Nicolás. *A History of Hispanic Theater in the United States: Origins to 1940*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1990, p. 1. Kanellos's book is the foundational study of Hispanic theater throughout the United States, and the bedrock on which my own work is based. For an edition and study of this important play, see Reygadas, Fermín de. *Astucias por heredar un sobrino a su tío*. Pedro García-Caro (ed.). Houston, Arte Público Press, 2015.

<sup>27</sup> J. M. Guinn quoted an (unidentified) “old pioneer writing in 1842”: “Sanchez Hall is painted out in the most comical style with priests, bishops, saints, horses and other animals –the effect is really astonishing”; Guinn, James M. “Historic Houses of Los Angeles”. *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, III (1896), pp. 62-69, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> On dance music in early California, see Koegel, J. “Spanish and Mexican Dance Music in Early California”. *Ars Musica Denver*, VII, 1 (1994), pp. 31-55.

<sup>29</sup> Guinn, J. M. “Historic Houses of Los Angeles”, p. 68. The dance hall and saloon Los Dos Amigos was run by German-born Felipe Rheim, the abusive and alcoholic first husband of Rosario Díaz (ca. 1835-1895). Rheim committed suicide in April 1860 (*Los Angeles Star*, April 21, 1860, p. 2; and “Administratrix's Notice”. *Los Angeles Star*, June 30, 1860, p. 3) (an 1895 article asserts that Rheim's Los Dos Amigos was a “general variety store” located on Upper Main Street above the Plaza church: “Quaint and Historic Scenes in Old Los Angeles”. *Los Angeles Herald*, March 17, 1895, p. 15). John Mack Faragher examines Rosario Díaz's extensive legal proceedings against her first husband Felipe Rheim, in his important study *Eternity Street: Violence and Justice in Frontier Los Angeles*. New York, W. W. Norton, 2016, pp. 221-224. On Díaz's very musical children, including her daughter Manuela García (1868-1931), Charles Fletcher Lummi's principal singer and musical collaborator for his wax cylinder collection of Mexican popular and folk songs recorded in Los Angeles ca. 1904, see Koegel, John. “*Canciones del país*: Mexican Musical Life in California after the Gold Rush”. *California History*, LXXVIII, 3 (1999), pp. 160-187, and 215-219; and Koegel, J. “Preserving the Sounds of the ‘Old’ Southwest”.

were members of the club, many of whom had connections to Los Angeles' musical and theatrical life<sup>30</sup>.

Los Dos Amigos was offered for sale in 1859; by that time it had many rooms, one of which was a saloon, and an excellent *corral* and garden, through which ran the La Zanja Madre, Los Angeles' main water irrigation channel<sup>31</sup>. When the San Francisco lithographers Kuchel and Dresel published a finely detailed bird's-eye view of downtown Los Angeles and the Plaza area in 1857, they also included inset images of Los Angeles commercial buildings surrounding one of the two versions of this published aerial view. Los Dos Amigos saloon-*sala* is included as one of these inset images (Figure 1.10). It is probably the earliest pictorial representation of a secular performance space in Los Angeles. Figure 1.6 reproduces Kuchel and Dresel's lithographed view of this birds-eye view of the Plaza area from 1857, but without these inset images.

Regular documentation about theater in early California begins only in the late 1840s, when newspapers were first published there. In Northern California in 1847, amateur performers put on the sacred play *Adán y Eva* at the Monterey home of Rafael González, who probably directed the play<sup>32</sup>. Spanish statesman, poet, and playwright Francisco Martínez de la Rosa's (1787-1861) Romantic tragedy *Morayma*, about Morayma (1464-1493), the wife of Boabdil, the last king of Moorish Granada, was given three times "by private subscription" in Monterey in September 1847 over three nights by a local company<sup>33</sup>. This may have been given in the billiard hall owned by Monterey merchant José Abrego<sup>34</sup>. They likely performed from a playscript imported to California from a Mexico City bookseller (in printed or manuscript form)<sup>35</sup>. California's first newspaper, the *Californian* (established 1846)<sup>36</sup>, issued a favorable review of the Monterey performances and reported that the audience was made up of "towns-people and the officers of the army and navy," the local *Californio* residents and Anglo American military officers stationed there during the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848<sup>37</sup>. According to the anonymous *California* reviewer "Piasano" (a misprint for *paisano*), "The scenery of

<sup>30</sup> Van de Grift Sánchez, Nellie (ed. and trans.). "Memoirs of a Merchant". *Touring Topics* (September 1928), pp. 14-19, and 47-48; and (October 1928), pp. 37-41, and 46-47. José Arnaz's dictated memories of his life in Mexican California are available in digital form as *Recuerdos de Don Jose Arnaz*, through the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley (original manuscript call number BANC MSS C-D 32). See <<https://oac.cdlib.org/ark:/13030/hb396nb3kx/?brand=oac4>>. The mention of Los Amigos del País social club and performance hall and its harpist appears on pages 39-41 of this transcript of Arnaz's *recuerdos*. On Arnaz, see Taylor, Cynthia E. "José de Arnaz of Buenaventura". *Ventura County Historical Society Quarterly*, V, 1-2 (2007), pp. 1-51.

<sup>31</sup> "A Desirable House for Sale". *El Clamor Público* (Los Angeles), November 5, 1859, p. 2. Los Angeles Street, which ended at the Calle de los Negros, was also known as Calle de la Zanja, or Canal Street.

<sup>32</sup> "Don Raphael Gonzalez has contributed much to the entertainment of the community by the sacred dramas he got up. The parts were well sustained and reflected great credit on the actors. The saloon was well lighted, the beauty and worth of Monterey was there" ("Last Days of the Carnival", *Californian* (Monterey), February 20, 1847, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Theatrical notice, *Californian* (San Francisco), October 6, 1847, p. 3; also cited in Kanellos, N. *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States*, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Kanellos, N. *A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States*, p. 2. José Abrego reportedly was one of the first to import a piano to Alta California for private use.

<sup>35</sup> Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco. *Morayma, tragedia*. Paris, Didot, 1829 (and later editions). In Martínez de la Rosa's play, *Morayma* is not the wife of Boabdil but rather the widow of Albinhamad, a leader of the Moorish Abencerrages.

<sup>36</sup> California's first newspaper, the *Californian*, was established in Monterey in August 1846 by Walter Colton and Robert Semple and published there as a weekly newspaper from August 1846 through May 1847, after which time it was published in San Francisco. It was issued there until November 1848, when it briefly merged with the *California Star*, and in January 1849 it was retitled the *Alta California*, in which guise it endured for many decades. The first volume of the *Californian* (1846-1847) was reproduced complete, in luxurious letterpress facsimile, with an extensive historical introduction by George Hammond, as *The Californian Volume One*. San Francisco, John Howell Books, 1971. These and other California newspapers are available in easily accessible digital form at the *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, University of California, Riverside, <<https://cdnc.ucr.edu>>.

<sup>37</sup> Theatrical notice, *Californian* (San Francisco), October 6, 1847, p. 3.

the theatre was well done, the dresses of the different performers very handsome and appropriate, and the acting in general good. But the part of Morayma [performed by Francisca Gómez], Ayxa [Anita Castañares], and Ali [Florencio Serrano], were most admirably sustained, and would have done credit to a regular theatre”<sup>38</sup>. Although the performance was “an agreeable piece of amusement”, the choice of this play, with its retelling of the *Reconquista* of Moorish Granada by the forces of the Catholic Kings Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492, may have been intended as an ironic reference to the invasion by U.S. military forces of Monterey, the capital of Alta California, on July 7, 1846, a year before the Spanish play was performed there. This connection must have been obvious to the *Californio* actors and audience members, but perhaps not to the invading Anglo Americans, few of whom spoke Spanish.

In Los Angeles in 1848 and 1849, American soldiers from Colonel Stevenson’s Regiment of New York Volunteers, and from the company of U.S. Dragoons under the command of Major L. P. Graham, presented English-language plays such as William Barnes Rhodes ever-popular one-act work *Bombastes Furioso* (1810), for local *Californio* residents and American soldiers and officers<sup>39</sup>. The American soldiers occupying Mexican Los Angeles probably performed *Bombastes Furioso* as a ballad opera, with songs, since the work is labelled a “burlesque tragic opera”, and the playscript has a number of song lyrics intended to be sung to well-known tunes<sup>40</sup>. The American soldiers performed *Bombastes Furioso* and other plays over several months in the outdoor patio at the home of wealthy *Californio* landowner Ignacio Coronel, on the Calle de los Negros near the Plaza<sup>41</sup>. These are the first theatrical performances in Los Angeles for which titles of works are known, other than for the traditional *Pastorela* (Figure 1.11).

## Professional Music, Theater, and Circus

After California statehood in 1850, the professional theater –almost always accompanied by music, and that was often elaborate in nature– developed very rapidly in the north, especially in the cities of San Francisco, Sacramento, and Stockton, and also in the Northern California Gold Rush mining camps and towns<sup>42</sup>. Because of Southern California’s scattered and smaller populations, professional

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Lawrence, J. E. “The Drama on the Pacific: First Theatricals in California”. *The Golden Era* (San Francisco), April 15, 1855, p. 1; April 29, p. 1, and May 13, 1855, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> The playscript to *Bombastes Furioso* (published by Samuel French in New York, and by other publishers) is available online at archive.org. The play is a “satirical take of the pompous style of contemporary tragedies. The plot follows a King who wishes to divorce his wife and marry another; however, his desired is betrothed to another” (*Eighteenth-Century Drama: Censorship, Society, and the Stage*, <[http://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/HL\\_LA\\_mssLA1634](http://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/HL_LA_mssLA1634)>).

<sup>41</sup> Gibb, Andrew. *Staging Continuity: Theatre, Performance, and the Social Imaginary in Transitional California, 1836-1859*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2008; Gibb, A. “Wartime Collaboration: Theatrical Space and Power in Conquered Los Angeles”. *Theatre Symposium*, XXIV (2016), pp. 64-75; and Gibb, A. *Californios, Anglos, and the Performance of Oligarchy in the U.S. West*. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 2018.

<sup>42</sup> On the history of theater and opera in nineteenth-century San Francisco, see Gagey, Edmond G. *The San Francisco Stage: A History*. New York, Columbia University Press, 1950; Berson, Misha. “The San Francisco Stage from Gold Rush to Golden Spike, 1849-1869”. *San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum Journal*, II (1989), entire issue; Berson, M. “The San Francisco Stage from Golden Spike to Great Earthquake, 1869-1906”. *San Francisco Performing Arts Library and Museum Journal*, IV (1992), entire issue; and Martin, George. *Verdi at the Golden Gate: Opera in San Francisco in the Gold Rush Years*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1993. The extensive series of monographs edited by Lawrence Estavan and published in the 1930s by the San Francisco Theatre Research project, supported by the Works Progress Administration, is available in digital form on the archive.org website, under the general title *San Francisco Theatre Research*.

theater developed more slowly there than it did in the north<sup>43</sup>. However, the well-established custom throughout nineteenth-century Mexico, Mexican California, and the U.S. Hispanic Southwest of giving musical and theatrical performances in churches, dance halls, village and town meeting rooms, schools, cantinas, saloons, private houses, and in outdoor public spaces suggests a much larger picture than what was recorded in the local press.

Los Angeles's first theater and entertainment district was located in the Plaza area, and was centered on the Calle de los Negros, which was reportedly so named by local *Californios* since many of Los Angeles' early residents were dark skinned<sup>44</sup>. Circus performers such as the Mexican *maromeros* –companies of trapeze and acrobatic, clown, and tight-rope artists– performed in spaces along Negro Alley, and directly on the Plaza square, usually to some sort of musical accompaniment<sup>45</sup>. In his well-known, and often-cited memoirs, *Reminiscences of a Ranger, or, Early Times in Southern California* of 1881, early Los Angeles resident Horace Bell (1830-1919) gave an evocative-albeit-sensationalistic first-hand description of the Calle de los Negros in the early 1850s, and the various forms of entertainment on offer there, including *las maromas*:

There were four or five gambling places, and the crowd from the old Coronel building on the Los Angeles Street corner to the Plaza was so dense that we could scarcely squeeze through. Americans, Spaniards [*Californios*], Indians, and foreigners, rushing and crowding along from one gambling house to another, from table to table, all chinking the everlasting eight square \$50 pieces up and down in their palms. There were several bands of music of the primitive Mexican-Indian kind, that sent forth most discordant sound, by no means in harmony with the eternal jingle of gold, while at the upper end of the street, in the rear of one of the gambling houses was a Mexican *maroma* in uproarious confusion. They positively made night hideous with their howlings<sup>46</sup>.

In a less colorful manner, the *maromeros* H. Cruz and G. Valencia announced their Los Angeles performances in the *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles* in March 1854, and noted that dances (with music) would be given, followed by a play:

En el primer acto se presentarán los Señores H. Cruz y G. Valencia cada uno en su cuerda trabajando y haciendo ambos diferentes figuras a un mismo tiempo. Después los referidos Señores trabajarán a pulso del modo antedicho haciendo varios equilibrios y mudanzas. Concluido el primer acto seguirán los bailes de costumbre; dará fin la función con el saynete titulado *El sombrero invisible*<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> The dramatic form of melodrama, almost always with musical accompaniment, was extremely popular in the United States in the nineteenth century. Michael V. Pisani examines the use of music in this theatrical genre in his important study *Music for the Melodramatic Theatre in Nineteenth-Century London and New York*. Iowa City, University of Iowa Press, 2014. Although Pisani principally covers New York and London, the musical and theatrical practices he analyzes were also common in San Francisco and Northern California Gold Rush-era cities and mining towns, and in early Los Angeles, where theatrical melodrama was popular.

<sup>44</sup> Anglo Americans later called it or Negro Alley, or, in racist terms, “Nigger Alley.”

<sup>45</sup> The most important documentary study of theater in early Los Angeles and elsewhere in Southern California is Earnest, Sue Wolfer. *An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California, 1848-1894*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1947. Also see MacMinn, George R. *The Theater of the Golden Era in California*. Caldwell, Caxton Printers, 1941.

<sup>46</sup> Bell, Horace. *Reminiscences of a Ranger, or, Early Times in Southern California*. Los Angeles, Yamell, Caystile & Mathes, 1881, pp. 12-13 (reprint edition, with introduction by John Boessenecker. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1999).

<sup>47</sup> “Aviso al público”. *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles*, March 4, 1854, p. 3.

A report from 1864 of Mexican *maromas* performing in Tucson, Arizona gives a flavor of what this form of popular circus performance could have been like in early Los Angeles:

I heard the sounds of lively music, and, looking out, saw, crossing the plaza, a motley train attired in garments fantastic, like unto those of a circus, preceded by a clown, and followed by gymnasts on horseback, as well as by all the lazzaroni [idlers or beggars] of the town. It was the Maroma, or circus company, parading the town prior to an exhibition designed to come off that evening. The “band” consisted only of fiddles and tambourines and a single drum<sup>48</sup>.

Although many popular entertainments and performers went unannounced in the local press in the nineteenth century, some troupes’ appearances in Los Angeles were indeed reported and some performers identified. For example, members of the Manzo family of *maromeros* and musicians from Los Angeles appeared in the city in 1853, 1857, 1858, 1859, and 1866 (and probably at other times), as part of their own family troupe and with other circuses (see Appendix 1.4)<sup>49</sup>. Bullfights and horse races were common forms of entertainment in early Los Angeles, and sometimes included musical and circus-related accompaniments. The *Los Angeles News* of October 27, 1872 reported that, after a bullfight in Sonoratown north of the Plaza, “The bull was then taken out and the band struck up a lively air [melody]. The clown who had hitherto kept at a safe and respectful distance from the bull, being perched on the fence, then danced a polka and sang a song full of Mexico and ‘Libertad’”<sup>50</sup>.

Traveling Mexican and American circuses and their groups of musicians or wind bands visited Los Angeles and Southern California throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, and were important sources of theatrical and musical entertainment for local residents. They usually appeared in Los Angeles and other Southern California cities and towns for limited runs of performances in the mid nineteenth century, but a few of them did stay in one place for more extended time periods<sup>51</sup>. The Circo Nacional e Hipódromo de Lee (Lee’s National Circus) from Stockton and San Francisco, was one company that remained in Los Angeles for a longer season than usual. Managed by performer-impresario H. C. Lee, this circus performed (mostly) on Saturdays and Sundays from December 1858 to March 1859, in a tent set up in a corner of the Los Angeles Plaza across from the Plaza Church<sup>52</sup>. To attract large paying audiences Lee placed posters printed in Spanish and English throughout the city to advertise his company’s performances, and also gave out playbills to circus attendees on the day of the performance. One very elegant illustrated playbill for January 29 and 30, 1859 for the Circo Nacional de Lee was luxuriously printed in large size on elegant blue satin, surely as a very special *obsequio* for

<sup>48</sup> “Mr. Greeley’s Letters from Southern Arizona”. *Daily Alta California*, March 1, 1864, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Sabino Manzo appears in the 1860 U.S. federal census for the city of Los Angeles (on page 3) listed as a musician (age 27).

<sup>50</sup> “A Bull-Fight in Sonora”. *Los Angeles News*, October 27, 1872, quoted in *History of Los Angeles County, California, with Illustrations*. Oakland, Thompson and West, 1880, p. 101.

<sup>51</sup> See Kanellos, N. “A Brief Overview of the Mexican-American Circus in the Southwest”. *Journal of Popular Culture*, XVIII, 2 (1984), pp. 77-84. Some of the circuses appearing in Los Angeles in the 1850s and advertising in the newspaper *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles* included Jesús and Sabino Manzo’s Mexican Circus in 1853 (August 20), Bartholomew’s Pacific Circus in 1856 (February 2), and Thomas Van Deusen’s Circus in 1857 (October 3).

<sup>52</sup> Henry Charles Lee (1815-1885) and his family circus were especially active from the 1850s through the 1870s, in San Francisco and Sacramento, as well as in other Northern California cities and Gold Rush-era mining towns. And they also toured Hawaii, Mexico, and Central America. As with other circuses, they traveled wherever there were audiences and money to be made. See Slout, William L. *Olympians of the Sawdust Circle: A Biographical Dictionary of the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century American Circus*. San Bernardino, The Borgo Press, 1998, pp. 170-171; and Koon, Helene Wickham. *Gold Rush Performers*. Jefferson, McFarland, 1994.

leading Los Angeles residents (Figure 1.12)<sup>53</sup>. A contemporary report from San Francisco suggests how circus impresarios such as Mr. Lee advertised their performances in early Los Angeles:

Lee's Circus Company is making the daily rounds of our city, with a band of music, wagons, etc., in accordance with the ancient custom which all circuses do religiously follow. The Lee boys [Lee's two sons], the little phenomena, each astride of a huge horse, and dressed alike, form a span behind the music wagon; and the rear is brought up by ten or a dozen gaily decked horses<sup>54</sup>.

Lee's Circus put on thrilling dramatic equestrian pantomimes with horse and bareback riders, such as *Don Juan montado a caballo* and *Cupid in the Soot Bag*, popular acts well-known in the circus world. They also put on clown and aerial acts, acrobatics, and gymnastic exhibitions, accompanied by music, and sometimes fireworks. Lee and his family circus presented the first really grand-scale theatrical spectacles with instrumental music accompaniment ever performed in Los Angeles, just a few years after California statehood. Several other circuses had appeared in Los Angeles before Lee, but his troupe thrilled audiences more deeply, with their daring, spectacular deeds and excellent musical accompaniment. The audience's enthusiastic reception was reported regularly in the local press. Lee's Circus traveled with its own orchestra or band, and the Los Angeles newspaper *El Clamor Público* reported on Christmas Day in 1858 that "la música vale el precio de la entrada"<sup>55</sup>. Lee's Circus company also earned the appreciation of local residents because of the charity benefits they gave.

Popular entertainments such as opera, operetta, English-language plays, concerts, and the circus were much more frequently presented in San Francisco than in Los Angeles in the nineteenth century because of the northern city's greater number of theaters and larger population. However, the Spanish-language secular drama, as performed by a combination of semi-professional and amateur actors, likely had its California debut in Los Angeles, in 1852, rather than in San Francisco. From November 1852 through January 1853, audiences made up of local *Californios* and Anglo Americans and Europeans attended Spanish-language performances in Los Angeles given by Rafael Guerrero's dramatic company. These were given either in the indoor *sala* or the outdoor patio at the home of José Vicente Guerrero<sup>56</sup>,

<sup>53</sup> Large playbill, *Circo Nacional de Lee*, January 29 and 30, 1859 (printed on blue satin by Imprenta de la Estrella / *Los Angeles Star*, dimensions 50 by 23 cm), Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 208401.

<sup>54</sup> "Parade". *Daily Alta California*, June 8, 1852, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> The newspapers *Los Angeles Star*, *El Clamor Público*, and *Southern Vineyard* published numerous reports, advertisements, and reviews of the performances of Lee's Circus in Los Angeles, from November 1858 through March 1859.

<sup>56</sup> According to local historian William Mason, "one of the more cultural pursuits to be found on Negro Alley was the theater. On the east side of the alley was the house of Vicente Guerrero, where his son, Rafael, put on Spanish-language plays" (Mason, William. "The Chinese in Los Angeles". *Los Angeles Museum of Natural History Quarterly*, VI (1967), pp. 15-20). However, it is not completely certain that Rafael was José Vicente's son. Although José Vicente Guerrero and his family do appear in the 1850 federal census (he was described as age 31; born Mexico; occupation, grocer; possessing \$6,000 value of real estate), there is no listing for Rafael in that census. If José Vicente Guerrero's age was 31 in 1850, it is unlike that he would have had a son who was acting professionally in adult roles in 1852 in Los Angeles. Judge Benjamin Hayes, chronicler of early Los Angeles, knew José Vicente Guerrero well, and remembered him in his *Pioneer Notes*: "Many years ago he [Guerrero] came from Acapulco, and made himself popular enough to be elected *Alcalde* of Los Angeles. In these latter days of American rule, and indeed before, he has flourished at the head of a 'family grocery' much frequented by Indians and a certain class of Sonorians. In the end he acquired a fine property" (Hayes, Benjamin Ignatius. *Pioneer Notes from the Diaries of Judge Benjamin Hayes, 1849-1875*. Marjorie Tisdale Wolcott (ed.). Los Angeles, [McBride Printing Co.], 1929, p. 135). Contrary to Hayes's assertion, Guerrero never served as *alcalde* in Los Angeles.

on the Calle de los Negros, facing the main Plaza (Figure 1.13)<sup>57</sup>. On November 21 and December 26, 1852, Guerrero's company gave José Zorrilla's ever-popular play *Don Juan Tenorio*, Part I (1844) after a "selected piece of music" was played<sup>58</sup>. Guerrero's troupe also performed Zorrilla's plays *Los dos virreyes de Nápoles*, *El puñal del godo*, *Cada cual con su razón*, and *El zapatero y el rey*; Molière's *El médico a palos* (*Le médecin malgré lui*, translated by Leandro Fernández de Moratín); Ventura de la Vega's juguete cómico *Noche toledana*; and *La familia del mendigo*<sup>59</sup>.

This was a significant entrance into play production in early Los Angeles, and two very rare printed playbills from these performances survive<sup>60</sup>. These are the earliest-known theatrical playbills from Los Angeles, and they probably survive today because they were printed on satin as special keepsakes. Not much is currently known about Rafael Guerrero, his company, or these performances, although they were advertised and mentioned in the *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles*. They were successful enough for Guerrero to offer performances sporadically over the three months from November 1852 through January 1853 (Figures 1.14-1.17)<sup>61</sup>. Theater historian Andrew Gibb teases out various layers of hidden meaning in Guerrero's Los Angeles performances, their connections to local society, and their importance to theatrical history in California (he also notes that a benefit performance was offered to actress Feliciano Torres, about whom nothing is known)<sup>62</sup>. Guerrero took his own benefit on December 12, 1852 (*Gran Función Extraordinaria a beneficio del Director de la Compañía*) with the popular *El zapatero y el rey*. The *Sacramento Daily Union* noted that actress María Sepúlveda (perhaps from the locally prominent Sepúlveda family of Southern California), who was a member of Guerrero's company, was also given a benefit performance<sup>63</sup>. Nicolás Fernández was the fourth identified member of the Guerrero Company<sup>64</sup>. For his own benefit performance of *El zapatero y el rey* on December 12, director Guerrero composed a poem in honor of his "público ilustre y piadoso", which he had printed on the satin playbill. In this poem, Guerrero expresses his desire that the performance will please his audience:

Público ilustre y piadoso,  
 en la función que te ofrezco  
 seré feliz si merezco,  
 que quedes de ella gustoso.  
 Al mirar que generoso  
 con todos sabes mostrarte,  
 quisiera manifestarte  
 mi dulce agradecimiento

<sup>57</sup> News about Guerrero's productions of Spanish-language theatrical works traveled north to San Francisco and Sacramento. The *Daily Alta California* published the notice that "They have a Spanish theatre in full blast in Los Angeles" (December 31, 1852, 2); the *Sacramento Daily Union* noted the same and that "Donna [sic] Maria Sepulveda took a benefit there" (January 3, 1853, 3).

<sup>58</sup> Zorrilla's play *Don Juan Tenorio* is traditionally performed on All Saints' Day on November 1.

<sup>59</sup> The was probably also known as *Pablo, o la familia del mendigo*, and was likely written by José Arnaldo Márquez.

<sup>60</sup> Playbill, *El zapatero y el rey*, December 12, 1852 (printed on blue satin, 24 by 16 cm), Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 208400; and playbill, *El puñal del godo*, January 9, 1853 (printed on satin, 23 by 17 cm), Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 208399.

<sup>61</sup> Issues of the *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles* are available at Digital Library, University of Southern California, <<http://digitalibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll68>>; and the *California Digital Newspaper Collection*, University of California, Riverside, <<https://cdnc.ucr.edu>>.

<sup>62</sup> Gibb, A. *Staging Continuity*, pp. 241-254.

<sup>63</sup> *Sacramento Daily Union*, January 3, 1853, p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> Earnest, S. W. *An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California*, p. 14.

mas lo que en mi pecho siento,  
 yo no sé cómo explicarme.  
 De una función escogida  
 a dar el conjunto voy,  
 y complaciéndome estoy,  
 pues creo será aplaudida<sup>65</sup>.

After Guerrero concluded his theatrical season in Los Angeles, he traveled north to San Francisco, where he appeared in Spanish-language plays, possibly with some of the members of his Los Angeles troupe. The *Daily Alta California* of July 21, 1853 seemed to suggest that Guerrero's performances were the first plays given in Spanish in San Francisco: "On Sunday last we took occasion to visit the Spanish play, another striking feature in the theatricals of San Francisco, which had already presented very creditable specimens of the English, German, French, and Chinese drama"<sup>66</sup>. Guerrero and his company performed Antonio García Gutiérrez's popular drama *El trovador* of 1836, with Guerrero taking the leading role of Don Manrique, Leonarda Garivay (Gariva) as Doña Leonora de Sesé, and Ana González as the gypsy Azucena (the other performers were not identified)<sup>67</sup>. The *Daily Alta California* review suggests that only Guerrero was a professional actor, the other performers being amateurs: "Doña Leonarda Gariva [Garivay], as Leonor, and Doña Ana Gonzalez as the Gipsy, appear to be new on the stage, but with sufficient talent to sustain their parts; the other performers were rather indifferent and did not certainly feel at home in pink trowsers and feather hats"<sup>68</sup>. Guerrero's troupe gave the *sainete* *Una de tantas* after *El trovador* on that same date. The newspaper noted that the audience was small, and it pointed out that "the Spanish population is certainly sufficient to fill a house, and its morals can only be improved by listening to these productions, while the Spanish-speaking Americans and Germans would learn by it"<sup>69</sup>. The anonymous reviewer also suggested that Guerrero hire Sofía Ávalos, the local dancer and actress (she was the daughter of opera singer Francisca Ávalos, who was one of the first to introduce operatic music to San Francisco audiences, in 1850, first in concert performances<sup>70</sup>). Guerrero and his San Francisco troupe also performed *Los dos virreyes de Nápoles* (July 21), *El trovador* (August 18), and Fernando Calderón's *Hernán, o la vuelta del cruzado* (August 25)<sup>71</sup>. No other notices about his activities or life have been found from after that time, despite his status as the one who likely

<sup>65</sup> Playbill, *El zapatero y el rey*.

<sup>66</sup> "The Spanish Theatre". *Daily Alta California*, July 21, 1853, p. 2. For the French, German, Italian, and Chinese theaters of San Francisco, see Estavan, Lawrence (ed.). *The French Theatre in San Francisco / The German Theatre in San Francisco* [San Francisco Theatre Research, IX]. San Francisco, Works Progress Administration, Northern California Unit, 1939; Estavan, L. (ed.). *The Italian Theatre in San Francisco* [San Francisco Theatre Research, X]. San Francisco, Works Progress Administration, Northern California Unit, 1939; and Rao, Nancy Yunhwa. *Chinatown Opera Theater in North America*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2017.

<sup>67</sup> The San Francisco *Placer Times and Transcript* of July 30, 1853 (p. 1) also praised the Guerrero Company's performance of *El trovador* and noted that Guerrero "possesses a fine voice, person and manner, and talent to shine conspicuous on any stage". The article also noted that the company had arrived in San Francisco on July 16, 1853.

<sup>68</sup> "The Spanish Theatre". *Daily Alta California*, July 21, 1853, p. 2.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Martin, G. *Verdi at the Golden Gate*, pp. 21, 24, 26, 261, 263. Francisca Ávalos appeared in San Francisco as early as April 11, 1850 singing on touring piano virtuoso and composer Henri Herz's concert at the National Theatre ("Amusements". *Daily Alta California*, April 11, 1850, p. 3). She and her daughter Sofía Ávalos were frequently mentioned in the *Daily Alta California* in the early 1850s; they also appeared in Sacramento. See Lengyel, Cornel (ed.). *Celebrities in El Dorado* [History of Music in San Francisco, 4]. San Francisco, Works Progress Administration, 1940.

<sup>71</sup> "Spanish Theatre". *Daily Alta California*, July 22, 1853, p. 2; "Spanish Theatre". *Daily Alta California*, August 19, 1853, p. 2; and "Spanish Theatre". *Daily Alta California*, August 26, 1853, p. 2.

introduced Spanish-language secular drama to both Los Angeles and San Francisco. Rafael Guerrero remains an important-but-shadowy figure in the history of the performing arts in California.

Formal theatrical and concert activity continued in Los Angeles throughout the 1850s and 1860s, but only sporadically. On the other hand, public fandangos and private *bailes* were especially common in the city in the first decades after California statehood (see entries for the 1850s and 1860s in Appendix 1.4). Fandangos, *bailes*, and public musical and theatrical performances were announced and sometimes reviewed in the earliest Los Angeles newspapers, such as the *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles*, Francisco P. Ramírez's Spanish-language *El Clamor Público*, *Southern Californian*, *Los Angeles Daily News*, and the *Southern Vineyard*<sup>72</sup>. Although documentation about formal theatrical and musical entertainments in the 1850s and 1860s is scarce, many printed *baile* invitations and published dance notices survive, indicating a rich level of private dance and dance music activity<sup>73</sup> (see Appendix 1.4). However, a regulation passed in 1855 by the Los Angeles City Council may suggest an even larger amount of theatrical performance activity than what was noted in the local press. The regulation was published in both Spanish and English, and dictated that "All of the circus, theater, musical, tight-rope, sleight-of-hand, and magic companies / troupes will be required to obtain their licenses in the correct form and each company will pay to the Marshall the amount of five dollars for said license, for each and every performance"<sup>74</sup>. Regulations such as this were usually enacted to control and tax a current practice, but it is not clear how often they were actually enforced.

The largely Protestant Anglo American traders who arrived in Alta California after Mexican Independence from Spain in 1821 frequently married Mexican Californian women, converted to Catholicism, and assimilated into the local *Californio* community. The earliest Anglo American settlers in Los Angeles first built houses in the prevailing Mexican adobe style, such as wealthy landowner Abel Stearns (1798-1871), whose adobe home was known as "El Palacio" because it was one of the pueblo's largest and best-appointed private residences (Figure 1.18) (only after 1850 did they begin to favor brick or wood frame construction as prevalent building materials)<sup>75</sup>. Stearns arrived in Alta California in 1829, and "El Palacio" was constructed between 1835 and 1838, most likely by forced Indian labor<sup>76</sup>. Its reported 100-foot-long *sala* was used as a space for numerous *bailes* and theatrical and musical events<sup>77</sup>. A report from 1843 praised Stearns's "El Palacio": "His mansion, of modern structure, planned and built by his own direction, is very spacious and combines all the advantages of the native buildings with many of the conveniences and comforts of our modern houses"<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> Gray, Paul Bryan. *A Clamor for Equality: Emergence and Exile of Californio Activist Francisco P. Ramírez*. Lubbock, Texas Tech University Press, 2012.

<sup>73</sup> Many mid nineteenth-century *baile* invitations and dance programs in Spanish and English are found in the Coronel Collection and Del Valle Papers at the Seaver Center for Western History Research at the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History. See Appendix 1.4 for a listing of some of these invitations.

<sup>74</sup> *Ordenanzas revisadas de la ciudad de Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, Ymprenta del California Meridional, 1855, Huntington Library call number 226070; also published as Los Angeles City Ordinances, *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles*, June 30, 1860, p. 2 (Spanish supplement).

<sup>75</sup> Wright, Doris Marion. *A Yankee in Mexican California: Abel Stearns, 1798-1848*. Santa Barbara, Wallace Heberd, 1977; and Woolsey, Ronald C. "A Capitalist in a Foreign Land: Abel Stearns in Southern California Before the Conquest". *Southern California Quarterly*, LXXV, 2 (1993), pp. 101-118.

<sup>76</sup> Faragher, J. M. *Eternity Street*, pp. 246-248.

<sup>77</sup> Guinn, J. M. "Historic Houses of Los Angeles".

<sup>78</sup> Wheat, Carl I.; and Jones, Thomas ap Catesby. "A Visit to Los Angeles in 1843: Commodore Thomas ap Catesby Jones' Narrative of His Visit to Governor Micheltorena (Continued)". *The Quarterly: Historical Society of Southern California*, XVIII, 1 (1936), pp. 7-19 (quote on p. 7).

In 1858 Stearns erected the two-story Arcadia Business Block, with brick, not adobe construction, on Los Angeles Street, behind his own residence, El Palacio (Figure 1.19). On the second floor he opened a multi-purpose performance space that he named Stearns' Hall, which was one of the earliest theatrical venues in the city (he also rented rooms to the local German social club for their choral rehearsals, meetings, and other social functions). He named the Arcadia Block after his much-younger *Californio* wife Arcadia Bandini (1825-1912), from whom he derived much of his vast landholdings and wealth<sup>79</sup>.

The well-known California Minstrels from San Francisco opened Stearns' Hall in July and August 1859, and were favorably received in the local press (Figure 1.20). This was the first important minstrel group to appear in Los Angeles (many more minstrel acts would follow over the years)<sup>80</sup>. This all-male black-face troupe, comprised of white performers, included the "Spanish" dancer Peter Sterling, among other performers, including the star of the company, Lew Rattler.

The Isidoro Máiquez Company from Mexico also appeared at Stearns' Hall, in August and September 1859, en route from San Francisco and Sacramento, after having played in Northern California since at least January of that year (see Appendices 1.3 and 1.4)<sup>81</sup>. The troupe featured Isidoro Máiquez and his wife Pepita Pérez de Máiquez, who acted, sang, and danced; as well as the performers Manuel Armario and his wife, and the Señores León and Vásquez (first names unknown)<sup>82</sup>. Among the members of the Máiquez Company, Pepita Máiquez received the most favorable attention in the press, although the other performers were also praised. Indeed, she was very well received in both Los Angeles and San Francisco, and was remembered long afterwards in Los Angeles. A San Francisco reviewer noted that "Senora Maíquez was much admired, especially by those who understood her language, for the purity and sweetness of her Spanish intonation, as well as her arch and winsome ways, alike appreciable by all. The soft Castilian from her lips was exquisite"<sup>83</sup>. Francisco P. Ramírez, editor of Los Angeles' *El Clamor Público*, published a long encomium about the Máiquez Company, especially lauding Pepita. According to Ramírez, "La interesante Señorita Pepita Máiquez, con sus negros y rasgados ojos y con sus *manières* seductoras, ha vuelto locos a todos los Angelinos"<sup>84</sup>. He praised her fine singing, acting, and dancing. Ramírez also noted that members of Los Angeles' finest families attended the performance of the Máiquez Company, and that people had to be turned away since the venue could not hold all those who wanted to attend. He lamented that despite their success, the company had to leave Los Angeles earlier than anticipated, and suggested

<sup>79</sup> After Stearns's death, his widow Arcadia Bandini married Colonel Robert Baker, and they built the elegant brick Baker Block for commercial purposes on the site of Stearns's adobe "El Palacio" in 1878. They also included an elegant personal residence in this building. With Baker and Senator John P. Jones, a real estate investor, Arcadia Bandini was a co-founder of the city of Santa Monica, California. She was one of the richest women in California. Stearns' Hall in the Arcadia Block was used as a performance venue at least until 1878, and the Arcadia Block was demolished in 1927. "El Palacio" was torn down by 1878 and the Baker Block erected on its site; that building was demolished in 1941.

<sup>80</sup> Advertisement for California Minstrels, *Los Angeles Star*, July 16, 1859, p. 2; also see Slout, W. L. (ed.). *Burnt Cork and Tambourines: A Source Book of Negro Minstrelsy*. San Bernardino, The Borgo Press, 2007, p. 45.

<sup>81</sup> The Máiquez Company may also have performed in Temple Theater.

<sup>82</sup> Francisco P. Ramírez, editor of *El Clamor Público*, who rarely published extensive articles on theater and music in his newspaper, wrote very enthusiastically and at length about the Máiquez company. See "Teatro Español". *El Clamor Público*, August 20, 1859, p. 2.

<sup>83</sup> *San Francisco Weekly Bulletin*, October 1, 1859.

<sup>84</sup> "Teatro Español". *El Clamor Público*, September 17, 1859, p. 2.

that their expenses may have been greater than their profits<sup>85</sup>. The company may have returned to Mexico after their Los Angeles engagement. And they returned to San Francisco by the summer of 1860<sup>86</sup>.

The Máiquez Company's performances demonstrated the typical theatrical practice of Mexican touring companies at the time, with their emphasis on presenting frequently changing bills, of a wide variety of different song, dance, and stage works. Their performances also represented the growing theatrical and commercial networks established between Los Angeles and Southern California and San Francisco and other Northern California cities. They also verified California's close artistic and commercial connections with Mexico<sup>87</sup>. Because the titles of the works that the Máiquez Company performed in Los Angeles were not mentioned in the Los Angeles press (or have not been found), by examining the reports of their performances in San Francisco, we can imagine the musical and theatrical works they put on in Southern California. Appendix 1.3 lists works that they performed and that were mentioned in the San Francisco *Daily Alta California* (they may have put on additional plays in the city that were not advertised or reviewed in the press). The Máiquez troupe presented highly varied programs, changing the bill for each evenings' performance. The star of the show was always Pepita, but her husband and performing partner Isidoro was also prominently featured. Pepita and Isidoro Máiquez often invited leading local performers, such as San Francisco guitarist Manuel Y. Ferrer, to take part in their performances.

In the fall of 1859, a few months after the opening of Stearns' Hall in Los Angeles, and after the Máiquez Company's performances there, the wealthy Anglo American merchant John Temple erected a building designed to serve as a courthouse, theater, and city market, at a reported cost of between \$30,000 and \$35,000, a large sum at the time<sup>88</sup>. (Like Abel Stearns, Temple was married to a *Mexicana*.) Temple Theater, on the second floor of the building, had a stage forty-five feet in depth by twenty feet in width, with a private box on each side; the gallery had two tiers of benches; and the parquet with its more expensive seats had arm chairs. An artist brought from San Francisco painted the scenery and decorations (Figure 1.21)<sup>89</sup>.

The Gerardo López del Castillo Company, one of Mexico's leading touring troupes, starring López del Castillo and his wife Amelia Elisa Estrella (from a famous theatrical family), appeared in Temple Theater beginning in November 1865<sup>90</sup> (in 1864 they had appeared in San Francisco). At their first

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Many other multi-ethnic performances, including balls, dancing academies, meetings, charity functions, fairs, and exhibitions were held at Stearns' Hall after the Máiquez Company's departure in 1859, over several decades, and it was in operation until at least 1878 ("Clan-Na-Gael". *Los Angeles Herald*, January 13, 1878, p. 2).

<sup>87</sup> On Isidoro and Pepita Máiquez's activities in Mexico, see Olavarría y Ferrari, Enrique de. *Reseña histórica del teatro en México 1538-1911*. Mexico City, Editorial Porrúa, 1961 [3rd ed.], 5 vols., vol. 1, pp. 469, 470, 479, 496, vol. 2, pp. 732, 735, 773, 775, 781, 785, and 811. Máiquez took the name of the famous Spanish actor Isidoro Máiquez (1768-1820). Francisco Goya made the Spanish Máiquez immortal in his 1807 portrait of the actor, now at the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid (Inventory Number P000734), and in another painting of the actor (ca. 1802-1812), now at the Art Institute of Chicago (Reference Number 1933.1077). The Mexican Máiquez's birth name is unknown.

<sup>88</sup> *Southern Vineyard* (Los Angeles), October 21, 1859; "The Market House". *Los Angeles Star*, February 26, 1859, p. 2; and Barrows, H. D. "Recollections of the Old Court House and Its Builder". *Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, III (1894), pp. 40-46. Barrows's 1894 article also appeared as "About the Old Court House", in the *Los Angeles Herald*, December 9, 1894, p. 14.

<sup>89</sup> "Theatre". *Los Angeles Star*, February 18, 1860, p. 2.

<sup>90</sup> The leading actor Gerardo López del Castillo (1833-1902) was born in Guanajuato and as a boy fought in the Mexican American War against the United States (1846-1848). He was reportedly the first Mexican actor to take his company abroad, touring the Antilles, Central America, and California (Mexico City obituaries: *El Imparcial*, July 24, 1902; and *El Correo Español*, July 24, 1902, p. 2). He was viewed by many as the "Dean" of Mexican actors because of his great stature in the theater. For details of his career in Mexico, see Olavarría y Ferrari, E. *Reseña histórica del teatro en México, passim*.

Los Angeles performances, they gave Tomás Rodríguez Rubí's play *La trenza de sus cabellos* and one act of *Attila*, either Giuseppe Verdi's opera of 1845 or a play by that title<sup>91</sup>. Like the Isidoro Máiquez Company before it, the Gerardo López del Castillo troupe appeared in Los Angeles while on tour to San Francisco (or in between performances there or elsewhere in the state). The company appeared in Los Angeles at least 24 times (and probably more) over the seven months between November 1865 and May 1866, probably the longest run of performances by one dramatic company up to that date in early Los Angeles. Its performances were well received by Los Angeles' *Californio* and English-speaking populations: consequently, it advertised in both Spanish and English in the local press. The following are the works known to have been performed by this company in Los Angeles<sup>92</sup>. Although the works were listed in newspaper reviews and advertisements alternately in Spanish and English, they were all performed in Spanish (alternate titles are given when known).

- *Angelo Malipieri, or the Tyrant of Padua* (*Angelo*, Victor Hugo, 1835)
- *Attila* (Giuseppe Verdi?, 1845?, in Italian?)
- *The Bandit's Heart*
- *Dios, mi brazo y mi derecho* (Juan de Ariza, 1853)
- *Los dos validos, o detrás de la cruz el diablo* (*Detrás de la cruz el diablo*, Tomás Rodríguez Rubí, 1849)<sup>93</sup>
- *The Grace of God*
- *La hija de las flores* (*La hija de las flores, o Todos están locos*, Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, 1852)
- *Lázaro, el mudo* (*Lázaro, el pastor de Florencia*, Spanish translation of 1849 by Isidoro Gil of Joseph M. Bouchardy's *Lazare le père* of 1840)
- *The Printer's Devil*
- *La trenza de sus cabellos* (Tomás Rodríguez Rubí, 1848)
- *El trovador* (Antonio García Gutiérrez, 1836)

Years later, in 1894, local historian H. D. Barrows remembered Temple Theater and the López del Castillo and Máiquez troupes' appearances in Los Angeles in the 1850s and 1860s: "Here various dramatic companies, both English [American] and Spanish, played each winter. Among those whom I remember were the Sparks, the Máiquez, and [López del] Castillo troupes, the latter companies giving in Spanish, dramas, light operas, etc. The beautiful Pepita [Pérez de Máiquez] of the Máiquez troupe used to charm large audiences as the prima donna, by her arch ways and fine singing and acting in one particular opera [*tonadilla*], which I recall to mind, entitled, *La viuda y el sacristán* [*El sacristán y la viuda*]. Each company usually remained here and played at intervals during an entire season"<sup>94</sup>.

The *tonadilla* *El sacristán y la viuda* that Barrows fondly remembered was performed in the nineteenth century by other troupes in California, elsewhere in the U.S. Southwest, and Mexico. Late

<sup>91</sup> It is indeed possible that the López del Castillo Company performed one act of Verdi's opera *Attila* in Los Angeles, especially since some of the members of that troupe performed Italian operatic excerpts on tour elsewhere in the United States and Mexico, for example, duets from Gaetano Donizetti's comic opera *L'elisir d'amore* in Hermosillo, Sonora in January 1860 (Gipson, Rosemary. "The Beginnings of the Theatre in Sonora". *Arizona and the West*, IX, 4 ([1967]), pp. 349-364, p. 353).

<sup>92</sup> Earnest, S. W. *An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California*, vol. 3, daybook, p. 4.

<sup>93</sup> This may have only been performed in San Francisco.

<sup>94</sup> Barrows, H. D. "Recollections of the Old Court House and its Builder", p. 42.

eighteenth- or nineteenth-century manuscript copies of this work<sup>95</sup> exist in Mexico, the United States, and Spain<sup>96</sup>. Mexican publisher Antonio Vanegas Arroyo even included it in his series of popular chapbooks *Galería del teatro infantil* with illustrations by artist José Guadalupe Posada. This shows the endurance of the work from the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, through the early twentieth century<sup>97</sup>. *El sacristán y la viuda* is written for two characters, the widow Bartola and her suitor the *sacristán*. Isidoro and Pepita Máiquez performed these roles at Stearns' Hall in Los Angeles in 1859, and Pepita's fine interpretation caused H. D. Barrows to fondly remember the work many years later. Sergio López Mena summarizes the plot of this charming musical theater and dance piece:

Esta obra tiene el encanto del candor: una viuda va a la ermita en que está sepultado el que fuera marido suyo y de regreso se encuentra con su nuevo pretendiente, el sacristán. El resto transcurre en requiebros y solicitudes, a los que la viuda finalmente accede. Cierra la breve acción una serie de seguidillas cantadas y bailadas por los dos personajes en la cumbre de la felicidad<sup>98</sup>.

The Gerardo López del Castillo troupe was one of the first theatrical groups to appear in Los Angeles after the Great Flood of 1861-1862 and the Great Southern California Drought of 1862-1864. Few theatrical performances were given in the city during this period because of the terrible weather and scarcity of money. Even the number of *bailables* and *fandangos*, so beloved of the local population, and so frequently given, was reduced due to the dire circumstances. The Great Flood and Drought hastened the end of the large cattle-raising ranchos, on which Southern California's economy relied. As a result of these calamities, as well as the increasing Americanization of Los Angeles and California, and the shift away from cattle raising, many *Californios* landowning families experienced sharp economic and social decline. Many *Californios* lost or sold their Los Angeles Plaza-area town homes or their vast rural ranchos to the newly arrived Americans, or they were stolen from them<sup>99</sup>. After the Great Drought, cultural events were gradually resumed in Los Angeles by 1865. The Temple Theater was for many years the site of musical and dramatic performances, although when its theatrical function ceased is unknown. Like many Los Angeles landmark before it, it was demolished in the cause of "progress", and was replaced *ca.* 1895 by the Bullard Block; that building was itself replaced in 1928 by the still-standing, iconic Los Angeles City Hall, one of the most beautiful buildings in the city.

<sup>95</sup> The major recent study of the Spanish *tonadilla* is Le Guin, Elisabeth. *The Tonadilla in Performance: Lyric Comedy in Enlightenment Spain*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2014. Also see Subirá, José. *La tonadilla escénica*. 3 vols. Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos, 1928-1930; and Subirá, J. *Tonadillas teatrales inéditas*. Madrid, Tipografía de Archivos Olózaga, 1932.

<sup>96</sup> Sergio López Mena includes an introduction and edition of *El sacristán y la viuda* in "Una tonadilla del siglo XIX". *Literatura Mexicana*, IV, 2 (1993), pp. 499-505. *El sacristán y la viuda* is attributed to Manuel Flores Ramírez on page 91 of Abia Guerrero, Margarita *et al.* "Índice de las obras de teatro y diálogos representables de la sección de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Nacional". *Boletín del Instituto de Investigaciones Bibliográficas*, VII (1972), pp. 65-103. This manuscript copy is Ms. 1581 in the Fondo Reservado of the Biblioteca Nacional de México. The Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) has two manuscript copies of this *tonadilla* (MSS/14500/25 and MSS/14095(H.116R.-122V). They are available on the BNE's *Biblioteca Digital Hispánica*: <<http://www.bne.es/en/Catalogos/BibliotecaDigitalHispanica/Inicio/>>. The University of Minnesota, Anderson Library, also has a manuscript copy of this work (call number 864Sa14 I).

<sup>97</sup> *La viuda y el sacristán*. *Galería del teatro infantil*. Mexico City, Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, *ca.* 1906, reprint ed., 1918.

<sup>98</sup> López Mena, S. "Una tonadilla del siglo XIX", p. 499.

<sup>99</sup> Cleland, Robert Glass. *The Cattle on a Thousand Hills: Southern California, 1850-80*. San Marino, Huntington Library, 1941.

## Chinese Opera at the Los Angeles Plaza

Historians William Estrada and John Mack Faragher both vividly describe early American Los Angeles as an often-contested and violent space, with racial divisions and intolerance, especially towards Native Americans and the Chinese, particularly in the 1850s and 1860s. These racial conflicts were exacerbated by competition for economic gain and political power, and sometimes spiraled into a high level of physical violence<sup>100</sup>. The Chinese presence in the city was first recorded in the 1850 U.S. federal census, with two Chinese residents noted. There were 14 Chinese residents reported in 1860, and close to 200 in 1870<sup>101</sup>. *Californio*, Anglo American, and European residents feared the increasing numbers of immigrant Chinese, and their growing racism and nativism led to the tragic Chinese Massacre of October 1871, which began on the Calle de los Negros, just outside the Coronel Adobe, which earlier had been an important site for theatrical performances (Figure 1.11)<sup>102</sup>.

After relative peace was established after the Chinese Massacre of 1871, Chinatown did not experience such terrible violence perpetrated by non-Chinese again. However, as César López explains, “Setting fire to Chinatown occurred regularly in Los Angeles in the late 1880s. There were reported attempts to burn down Chinatown on October 24, 1886; June 25, 1887; July 24, 1887; and October 10, 1887”<sup>103</sup>. Despite these attempts and recurring anti-Chinese prejudice, within several decades Los Angeles’ Chinatown, then still centered on the east side of the Plaza and along the Calle de los Negros, would grow considerably in population. It would become an important factor in the economic and social life of the city, although the Chinese were relegated to second-class treatment.

Los Angeles’ first Chinese Theater, “fitted up with scenery and everything [...] ready”, opened in October 1884 on North Alameda Street very near the Calle de los Negros and the Plaza<sup>104</sup>. It reportedly had a seating capacity of 1,200, which would have made it one of the largest performance venues in the city at the time<sup>105</sup>. This was an impressive size, especially considering that the recorded Chinese population in the city in 1880 was only 605 (although in reality it was probably larger)<sup>106</sup>. In 1887, a new two-story brick Chinese Theater, reportedly with a luxurious interior, was built very close by, and was located at 212 Marchessault and North Alameda Streets, immediately northeast of the Plaza<sup>107</sup>. Three years later, in 1890, the recorded Chinese population in the city had increased to 1,871<sup>108</sup>. Theatrical impresario Ah Mow advertised *New Scenery! New Actors! New Costumes!* for a September 21, 1890 opening at the Chinese Theater, on the front page of the *Los Angeles Times* on that day, inviting “American people [...] to witness the new plays now being produced”<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> Estrada, W. *The Los Angeles Plaza*; and Faragher, J. M. *Eternity Street*.

<sup>101</sup> Estrada, W. *The Los Angeles Plaza*, p. 72.

<sup>102</sup> Zesch, Scott. *The Chinatown War: Chinese Los Angeles and the Massacre of 1871*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2012.

<sup>103</sup> López, C. “Lost in Translation”, p. 50.

<sup>104</sup> “A Chinese Theatre”. *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1884, p. 4. Also see “The Chinese Theater, Law and Order in Los Angeles: Jew Ah Mow and His Congressional Testimony”. *Gum Saan Journal* (Chinese Historical Society of Southern California), 7, 2 (1984), pp. 1-4.

<sup>105</sup> “A Chinese Theatre”. *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1884, p. 4.

<sup>106</sup> Lou, Raymond. *The Chinese American Community of Los Angeles, 1870-1900: A Case of Resistance, Organization, and Participation*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Irvine, 1982, p. 17. Lou’s figures on the Chinese population of Los Angeles are different from those included in Estrada’s *The Los Angeles Plaza*.

<sup>107</sup> “A New Chinese Theatre”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 16, 1887, p. 4; and “News Notes”. *Los Angeles Herald*, June 16, 1887, p. 10.

<sup>108</sup> Lou, R. “The Chinese American Community of Los Angeles”, p. 17.

<sup>109</sup> “Chinese Theater”. *Los Angeles Times*, September 21, 1890, p. 1.

The Chinese Theater was the social and cultural epicenter of Chinatown, and was also located in the midst of a multiethnic prostitution district adjacent to the Los Angeles Plaza. It was also near Mexican Sonoratown north of the Plaza. Although *Californio* ranchero José Arnaz remembered that there had been only about five or six prostitutes working in Los Angeles in the early 1840s, their number rose significantly through the century<sup>110</sup>. Women of various races and ethnicities were employed in brothels in the Plaza entertainment area, and, as in other U.S. cities, musicians were sometimes employed by brothel owners to entertain their clients<sup>111</sup>. Julia G. Costello estimates that there were about 20 prostitutes in the city in 1853, and that in 1854 a troupe of “lewd women” arrived from San Francisco<sup>112</sup>. A report from 1887 stated that the Chinese Theater was near “15 or 20 cribs or houses of ill-fame” (houses of prostitution)<sup>113</sup>.

The Chinese Theater was also located near gambling dens, and gambling was also reported to have taken place in the theater. The Plaza area was an entertainment district for many different ethnic and racial groups, and, as in other cities, it included theaters, saloons, brothels, dance halls, and other entertainment and leisure spaces patronized by the public but condemned by moral reformers and the clergy. As Mark Wild and Isabela Seong Leong Quintana both demonstrate, the Plaza was also a site of continuous ethnic and racial mixing on multiple levels. Mexican residents surely interacted on a regular basis with their Chinese neighbors, and likely attended the Chinese Theater periodically, as did local European Americans. The Chinese also attended film showings at Plaza-area theaters<sup>114</sup>.

In 1894, Ng Poon Chew (1866-1931), the Chinese American journalist, Presbyterian minister, and advocate for Asian immigrant rights, published an article on Los Angeles’ Chinatown in Charles Lummis’s California booster magazine *Land of Sunshine*. His article included a mention of its Chinese Theater and a very rare photograph for Los Angeles of an actor from a Chinese opera troupe performing in the city<sup>115</sup>. Chew discussed the daily performances given there and stated that Chinatown’s residents attended their own theater regularly, almost on a daily basis (most Chinatown residents were male). However, he stated that “it is most wretchedly furnished, being totally deprived of appropriate scenery and artistic ornaments”, and that “most plays [Cantonese operas] are historical romances”. He

<sup>110</sup> Arnaz, J. *Recuerdos de Don Jose Arnaz*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>111</sup> “A Nest of Vile Dens Removed from Alameda Street”. *Los Angeles Times*, July 9, 1887, p. 8. In August 1888, a certain Ignacio Mercado was playing the piano in an African American brothel on Alameda Street across from the Los Angeles Plaza. Earlier, Mercado had been a chorus singer in a touring “Spanish Opera Company” (also called a “Mexican Opera Company”), the Villaseñor-Ureña troupe that had appeared in Los Angeles earlier in 1888. He achieved notoriety when he attempted to shoot his lover, also a former chorus member of that troupe (“Mistaken Identity”. *Los Angeles Times*, August 8, 1888, p. 2; and “Bad Ignacio”. *Los Angeles Times*, February 18, 1890, p. 2). On the surprising history and archeology of prostitution in early Los Angeles, see Costello, Julia G. “A Night with Venus, a Moon with Mercury’: The Archaeology of Prostitution in Historic Los Angeles”. *Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation*. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (eds.). Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 177-196; and Meyer, Michael D.; Gibson, Erica S.; and Costello, Julia G. “City of Angels, City of Sin: Archeology in the Los Angeles Red-Light District ca. 1900”. *Historical Archeology*, XXXIX, 1 (2005), pp. 107-125.

<sup>112</sup> Costello, J. G. “A Night with Venus, a Moon with Mercury”, p. 180.

<sup>113</sup> “Criminalities”. *Los Angeles Times*, December 20, 1887, p. 1. Cribs were sordid buildings with rows of long, narrow rooms, with one window fronting the street, that prostitutes rented and in which they conducted their sex work. In Los Angeles they were located in or adjacent to Chinatown or on or near North Alameda Street, close to the Plaza and where Union Railway Station is now located. For photographs of Los Angeles cribs and maps identifying their locations, see Goldwyn, Liz. *Sporting Guide, Los Angeles, 1897*. New York, Regan Arts, 2015, pp. 8-13, 88, 92-93, and 174.

<sup>114</sup> Wild, Mark. *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005; and Quintana, Isabela Seong Leong. “Making Do, Making Home: Borders and the Worlds of Chinatown and Sonoratown in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles”. *Journal of Urban History*, XLI, 1 (2015), pp. 47-74.

<sup>115</sup> Chew, Ng Poon. “The Chinese in Los Angeles”. *Land of Sunshine*, I, 5 (1894), pp. 102-103. For a discussion and photograph of Chew’s journalistic and mission work in Los Angeles, see Marcus, Kenneth H.; and Chen, Yong. “Inside and Outside Chinatown: Chinese Elites in Exclusion Era California”. *Pacific Historical Review*, LXXX, 3 (2011), pp. 388-395.

commented on the nature of the plots of the operas, their length, and that they were given in serial form over several nights<sup>116</sup>. Cantonese opera was known for its beautiful costumes, but not necessarily for elaborate scenery, thus perhaps the reason for Chew's comment about "wretched" furnishings<sup>117</sup>.

The local English-language press such as the *Los Angeles Times* and *Los Angeles Herald* periodically reported on the Chinese Theater, but only rarely published reviews of its performances. Sensationalistic (and sometimes racist) articles were published in English-language newspapers that emphasized Tong disagreements occurring in the theater during performances, as well as the perceived dangerous and exotic aspects of Chinatown, its residents, and theater (the Chinese Tongs were leading business associations that were often connected with long-standing family name associations). The Chinese Theater was listed in Los Angeles city directories throughout the 1890s<sup>118</sup>, and was in operation for many years, at least until the 1920s, if not longer. Although its history has never been studied before, it is clear that while its audience was primarily Chinese in makeup, it also attracted non-Chinese attendance, including *Mexicano* residents of the Plaza district and other parts of Los Angeles<sup>119</sup>.

Thus Cantonese opera and other types of Chinese music were integral parts of Los Angeles' soundscape by the turn of the twentieth century. They existed alongside Mexican, Italian, and Japanese theater and music, and, later, motion pictures, in the area consisting of the Plaza, Mexican Sonoratown, Chinatown, and nearby Little Tokyo<sup>120</sup>. And when the first nickelodeon film theaters ("nickel theaters", five-cent venues) were established in the Plaza area *ca.* 1906, the Chinese were in the audience alongside Mexican, Italian, and Japanese spectators. Chinese opera and other ethnic and racial theatrical and musical activities performed on or near the Plaza co-existed in close proximity with the parallel *Mexicano* entertainment milieu, as well as nearby Sonoratown (Figures 1.22-1.23).

<sup>116</sup> Chew, N. P. "The Chinese in Los Angeles".

<sup>117</sup> Chew established the Chinese weekly *Hua Mei Sun Po*, the *Chinese American Morning Paper*, in Los Angeles in 1899; it was briefly published there but Chew soon moved it north to San Francisco and renamed it *Chung Sai Yat Po*, the *China West Daily*; see Kim, Hyung-Chan (ed.). *Distinguished Asian Americans: A Biographical Dictionary*. Westport, Greenwood Press, 1999, pp. 56-59. *Chung Sai Yat Po* was published in San Francisco from February 1900 to 1951. It has been digitized, and is available at <<https://oac.cdlib.org/items/ark:/13030/kt0g5016h6>>.

<sup>118</sup> The Chinese Theater was still listed at 212 Marchessault Street in 1907 in Moore, Ernest Carroll *et al.* *Los Angeles. A Guide*. Los Angeles, Neuner Company, 1907, pp. 62, 132. It was still there in 1913, as listed in Drury Wells; and Drury, Aubrey. *California Tourist and Handbook*. Berkeley, Western Guidebook Company, 1913, p. 147. Los Angeles City building permit records for 212 Marchessault from 1914 indicate that the building was then being used as a store, although it is not confirmed if the theater was still at that location then. See digitized building permits from 1905 to present, "Search Online Building Records", Los Angeles Department of Building and Safety, <<https://ladbs.org/services/check-status/online-building-records>>.

<sup>119</sup> There were several later Chinese theaters in Los Angeles' Chinatown, including one at 114 Court Street, and the Mandarin Theater at 323 Jackson Street. See "Los Angeles Chinatown". *Los Angeles Times*, March 1, 1925, pp. IIA, 2; "Chinese Theater Is Jazzed Up". *Los Angeles Times*, May 31, 1925, p. 1; and "Los Angeles Attains Position of True Metropolitan Center". *Los Angeles Times*, October 18, 1925, pp. II, 30.

<sup>120</sup> For discussion and illustrations of the Los Angeles silent and early sound film theaters patronized by local Chinese, Mexican, Italian, and Japanese residents, see Gunckel, Colin. *Mexico on Main Street: Transnational Film Culture in Los Angeles before World War II*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2015; Olsson, Jan. *Los Angeles before Hollywood: Journalism and American Film Culture, 1905 to 1915*. Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, 2008, especially chapters 2 and 3; Waseda, Minako. *Japanese American Musical Culture in Southern California: Its Formation and Transformation in the 20th Century*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2000; Ogihara, Junko. "The Exhibition of Films for Japanese Americans in Los Angeles During the Silent Film Era". *Film History*, IV, 2 (1990), pp. 81-87; and Saeki, Mitsuru. *Music in Southern California's Japanese Community as Reported in Rafu Shimpo, 1924-1941*. M.A. thesis, California State University, Fullerton, 2013.

## The Teatro Merced: Establishing an Enduring Theatrical Tradition

The Teatro Merced / Merced Theatre was the first building constructed in Los Angeles specifically to house a commercial theater, and for which its builders took into account practical theatrical and musical staging necessities. Through good luck and chance it still survives today (Figure 1.24). It opened on December 30, 1870 on North Main Street, next to the Pico House hotel, in the Plaza district<sup>121</sup>. The opening of the Teatro Merced represents the true beginning of a continuous, enduring professional English- and Spanish-language theatrical life in Los Angeles. Before 1870, professional theater in Spanish or English operated only on a sporadic basis in the city.

Furniture dealer and coffin maker William Abbot (1829-1879) named his Merced Theatre after his *Mexicana* wife María Merced (Mercedes) García (1837-1908). Originally it had a seating capacity of 250, but after remodeling in 1875 it was expanded to about 400 seats. It had a complete working stage, 37 feet wide by 24 deep, capable of accommodating scenery; an area for the orchestra and piano; two private boxes; a gallery (reserved for the better seats), and a flat central section with long benches and some chairs. Illuminated by gas, it had no central pillars obstructing the view of the performers. The third floor was suspended from the roof with trusses, and supported the theater performance space on the second floor (the first floor served as a saloon and billiards parlor and the third floor was the owner's private residence)<sup>122</sup>. It was used as a theater from December 1870 to January 1877, and many hundreds of entertainments were given there<sup>123</sup>. Wind bands serenaded theatergoers before and after performances and in the intervals, and an orchestra accompanied the theatrical pieces put on there.

Many American and some Mexican companies and performers appeared at the Teatro Merced, including a troupe headed by Mexican actor Ángel Mollá, with his wife, actress and singer Laura Morales de Mollá as the star of the company. The Mollás performed at the Teatro Merced in December 1873 and January 1874, and at other times in Los Angeles (Figure 1.25; see Appendix 1.4). The Mollás toured frequently throughout California in the 1870s through the 1880s, including appearances in San Francisco, and also played in Tucson, Arizona, and Santa Fe, New Mexico, among other locations<sup>124</sup>. They also performed in Hermosillo, Guaymas, and Ures, Sonora, and elsewhere in Mexico, including Mexico City<sup>125</sup>. They were regularly featured on September 16th programs celebrating Mexican Independence in various parts of California, in large cities such as San Francisco and small remote

<sup>121</sup> On the Pico House, see Krythe, Maymie R. "Pico House: The Finest Hotel South of San Francisco". *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXXVII, 2 (1955), pp. 139-160. On the Merced Theatre, see Huber, Robert Christopher. *The Merced Theatre of Los Angeles: An Analysis of Its Management and Architecture, 1870-1879*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1980.

<sup>122</sup> Huber, R. C. "The Merced Theatre of Los Angeles", p. 318.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> For example, Ángel and Laura Mollá appeared in Tucson, Arizona in 1882 ("Teatro". *El Fronterizo* (Tucson), March 31, 1882, p. 2), and 1883 ("Teatro". *El Fronterizo*, January 12, 1883, p. 3).

<sup>125</sup> On the Mollá troupe, see Olavarría y Ferrari, E. de. *Reseña histórica del teatro en México, passim*; Gipson, R. "The Beginnings of the Theatre in Sonora", Gipson, R. "The Mexican Performers: Pioneer Theatre Artists of Tucson". *Journal of Arizona History*, XIII, 4 (1972), pp. 235-252; and Gipson, R. *The History of Tucson Theatre before 1906*. M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1967.

towns such as Lone Pine<sup>126</sup>. Señora Morales de Mollá was known for the beauty of her voice and acting talent<sup>127</sup>. Local *Californios* were so struck by her beauty and artistic ability that some wrote poems in her honor<sup>128</sup>. The Mollás also performed as members of other companies, as they did in 1876, when they appeared as part of the José Pérez García Company at the Teatro Merced.

In frequent use during its first years of existence, the Merced Theatre fell into decline because of competition, principally from Turnverein Hall and Wood's Opera House (built in 1876 a few doors south of the Merced)<sup>129</sup>. Although by 1877 theatrical events and concerts were no longer regularly offered there, until then the Merced Theatre was the principal performance space in Los Angeles, as well as the place where important Mexican American musicians, such as guitarist-composers Manuel Y. Ferrer from San Francisco and Los Angeles' Miguel S. Arévalo, performed to enthusiastic ethnically and racially mixed audiences<sup>130</sup>.

## Other Entertainments

After 1877 the Merced Theatre was used for a variety of other purposes over the decades: as a boarding house for single (and possibly some gay) men, a pawn shop, dancing school, dance hall, social clubhouse, meeting place for the Anti-Chinese union, political rallies, and a headquarters for the Salvation Army, among other uses<sup>131</sup>. By at least 1881 the hall was being advertised "to let –the Old Merced Theatre"<sup>132</sup> (it had opened only eleven years earlier!). The *Los Angeles Times* reported in 1887 that a masked ball was held there on June 2 "in which *drunken prostitutes of both sexes* held the floor and made night hideous with their orgies" (emphasis added) to the sound of a dance orchestra, over the objections of the unidentified owner of the hall (the owner was Merced García Abbot, after whom the theater was named). According to the *Los Angeles Times*, "the parties are largely the same as those who

<sup>126</sup> "Mexican Independence". *Daily Alta California*, September 18, 1878, p. 1; and notice in *La Crónica* (Los Angeles), August 9, 1876 (see Appendix 1.4 entry for August 9, 1876). Because of its remote location, Lone Pine, in Inyo County in far eastern central California, was much more difficult to get to than Los Angeles or San Francisco. Despite the rigors of travel, individual performers and touring companies did visit it and nearby mining towns regularly. Lone Pine had a sizable Mexican population, and the entire town and large surrounding area celebrated Mexican Independence each year on September 16. See the reproduction of the newspaper advertisement for "Mexican National Holiday" (1884) from the *Inyo Independent*, in Walton, John. *Western Times and Water Wars: State, Culture, and Rebellion in California*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, p. 99.

<sup>127</sup> Ángel and Laura Mollá returned to Los Angeles on several other occasions. For example, in 1885 they appeared with other variety acts –a ballad vocalist, "Arkansas Comedian", and magician– at the Palm Garden beer garden at 38-40 South Spring Street (advertisement, *Los Angeles Times*, February 15, 1885, p. 2).

<sup>128</sup> Coronel, Antonio. *A Laura Morales de Mollá* (printed poem), Los Angeles, June 21, 1883, item 657 in Antonio F. Coronel (1817-1894) Papers, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County. At Laura Morales de Mollá's benefit at Turnverein Hall on June 22, 1883, Coronel presented her with a floral basket and this poem written in her honor.

<sup>129</sup> Wood's Theater was located at 310 North Main (under the old street numbering system); it was also known as the Club Theater.

<sup>130</sup> Koegel, J. "Manuel Y. Ferrer and Miguel S. Arévalo: Premier Guitarist-Composers in Nineteenth-Century California". *Inter-American Music Review*, XVI, 2 (2000), pp. 45-66; and Stevenson, Robert M. "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities". *Inter-American Music Review*, X, 1 (1988), pp. 39-112.

<sup>131</sup> "By Laudanum". *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1887, p. 2, cited in Faderman, Lillian; and Timmons, Stuart. *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2006, pp. 28, and 367, n. 89.

<sup>132</sup> "Merced Theatre". *Los Angeles Herald*, November 16, 1881, p. 2.

perpetrated a similar, but less brazen infamy, in German Turnverein Hall some months ago<sup>133</sup>. Doña Merced disavowed prior knowledge of the event, claiming that she had rented the hall to the Cercle Français (a local French social club), who in turn denied any culpability, having sublet the hall for the night to a group of “well-known young men who were supposed to have been respectable”<sup>134</sup>.

Despite warnings to cease and desist, some members of this same group organized another riotous late-night ball in June 1887, at the then-infamous Sycamore Grove, outside the Los Angeles city limits, in the open countryside of the Arroyo Seco. Sycamore Grove was located about three miles north of the Los Angeles Plaza, along the railway line north to the nearby city of Pasadena, and near a well-known prostitution district<sup>135</sup>. The *Los Angeles Times* reported that white and some black female prostitutes attended this 1887 ball: “There were about twenty-five soiled doves [prostitutes] hovering around the dance-stand and from 150 to 200 men from every class in life were flying around them”. Bad whiskey was sold, and the dancing of the “soiled doves” and their prospective customers took place to the accompaniment of a dance orchestra. The *Los Angeles Times* condemned this group’s behavior again, and this time printed individual names and occupations, publically shaming the party-goers<sup>136</sup>.

Lillian Faderman and Stuart Timmons, in their seminal study *Gay L.A.: A History of Sexual Outlaws, Power Politics, and Lipstick Lesbians*, discuss similar public performances or activities in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Los Angeles that attracted the attention of the police and local press and that were then the object of public scorn<sup>137</sup>. Although they do not mention a gay Latino/a presence in late nineteenth-century Los Angeles, it surely must have existed, at least to some degree, although it seems to remain completely hidden to the currently known historical record.

Around 1900 the Los Angeles Plaza area was a contested territory, as it had been at the time of California statehood in 1850, when rival groups of *Californios*, Anglo Americans, and European immigrants had battled each other for social and political control, and when these three groups all persecuted, looked down upon, or took advantage of local Native Americans and the Chinese. By 1900, and in following decades, different groups asserted rival claims on Los Angeles Plaza-area residents and spaces: social welfare reformers, Protestant evangelists and mission workers and Roman Catholic clergy; Plaza business men and women; brothel owners and operators –madams and pimps–; gamblers; political orators; labor organizers; socialists, communists, and anarchists; the police; and the public that inhabited and used this public space. Thus is not surprising that free-wheeling, rowdy public entertainments such as masked balls with orchestrally accompanied dance music, sometimes with gay and / or mixed-race and interethnic participants –which mainstream society then disapproved of or condemned– were held in outdoor and indoor performance spaces such as the Merced Theatre, Turnverein Hall, or Sycamore Grove, over the objections, or perhaps with the complicity, of the various venues’ proprietors.

<sup>133</sup> “Vile Orgies at a Dance in a Public Hall”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 3, 1887, p. 5; also cited in Faderman, L.; and Timmons, S. *Gay L.A.*, p. 28. The membership of the Turnverein was in conflict about renting their hall to promoters of midnight drunken masquerade balls attended by “prostitutes, thugs, hoodlums, thieves, and disreputables of all types” (“Law in Contempt”. *Los Angeles Times*, February 1, 1898, p. 9). Because of negative publicity, the group decided to prohibit the use of their hall for such purposes (“No More Bawdy Balls”. *Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1898, p. 13).

<sup>134</sup> “That Ball”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 4, 1887, p. 8.

<sup>135</sup> Sycamore Grove Park, now in the Highland Park neighborhood of the city of Los Angeles, is no longer a disreputable place, and is not out in the countryside as it once was, but right in the middle of the city.

<sup>136</sup> “A Second Merced. Another Prostitutes’ Carnival at the Arroyo Seco”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 22, 1887, p. 4; and “After the Disgraceful Orgies”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1887, p. 4.

<sup>137</sup> A later period in Los Angeles’ gay history is covered in Hurewitz, David. *Bohemian Los Angeles and the Making of Modern Politics*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 2007.

## Turnverein Hall

Los Angeles' German Turnverein gymnastics and social club, which sponsored music and dramatic divisions, and hosted frequent balls, opened a hall in 1871 that would long play an important role in Los Angeles' ethnically and racially varied musical, theatrical, and social life<sup>138</sup>. Turnverein Hall (also called Turnhalle, and during and after World War I, Turner Hall), opened in 1871 with 200 seats, and in 1875 expanded to about 500. It later operated at several other locations in downtown Los Angeles over the following decades<sup>139</sup>. Numerous organizations and performers affiliated with Los Angeles' different ethnic and racial communities rented this hall for their social functions and musical performances. For example, Latino/a and African American social, dramatic, and musical organizations met there in the later nineteenth century, and beyond<sup>140</sup>. In the 1870s, the Turnverein also sponsored performances by visiting professional German actors, although a professional German stage never developed in Los Angeles as it did in San Francisco, New York, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Chicago, and many other U.S. cities<sup>141</sup>.

Among the most prominent musicians who appeared in Turnverein Hall was the Guadalajara-born guitarist, composer, and music teacher Miguel S. Arévalo (1843-1900). He was a beloved fixture of Los Angeles' musical life from his arrival in the city in late 1870 (after a year in San Francisco) to his death in Los Angeles three decades later<sup>142</sup>. He was the most important resident concert musician in the city in the nineteenth-century, and was highly respected in all levels of society, although he died in economic poverty (see Appendix 1.4 for a list of his activities). Arévalo brought the *Mexicano*, Anglo American, and European communities together in a shared musical experience in the numerous recitals he gave in Turnverein Hall, the Merced Theatre, and at many other venues such as local churches, exhibition halls, private homes, and outdoor picnic grounds. He taught pupils from across the entire spectrum of local society, without prejudice of color, race, class, or sex. And he composed beautiful salon and dance-inspired pieces for solo and duo guitar, and voice and guitar, with evocative titles such as *La súplica* and *Violeta Schottische*, as well as grand, virtuosic theme and variations sets, such as the one he wrote on the immensely popular tune *The Carnival of Venice*.

Another prominent musician who appeared at Turnverein Hall in Los Angeles was the Austrian-born, and San Francisco-based prima donna and operatic soprano Inez Fabbri (née Agnes Schmidt, 1831-1909), who for several decades was an important contributor to the Northern California city's operatic life. Before she settled in San Francisco in the early 1870s, she headed a touring company bearing her name

<sup>138</sup> The German American Turners, who had branches throughout the United States, sponsored singing and dramatic groups, as well as schools and educational development, and they encouraged community engagement and physical activity. The Turners continue to be active today in Los Angeles, although not to the same extent as before World War I.

<sup>139</sup> Huber, R. C. *The Merced Theatre of Los Angeles*, p. 274; and *Diamond Jubilee, 1871-1946, Los Angeles Turners: The History of the Turners in Los Angeles, California*. Los Angeles, Los Angeles Turners, 1946.

<sup>140</sup> Although the black population in Los Angeles was small in the nineteenth century, the community sponsored numerous social events. See notices for African American events at Turnverein Hall: An Emancipation Day celebration with music and speeches in 1885 ("Emancipation Day". *Los Angeles Times*, December 23, 1885, p. 2); and a ball and performance of the play *The Octoroon's Fortune* in 1887 ("Colored Amateurs". *Los Angeles Times*, April 15, 1887, p. 1).

<sup>141</sup> "Festvorstellung". *Los Angeles Daily Star*, April 20, 1872, pp. 2-3. On San Francisco's German theater, see Kadelburg, Heinrich. *Fünfzehn Jahre deutschen Theaters in San Francisco*. San Francisco, Rosenthal & Roesch, 1883; and Loomis, C. Grant. "The German Theater in San Francisco, 1861-1864". In *Honorem Lawrence Marsden Price: Contributions by His Colleagues and by His Former Students*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1952, pp. 193-242. On German American musical theater in New York City and the United States, see Koegel, John. *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City, 1840-1940*. Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 2009.

<sup>142</sup> An extensive list of Arévalo's performances is given in Koegel, J. "Manuel Y. Ferrer and Miguel S. Arévalo", and in Appendix 1.4.

that performed to great acclaim for several decades throughout the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, South America, and Europe. Performing opera seasons in Los Angeles in 1874 at Turnverein Hall, and again there in 1876, the Fabbri troupe staged individual scenes and complete works from the German, French, and Italian operatic repertoires (Figure 1.26)<sup>143</sup>. Members of Fabbri's company also prominently featured solo vocal works in Spanish. Her appearances in Los Angeles in the mid 1870s were the most important early operatic performances in the city up to that time. Her performances were followed by a long history of almost 150 years of operatic activity in Los Angeles, by a succession of touring and resident companies, up to the present day<sup>144</sup>. John Emerson evocatively chronicles Fabbri's brilliant career, which was full of adventure, triumph, tragedy, and disaster, and he emphasizes her significant importance to the development of an operatic culture among the different ethnic and racial groups in nineteenth-century California<sup>145</sup>.

### Expanding Activity to Century's End

From the time of the Great Southern California Land Boom of the 1880s, professional performance activity greatly increased in Los Angeles and Southern California, spurred by significant population growth. American, European, Chinese, and Mexican theatrical troupes regularly appeared in the city beginning in that decade. By far, the greatest amount of dramatic and musical theater activity in late nineteenth-century Los Angeles and Southern California was given by English-language touring companies performing plays, operas, and operettas in English, such as the famous Bostonians English Opera Company and Emma Abbott's English Opera Troupe<sup>146</sup>. And blackface minstrel shows frequently appeared in Los Angeles at and after the turn of the twentieth century. *Mexicanos/as* were present in these audiences, even if the language was not Spanish.

Spanish musicologist Víctor Sánchez Sánchez has established that Spanish *zarzuela* was first staged in California in 1870, to San Francisco and Northern California audiences, by the Royal Spanish Opera Troupe, a touring company from Madrid, directed by Rafael García Villalonga, that had appeared the year before in Mexico City<sup>147</sup>. Sánchez Sánchez shows that *zarzuela* was of interest to local Spanish-speaking communities and to non-Spanish speakers, many of whom were already familiar with English, French, and German operettas in their original languages and / or in English-language translation. In the later nineteenth century, operetta was a dominant musical theater genre

<sup>143</sup> For a list of performances given at Turnverein Hall, included those given by Inez Fabbri and her company, see Koegel, John. "Calendar of Southern California Amusements (1852-1897) Designed for the Spanish-Speaking Public". *Inter-American Music Review*, XIII, 2 (1993), pp. 111-143.

<sup>144</sup> The century and a half of operatic performances given in Los Angeles includes the more than 30 years of professional activity by Los Angeles Opera (since 1986), as well as the numerous professional touring and resident Los Angeles opera companies that preceded the Los Angeles Opera during this long history.

<sup>145</sup> Emerson, John. "Madame Inez Fabbri, Prima Donna Assoluta, and the Performance of Opera in San Francisco During the 1870s". *Music in Performance and Society: Essays in Honor of Roland Jackson*. Malcolm Cole and John Koegel (eds.). Warren, Harmonie Park Press, 1997, pp. 325-354.

<sup>146</sup> On the performance of English-language opera and operetta in the United States, including in San Francisco, see Preston, Katherine K. *Opera for the People: English-Language Opera and Women Managers in Late 19th-Century America*. New York, Oxford University Press, 2017.

<sup>147</sup> Sánchez Sánchez, Víctor. "La frontera norte de la zarzuela en América: *Spanish Opera* en San Francisco en 1870". *Heterofonía*, 132-133 (2005), pp. 63-99; Sánchez Sánchez, V. "Músicas españolas llegadas a California con la fiebre del oro". *Revista de Musicología*, XXXII, 1 (2009), pp. 253-264; and Sánchez Sánchez, V. "Es California una tierra ideal: zarzuelas en los teatros de San Francisco durante el siglo XIX". *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, XIX (2010), pp. 117-144.

in the United States, and thus *zarzuela* was added in 1870 to the polyglot mix of European operetta traditions in San Francisco (Spanish *zarzuela* would become a dominant repertory in Los Angeles' many Mexican theaters by the 1920s).

The development in the later nineteenth century of better stagecoach, railroad, and sailing vessel and steamship travel made traveling to and from California much easier and more frequent. Consequently, as a result of these improvements in travel, San Francisco sent many theatrical troupes south to Los Angeles, and to other Southern California cities such as Riverside, San Bernardino, Redlands, Anaheim, Santa Ana, and San Diego. As a port city, and with three major railway lines converging on downtown from around the nation, Los Angeles was a major stop on the Pacific Coast theatrical tour circuit by 1900. Although San Francisco was still the crown jewel in this extensive tour circuit at that time, Los Angeles would overtake its northern sister city in theatrical importance during the 1920s. The development and expansion of the Hollywood film industry in Los Angeles and its surrounding area, as well as its larger population and large geographic size, and huge economic growth made Los Angeles the theatrical capital of the West Coast by that time.

Depending on the price of admission and the social status they represented, a wide range of entertainment genres attracted varied audiences of different ethnicities and races in Los Angeles, as they did elsewhere: English-language plays, musical comedies, and operettas; Italian and German opera; French grand opera, *opéra comique*, and *opérette*; Spanish and Mexican *zarzuela* and *revista*; and vocal and instrumental concerts. Italian opera and other forms of musical theater were not the exclusive domain of the middle and elite classes, for a general cross section of society attended these works, especially when performed at inexpensive ticket prices<sup>148</sup>. The Mexican forms of musical comedy, *revista*, and variety acts, as well as the *tanda*, *circo*, and *carpa* (tent show), particularly attracted working-class Mexicans because of the low cost of admission and the popular-style entertainment on offer. This very fluid mix of musical and theatrical genres and entertainments was prevalent in Los Angeles, throughout all of its sectors, for many decades, as it was elsewhere in California and the nation.

Several large, long-active theaters built in Los Angeles during the Great Land Boom of the 1880s established the city as a strong, commercially viable theatrical center, and entertainment designed primarily for Spanish-speaking audiences was periodically presented in these venues. The first of these theaters was Child's Grand Opera House, also called the Los Angeles Grand Opera House, which opened in May 1884 at 10 South Main Street<sup>149</sup>. With its 1,500 seats and luxurious furnishings it truly was the grandest theater ever built in the city up to that point, and it was also the first theater in the city to be lit by electricity, instead of by candlelight or gaslight. The Grand Opera House had a nine-member house orchestra, employing some of Los Angeles' leading professional musicians, and touring

<sup>148</sup> Kristen McCleary discusses how Spanish *zarzuela* was relevant to and supported by a wide range of society in Latin America, especially in Buenos Aires (McCleary, Kristen. "Popular, Elite, and Mass Culture? The Spanish Zarzuela in Buenos Aires, 1890-1900". *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, XXI, 1 (2002), pp. 1-27). This was also the case in Mexican cities, as well as in U.S. cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, San Antonio, Albuquerque, and Tucson. See Sturman, Janet. *Zarzuela: Spanish Operetta, American Stage*. Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 2000; and Kanellos, N. *A History of Hispanic Theater*. On the political and social aspects of Spanish *zarzuela*, see Young, Clinton D. *Music Theater and Popular Nationalism in Spain, 1880-1930*. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 2016.

<sup>149</sup> After the buildings on Main Street were renumbered, the address of Child's Grand Opera House became 110 South Main Street. On this venue, also see Marcus, Kenneth H. "The Start of Something Big: Theater Music in Los Angeles, 1880-1900". *California History*, LXXXI, 1 (2002), pp. 24-39.

Mexican companies may have used them for their performances<sup>150</sup>. It was also the site for the first motion pictures exhibited in the city, on July 6, 1896<sup>151</sup>. The Grand Opera House was in continuous operation under different names and managements until 1936, including use as a Mexican theater (Figure 1.27)<sup>152</sup>.

In September 1884, the touring Royal Spanish Opera Company performed Spanish *zarzuela* and French operetta in Spanish translation at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House, including works such as *El juramento* (Joaquín Gaztambide), *La Fille de Madame Angot* (Charles Lecocq) and Jacques Offenbach's frothy, satirical *La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein* (see Appendix 1.4)<sup>153</sup>. Offenbach's work of 1867 was a particular favorite in any language. The headstrong Grand Duchess of the imaginary duchy of Gerolstein falls in love with Fritz, a private in her army, who spurns her attentions. Offenbach's spicy operettas, with their bright, catchy songs, often with *double entendre* lyrics, had been performed many times before in California, in the original French, and in English and German versions, especially in San Francisco. However, the English translations of Offenbach's works were often expurgated so as not to offend American sensibilities, since the original French versions were often racy and sexually suggestive.

On April 29, 1888, the Villaseñor-Ureña Company, billed as the Spanish Opera Bouffe Company, and directed by Faustino Ureña, performed *Boccaccio* (Franz von Suppé) and *Olivette* (*Les noces d'Olivette*, Edmond Audran) at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House. Among other works, their touring repertory included: *Las campanas de Carrión* (*Les cloches de Corneville*, *The Chimes of Normandy*, Robert Planquette), *La Mascota* (*La Mascotte*, Audran), *El juramento*, *La tempestad* (Ruperto Chapí), *El anillo de hierro* (Pedro Miguel Marqués), *El sargento Federico* (Francisco Asenjo Barbieri and Gaztambide), and *Los Magyares* (Gaztambide); see Appendix 1.4. Like many other touring companies appearing in Southern California, besides performing in Los Angeles the troupe also appeared in other California cities such as San Bernardino, Santa Barbara, Santa Maria, San Francisco, and Sacramento<sup>154</sup>. The *Los Angeles Times* (April 30, 1888) noted that their performances of *Boccaccio* and *Olivette* were “particularly enjoyed by the Spanish residents of the city, who don't often have an opportunity to hear an opera given in their own language”. The *Sacramento Record-Union* (June 25, 1888) stated that “They are a full and well-organized company of fresh and musical voices –well-balanced, well-drilled, with [a] good chorus–. The Spanish operas are noted for their melody and charm of music and costume, and this company gives them with zest and magnetism”.

The Arcaraz Grand Spanish Opera Company (Compañía Hermanos Arcaraz), on tour from Mexico City, appeared at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House in August 1892. They presented the best performances of musical theater works in Spanish yet heard in Los Angeles and Southern California

<sup>150</sup> The Grand Opera House orchestra included P. Engels (leader), J. Francisco Bond and J. D. Knell (violins), E. Humphreys (bass), A. Isert (flute), A. Lust (clarinet), I. Schilling (cornet), E. E. Bertrand (trombone), and H. Pfann (drums); see Earnest, S. W. *An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California*, p. 104. Violinist J. Francisco Bond (1863-1931) was also a prominent Los Angeles painter.

<sup>151</sup> Pioneer cinematographer and film director Edwin S. Porter (1870-1941) exhibited Edison films beginning on July 6, 1896 at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House, then called the (first) Orpheum Theater, to great success. See Musser, Charles. *Before the Nickelodeon: Edwin S. Porter and the Edison Manufacturing Company*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1991, pp. 81-85.

<sup>152</sup> The Grand Opera House later operated under various names: Grand Theatre, (first) Orpheum Theatre, and Clune's Grand. In the 1910s it was a 10-cent movie house, and in the 1920s and 1930s it was the Spanish-language Teatro México, a very important site for live Mexican performances of *zarzuela*, *revista*, plays, as well as motion picture exhibition.

<sup>153</sup> For information about the standard *zarzuela* repertory, see Webber, Christopher. *The Zarzuela Companion*. Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2002.

<sup>154</sup> The town of Santa Maria, in Santa Barbara County, and located inland from the city of Santa Barbara, was also periodically visited on the tour circuit (“They Had Their Blankets”. *Santa Maria Times*, August 11, 1888, p. 3).

to that date. In June and July of 1892 they had appeared in San Francisco to great acclaim, and in early August they performed in Santa Barbara on their way to Los Angeles (later, they performed in San Bernardino, and in El Paso and San Antonio, Texas, among numerous other stops on the tour circuit north from Mexico City). They performed Spanish *zarzuela*, and European operetta and opera, attracting ethnically and racially mixed audiences, and local press attention<sup>155</sup>. The *Los Angeles Herald* (August 22, 1892) noted that the troupe “gave better performances, both in music and ensemble, than have been given here before in five years”. The *San Francisco Call* (June 26, 1892) highly praised the vocal soloists, chorus, and orchestra of the Arcaraz company. “The orchestra [...] under Don Luis Arcaraz, deserves commendation: the tempo was precise and every man appeared master of the instrument that he played. Arcaraz is a magnanimous leader. He does not wish to arrogate to himself all the honor and credit. He is not a Castilian Theodore Thomas”. Their repertory included such works as *La tempestad* (Chapí), *Boccaccio*, *Doña Juanita* (von Suppé), *Carmen* (Georges Bizet), *Campanone* (Giuseppe Mazza), *El proceso del can can* (Barbieri), and *La Gran Vía* (Federico Chueca and Joaquín Valverde); see Appendix 1.4. Since they stayed for a longer time in San Francisco because of its larger population and greater demand for theatrical entertainment, they performed other works in San Francisco that they did not give in Los Angeles.

The 1,488-seat Los Angeles Theatre, at 227 South Spring Street, was opened in 1888, and, like the Grand Opera House before it, went through many transformations over the years (Figure 1.28)<sup>156</sup>. From its earliest days it served as a venue for English-language dramatic and musical touring companies, vaudeville acts, concerts, and other entertainment events<sup>157</sup>. Hazard’s Pavilion, another important performance venue, opened in 1887 at Olive and Fifth Streets, across from Los Angeles’ Central Park (today’s Pershing Square) (Figure 1.29)<sup>158</sup>. It was a very large multi-purpose auditorium, reportedly seating more than 4,000. It hosted a wide variety of events including operas, concerts, boxing matches, flower festivals, citrus fairs, political conventions, and other entertainments, showing the mixed use to which large indoor public spaces were often dedicated at the time<sup>159</sup>. Theodore Thomas’s famous, but short-lived National Opera Company performed there on its national tour in May 1887, soon

<sup>155</sup> The Arcaraz Company toured throughout Mexico and California in the 1880s and 1890s, led by orchestra director Luis Arcaraz, with his brother Pedro Arcaraz, a famous tenor. (The orchestra leader and pianist Luis Arcaraz Junior [1910-1963], known for his performances of boleros and other popular music of the 1930s and 1940s, was the son of Luis Arcaraz Senior, who performed in nineteenth-century California).

<sup>156</sup> The first Los Angeles Theatre, renamed the Lyceum Theatre and the (second) Orpheum Theatre, was a home for vaudeville. The current Los Angeles Theatre (opened 1931), at 615 South Broadway, is a jewel among downtown Los Angeles’ twelve remaining Broadway theaters. Los Angeles’ extensive Broadway theater district stretches along South Broadway from Third Street at its northern end to Ninth Street at its southern limit. There are also several other remaining historic theaters located close to the downtown Broadway theater district. Los Angeles has the largest extant historic movie palace district in the United States, although many theaters have been demolished over the years. See Figure 1.35.

<sup>157</sup> On vaudeville in Los Angeles, see Singer, Stan. “Vaudeville in Los Angeles, 1910-1926: Theaters, Management, and the Orpheum”. *Pacific Historical Review*, LXI, 1 (1992), pp. 103-113; and Singer, S. “The Orpheum Theater of Los Angeles: A Chronology”. *Southern California Quarterly*, LXXII, 4 (1990), pp. 339-372.

<sup>158</sup> Hazard’s Pavilion was built on the location that would later be the site of the Baptist Temple Auditorium (opened in 1906), in which Sunday church services were held for many decades. As Clune’s Auditorium (1914-20) the venue presented motion pictures with orchestral accompaniment, and was the site of the 1915 premiere of the controversial and racist film *A Birth of a Nation* by director D. W. Griffith. The hall was renamed Philharmonic Auditorium in 1920 when the newly founded Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra (established 1919) moved in. The orchestra performed there until 1964, when it moved a few streets north to the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion in the then-new Los Angeles County Music Center. (It now performs in Walt Disney Concert Hall.) Sadly, Philharmonic Auditorium was demolished in 1985, and the lot later served as a parking lot for many years. The land was very recently redeveloped and a new high-rise building was erected on the site of the old Philharmonic Auditorium. All physical traces of its storied theatrical, motion picture, and musical connections have been lost.

<sup>159</sup> Smith, C. P. *Making Music in Los Angeles*.

after the hall opened<sup>160</sup>. Two world-famous sopranos appeared at Hazard's Pavilion, both in November 1900: Australian soprano Nellie Melba sang the role of Mimi in Giacomo Puccini's *La bohème*, and the "Yankee Diva" Lillian Nordica appeared as Elsa in Richard Wagner's *Lohengrin*.

Impresarios at these performance spaces stressed European and English-language dramatic and musical theater fare, although they did sometimes present works in Spanish and other languages. Although European American prejudice was always an enduring factor, especially towards working-class Mexican, Chinese, and Japanese immigrants, Latino/a operatic and theater audiences and concertgoers were allowed entrance to European American-owned performance venues such as the Grand Opera House and Los Angeles Theatre. However, they were not necessarily given social approval and were often required to sit in the balcony in segregated fashion, along with local African American audience members, since racial segregation and discrimination was prevalent and insidious.

The Italian Del Conte Opera Company gave the U.S. premiere of Giacomo Puccini's beloved opera *La bohème* at the Los Angeles Theatre on October 14, 1897, and also presented eight other operas there. *Mexicanos/as* were well represented in the audience at the *La bohème* premiere and for the other operas. The Del Conte troupe was touring north from Mexico City, with a group of Italian soloists, and a chorus and 31-member orchestra mostly recruited from the National Conservatory in Mexico City. The company was led by Mexican concertmasters-conductors Luis Saloma and Alberto Amaya, and Italian conductor Signor Vallini. The *Los Angeles Herald* noted that *La bohème* and the other operas performed by the Del Conte troupe "did not attract the people of wealth who live in beautiful homes with refined surroundings and who are supposed to possess taste and culture" and that "Italian and Mexican citizens were conspicuous throughout the engagement, but the *bon-ton* of American society sought its pleasure elsewhere" (Figure 1.30)<sup>161</sup>.

## Epilogue

Soon after 1900, a group of small and medium-sized Mexican theaters, or theaters catering to Mexicans and other immigrants, was gradually established along or adjacent to North Main Street near the Los Angeles Plaza that would continue to be active for several decades. They offered a regular, mixed bill of live theatrical acts and music, as well as motion pictures (Figures 1.31-1.33). Because these were local neighborhood venues, they catered especially to the Spanish-speaking, and also to Italian, Chinese, and Japanese residents of the greater Plaza district<sup>162</sup>. The longest-lived Mexican venue in Los Angeles devoted to the presentation of live narrative theater –musical and dramatic– and film exhibition was the 700-seat Teatro Hidalgo, which opened at 371-373 North Main Street sometime in the second half of 1912 (Figure 1.34). With its core audience being the Mexican and Mexican American population residing in downtown Los Angeles near the Plaza, the Teatro Hidalgo was appropriately named after the Father of Mexican Independence, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla. The Teatro Hidalgo was advertised as the *Teatro de la Raza*, and, throughout the course of its existence from 1912 to 1936, its different owners or lessees stressed its *Mexicanidad*

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> "The Opera Season". *Los Angeles Herald*, October 24, 1897, p. 13. Also see "Los Angeles Festival: Robert Stack and the 'La Bohème' Connection". *Los Angeles Times*, September 11, 1987; and Smith, C. P. *Making Music in Los Angeles*, pp. 46, 47, and 85.

<sup>162</sup> Olsson, Jan. "Hollywood's First Spectators: Notes on Ethnic Nickelodeon Audiences in Los Angeles". *Aztlán*, XXVI, 1 (2001), pp. 181-195; and *Los Angeles Before Hollywood*.

in their choice of theatrical repertory and personnel. But, at the same time, they also stressed a sense of mainstream American modernity in the selection of the American and European films they exhibited, along of course with the Mexican motion pictures they presented (Figure 1.34)<sup>163</sup>.

Throughout the 1920s, the Teatro Hidalgo presented a bill that changed almost on a daily basis, alternating plays, musicals of various sorts, vaudeville acts, and motion pictures. The theater's management followed the Mexican and Spanish practice of the *teatro por horas* or *tanda*, in which several short theatrical works, acts, or films were presented, lasting or adding up to about an hour in length, thus allowing for separate afternoon and evening programs made up of multiple components (different audiences probably attended the afternoon and evening programs). Unlike in Mexico, however, where audiences often paid a separate admission charge for each individual *tanda*, in Los Angeles one admission was usually charged for the whole afternoon's or evening's program. The Teatro Hidalgo also presented longer works such as full-length *zarzuelas*, *revistas*, plays, and feature films.

The highpoint of the live Mexican musical stage in Los Angeles occurred in the 1920s<sup>164</sup>. Impresarios such as Romualdo Tirado and Ernesto González Jiménez at the Teatro México and Teatro Capitol, and Mayer Trallis at the Teatro Hidalgo promoted a varied musical theater repertory –of Spanish *zarzuela*, European operetta, and Mexican and Spanish *revista*, and some standard Italian and French opera– alternating with dramatic plays and comedies, often written by local playwrights, as well as regular film exhibition. These theatrical genres served as a product of both commercial consumption and artistic edification. Musical theater provided a means by which *Mexicano/a* working- and middle-class audiences could reinforce a positive sense of ethnic and racial self-identification and enjoy up-to-date popular entertainment, in new and alien surroundings. Because not all Latino/a immigrants resident in Los Angeles had had experience with theatrical and film spectatorship before their emigration, by participating in these cultural forms they received an artistic education in their new surroundings.

The negative financial effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s, along with local-, state-, and federal-sponsored forced repatriation of Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans with U.S. citizenship in the 1920s and 1930s, caused a decline in the live local Mexican musical stage<sup>165</sup>. Performers were forced to adapt to new circumstances in the 1930s, including giving up a life in the theater, repatriation to Mexico, reduced theatrical activity and income, more extensive and less-lucrative tours to smaller towns with Latino populations, and / or seeking work as extras and secondary characters in Hollywood films. Some local Mexican performers found employment in President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's U.S. government-sponsored Works Progress Administration's musical and theatrical groups of the 1930s.

<sup>163</sup> For film showings at the Teatro Hidalgo, see Agrasánchez, Jr., Rogelio. *Viaje Redondo: El cine mudo mexicano en los Estados Unidos, 1900-1930*. Harlingen, Agrasánchez Film Archive, 2013.

<sup>164</sup> For the history of Mexican musical theater in Los Angeles after 1900, see Koegel, John. "Mexican Musical Theater and Movie Palaces in Downtown Los Angeles before 1950". *The Tide Was Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*. Josh Kun (ed.). Berkeley, University of California Press, 2017, pp. 46-75.

<sup>165</sup> Balderrama, Francisco E.; and Rodríguez, Raymond. *Decade of Betrayal: Mexican Repatriation in the 1930s*. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2006.

Mexican musical films and some Spanish-language musical films made in Hollywood, as well as musical and theatrical *variedades* (variety acts), filled this gap in the 1930s<sup>166</sup>. It was less expensive for theatrical impresarios to present films, periodically interspersed with live musical acts. The cost of film exhibition was usually less than that needed to support a constantly changing musical and dramatic theatrical repertory performed by a full company with a stage director, stars, supporting actors, singers, dancers, orchestra, and a technical stage staff. However, live musical *variedades* continued in Los Angeles on a regular basis at least until the 1990s, and were usually presented on weekends.

There is no regular, ongoing live Spanish-language narrative musical theater scene in Los Angeles today<sup>167</sup>. Unlike during the *Época de oro del cine mexicano* of the 1930s through the 1950s, when Los Angeles was one of the largest centers in the world for Mexican film exhibition and distribution after Mexico City, Spanish-language motion pictures are only infrequently shown in the city's movie theaters today (Figure 1.35)<sup>168</sup>. Nevertheless, Mexican music and films are vividly alive in Los Angeles. Mexican Golden Age and other Mexican and Latin American motion pictures and television programs are regularly shown on the city and region's many Spanish-language television stations. Spanish-language radio is a dominant force in the radio industry in Southern California today, and broadcasts of many types of Mexican and Latin American popular music fill the airwaves. Innumerable live performances of a very wide variety of Mexican, Latin American, and Latino popular music styles are given throughout each year across Southern California. The Los Angeles Philharmonic, under its beloved Music Director, Maestro Gustavo Dudamel, programs compositions by Latin American and Latino/a composers, at Walt Disney Hall (Los Angeles County Music Center) and at the Hollywood Bowl. Under Spanish superstar tenor Plácido Domingo's directorship, in recent years Los Angeles Opera has presented several Spanish-language works, such as Federico Moreno Torroba's *zarzuela Luisa Fernanda*, and the premiere of Daniel Catán's opera *Il Postino*, as well as his *Florenxia en Amazonas*. And San Diego Opera premiered Catán's *La hija de Rappaccini*. Because of the huge explosion in Mexican and other Latin American immigration to Southern California since World War II, and the very large numbers of U.S. citizens and residents of Latino/a heritage in California, local popular entertainment scenes are much larger now than they ever were before.

However, the popularly oriented Spanish-language narrative musical theater of the 1920s that addressed the desires, fears, and triumphs of Mexican and other Latino/a immigrants through the *revista*, *zarzuela*, operetta, and theatrical works on local Los Angeles themes; and the standard Spanish-language dramatic repertory; were never replicated later in Los Angeles or elsewhere

<sup>166</sup> Heinink, Juan B.; and Dickson, Robert G. *Cita en Hollywood: Antología de las películas norteamericanas habladas en castellano*. Bilbao, Ediciones Mensajero, 1990; Jarvinen, Lisa. *The Rise of Spanish-Language Filmmaking: Out from Hollywood's Shadow, 1929-1939*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2012; Gunckel, Colin; Horak, Jan-Christopher; and Jarvinen, Lisa (eds.). *Cinema between Latin America and Los Angeles. Origins to 1960*. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 2019; and De las Carreras, María Elena; and Horak, Jan-Christopher (eds). *Hollywood Goes Latin: Spanish-Language Cinema in Los Angeles*. Brussels and Los Angeles, FIAF (Fédération Internationale des Archives du Film/International Federation of Film Archives) and UCLA Film and Television Archive, 2019.

<sup>167</sup> In comparison, New York City's Repertorio Español company has presented over 250 Spanish-language theatrical productions (most with English captions) since its establishment in 1968. See Repertorio Español, <<https://repertorio.nyc/#/repertorio-espanol>>.

<sup>168</sup> Agrasánchez, Jr., Rogelio. *Mexican Movies in the United States: A History of the Films, Theaters and Audiences, 1920-1960*. Jefferson, McFarland, 2006.

in Southern California on a consistent, regular basis<sup>169</sup>. What emerged instead, beginning in the 1960s, were vibrant Chicano/a and Latino/a theater traditions that spoke meaningfully to Mexican and Latino/a immigrants and their descendants, and that stressed theatrical bilingualism, societal biculturalism, and cultural maintenance and pride. Luis Valdez's *El Teatro Campesino*, and his famous musical play *Zoot Suit* of 1978, used 1940s-era popular music to evoke zoot suit culture and the Pachuco/a period in California history. The Latino Theatre Initiative operated between 1992 and 2005 under the sponsorship of The Center Theater Group (Los Angeles County Music Center). The Latino Theater Company at The Los Angeles Theatre Center presents live productions based on Latino/a topics. And the Los Angeles Latino International Film Festival and the Latin American Cinemateca of Los Angeles showcase Latin American and Latino/a films and themes. These are five prime examples of a rich tradition that continues in forums today in various locations in California and the United States<sup>170</sup>.

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<sup>169</sup> The Padua Hills Mexican Players, active from the 1930s through the 1970s in Claremont, California, presented many newly written musical plays using local Mexican performers, primarily for white, European-American audiences, mostly on themes about life in "Old" Mexico. See Duel, Pauline B. *Mexican Serenade: The Story of the Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre*. Claremont, Padua Institute, 1961; García, Matt. "Just Put on That Padua Hills Smile: The Mexican Players and the Padua Hills Theatre, 1931-1974". *California History*, LXXIV, 3 (1995), pp. 244-261; and García, M. "Adjusting the Focus: Padua Hills Theatre and Latino History". *OAH Magazine of History*, X, 2 (1996), pp. 19-22.

<sup>170</sup> Broyles-González, Yolanda. *El Teatro Campesino: Theater in the Chicano Movement*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 1994; and Rodríguez, Chantal. *The Latino Theatre Initiative/Center Theatre Group Papers, 1980-2005*. Los Angeles, Chicano Studies Research Center, University of California, 2011.

## Appendix 1.1: List of Figures



Figure 1.1: Los Angeles Plaza Church. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 1989-0523. Photograph: William H. Fletcher

*Our Lady Queen of the Angels Church / Iglesia de Nuestra Señora la Reina de los Ángeles* was dedicated in 1822 and remodeled in the 1860s. It still serves as the center of an active Catholic parish, and is located directly across from the Los Angeles Plaza.

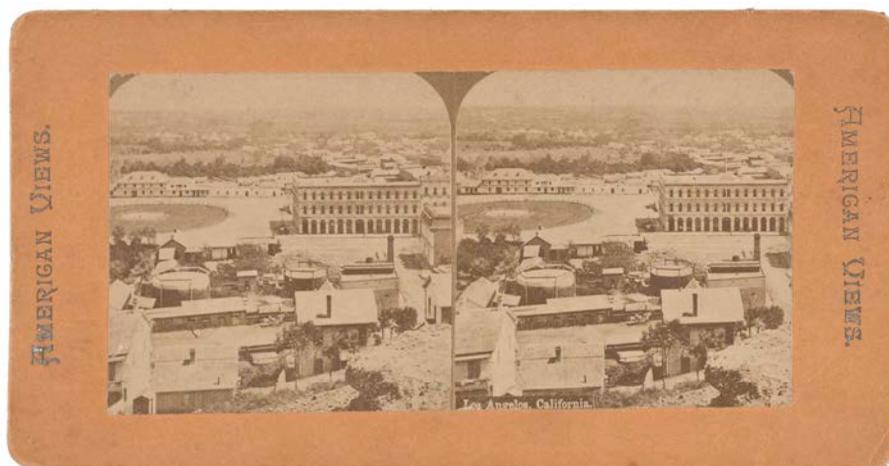


Figure 1.2: Los Angeles Plaza, ca. 1870s. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number STEREO U.S. GEOG FILE -- California -- Los Angeles -- Street Scenes.

Stereograph card view taken from Fort Moore Hill looking down at the Los Angeles Plaza, ca. 1870s, showing the three-story Pico House hotel (upper right) and the next-door Merced Theatre (shown only in the left-hand photograph). Masonic Hall is next to the Merced Theatre (but not shown here). The Lugo House is seen in the distance at the left, and the Los Angeles River is behind (east of) the Plaza area (unseen here).



Figure 1.3: Olvera Street, 1930s. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 1999-0151.

*A couple in the 1930s posed in front of the Ávila Adobe on Olvera Street, by the Los Angeles Plaza. The Ávila Adobe is the earliest surviving house in Los Angeles, and was built ca. 1818 as the townhome for the wealthy ranchero landowning Ávila family.*

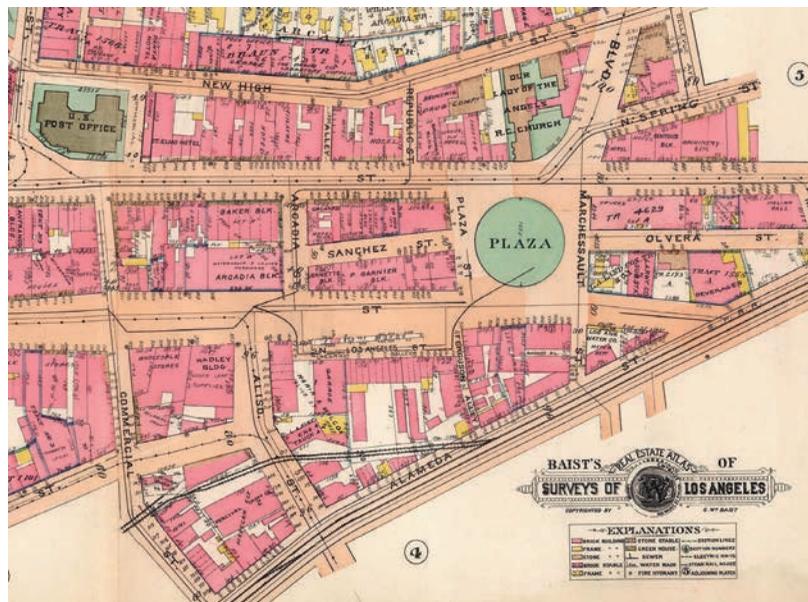


Figure 1.4: Los Angeles Plaza District, Real Estate Map, 1921. David Rumsey Map Collection, Cartography Associates, <<https://www.davidrumsey.com>>; Stanford University Library.

*Detail of a real estate map of the Los Angeles Plaza district, published by the Baist Company in 1921. This map shows North Main Street –the site of Mexican theaters after 1900– that fronts on the Plaza Church and is located one street above Olvera Street. The Pico House and Merced Theatre are on North Main Street immediately to the left of the circular Plaza. The future Union Railway Station will be across from the Plaza on Alameda Street (From G. W. Baist, Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Los Angeles, California. Philadelphia, W. E. and H. V. Baist, 1921, detail of Plate 3).*



Figure 1.5: Los Angeles Plaza, with Lugo House and Union Railway Station, photograph by Arnold Hysten, ca. 1950. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 2001-0510.

*The Los Angeles Plaza area, ca. 1950, before urban redevelopment. The Lugo House (site of Chinese businesses) is next to the Fook Wo Lung Curio Company (both were torn down in or about 1951). Union Station is in the distance across Alameda Street.*

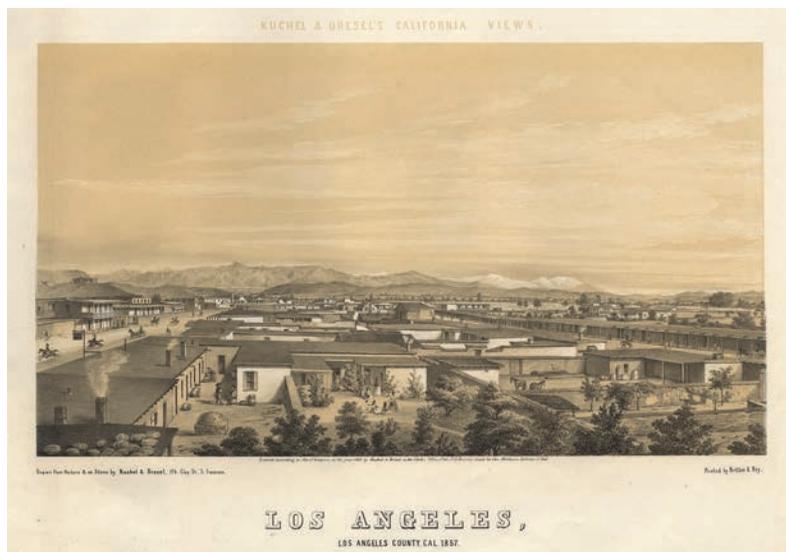


Figure 1.6: Los Angeles, 1857. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number PGA --Kuchel & Dresel-- Los Angeles, Los Angeles... (B size).

*Los Angeles in winter ca. 1857, looking north towards the Plaza and the snow-capped San Gabriel mountains in the far distance. Main Street is at the far left, and the Plaza Church is visible at the end of Main Street. Los Angeles Street is at the far right. In 1857 Los Angeles still had the appearance of a Mexican pueblo (its population seven years earlier in 1850 was reported as 1,610) (Lithograph drawn by Kuchel & Dresel. Kuchel & Dresel's California Views, Los Angeles, Los Angeles Co., Cal. San Francisco, printed by Britton & Rey, 1857).*

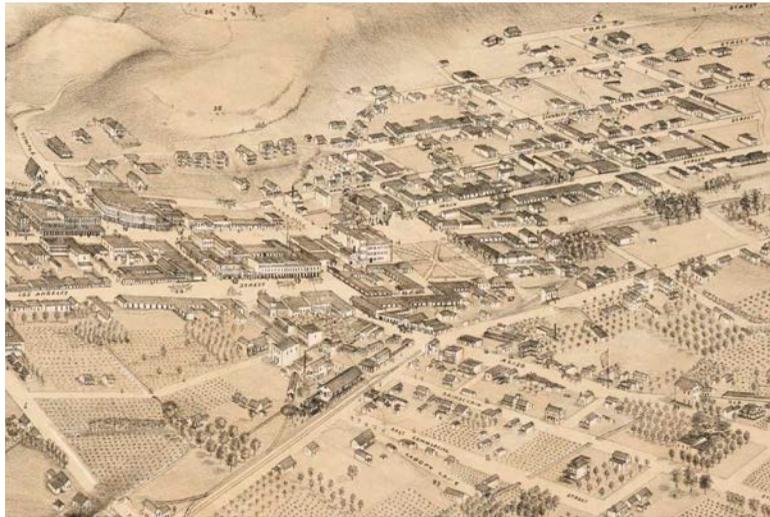


Figure 1.7: Los Angeles, 1871.

*Detail of a birds-eye view of Los Angeles in 1871, showing the Plaza district. The Plaza is at the right of center, along with the Plaza Church. The Pico House and Merced Theatre are adjacent, to the left of the Plaza. Chinatown is immediately below the Plaza. Los Angeles' population in 1870 was reported as 5,728 (Detail of lithograph drawn by August Koch. City of Los Angeles, Los Angeles County, Cal. San Francisco, printed by Britton & Rey, 1871).*

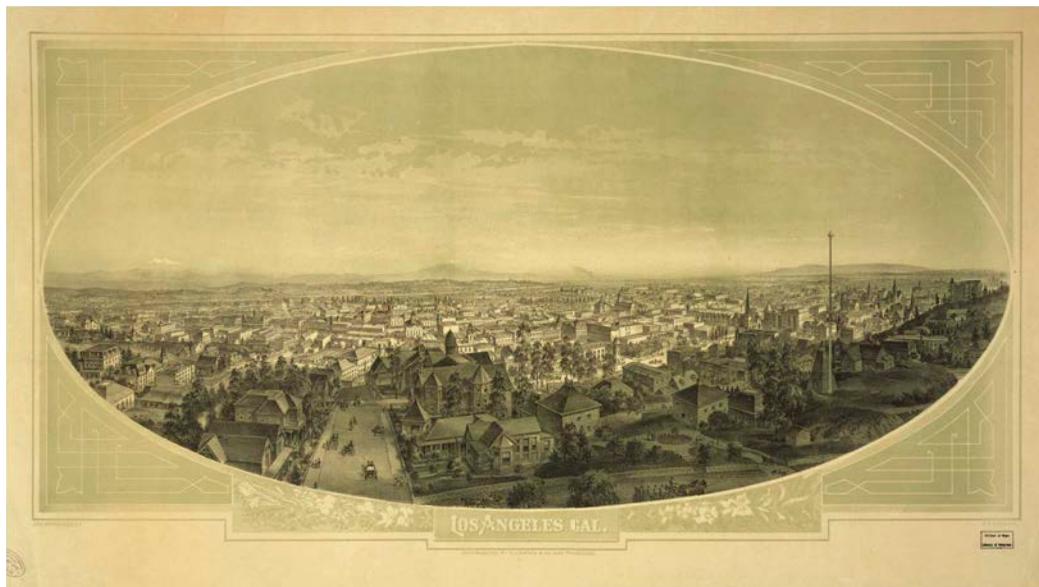


Figure 1.8: Los Angeles, ca. 1888. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number PGA --Britton & Rey-- Los Angeles, Cal. (D size).

*Birds-eye view of Los Angeles around 1888 during the Great Land Boom, with Victorian-era architecture dominating. High electric-lit 150-foot-tall lamp towers illuminated the city. Snow-capped Mount Baldy (Mount San Antonio) is seen fifty miles in the distance at left. The reported population of the city two years later, in 1890, was 50,395 (Lithograph drawn by S. F. Cook. Los Angeles, Cal. San Francisco, printed by Britton & Rey, ca. 1888).*

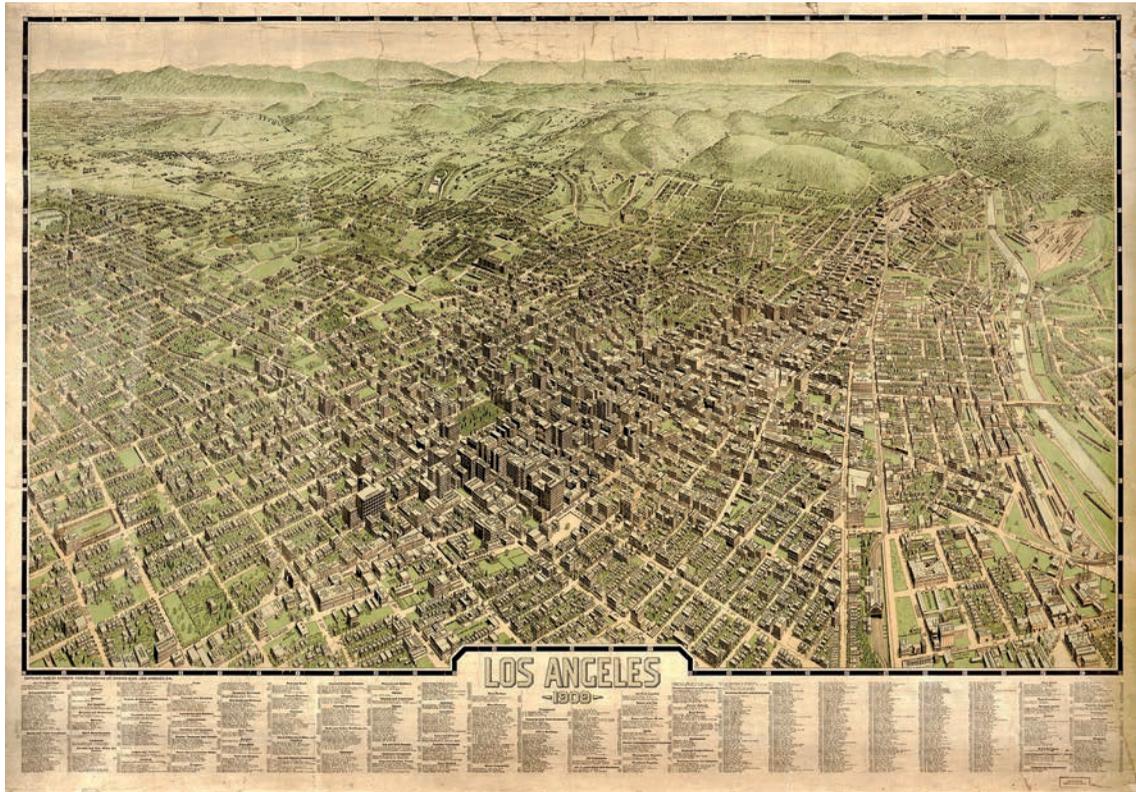


Figure 1.9: Los Angeles, 1909. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, call number G4364.L8A3 1909 .B4. Detailed birds-eye panoramic view of the city of Los Angeles in 1909, with Hollywood and the Hollywood Hills to the west (top far left) and Pasadena and the San Gabriel Mountains in the distance to the north (top right). The Los Angeles River is at the right. Los Angeles' population in 1910 was 319,198 (Los Angeles, 1909. Los Angeles, Birdseye View Pub. Co., 1909).

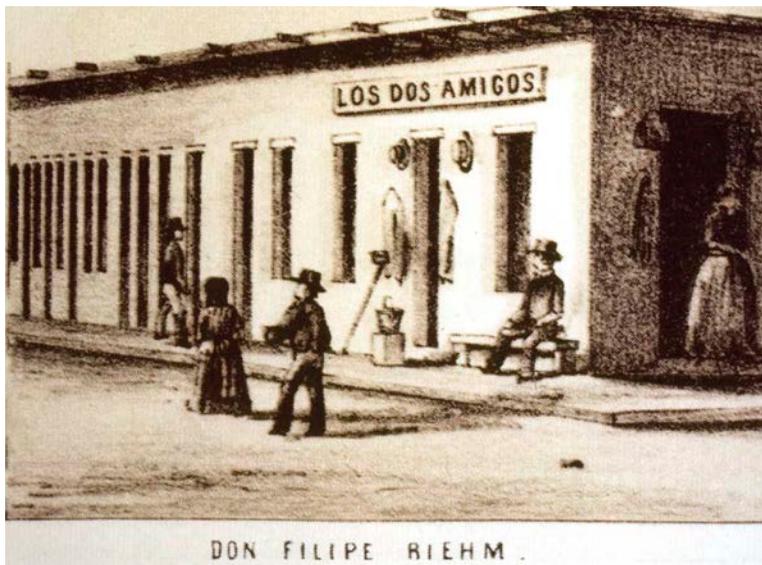


Figure 1.10: Los Dos Amigos, 1857. Felipe Rheim (died 1860, incorrectly listed here as Filipe Riehm) was the German-born alcoholic proprietor of Los Dos Amigos saloon-sala-performance space-store near the Los Angeles Plaza. Rheim paid to have this image included as one of twenty small inset pictures of Los Angeles commercial buildings that surrounded the large birds-eye view of Los Angeles in the 1857 lithograph from the series Kuchel & Dresel's California Views (Detail of lithograph drawn by Kuchel & Dresel. Kuchel & Dresel's California Views, Los Angeles, Los Angeles Co., Cal. San Francisco, printed by Britton & Rey, published by Hellman Brothers, 1857).

Figure 1.11: Coronel Adobe and the Calle de los Negros, ca. 1875? California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number STEREO-0463.

Stereograph card: "Scene of the Chinese Riot". In October 1871, an anti-Chinese riot resulted in the murder of 18 Chinese residents of Los Angeles. The massacre broke out in front of the old Coronel home, the long, single-story adobe building in the center of this photograph. This image was probably taken ca. 1875, and shows the Calle de los Negros, Los Angeles' first entertainment district (the street on the far right), as well as the Lafayette Hotel's coach, waiting for passengers.

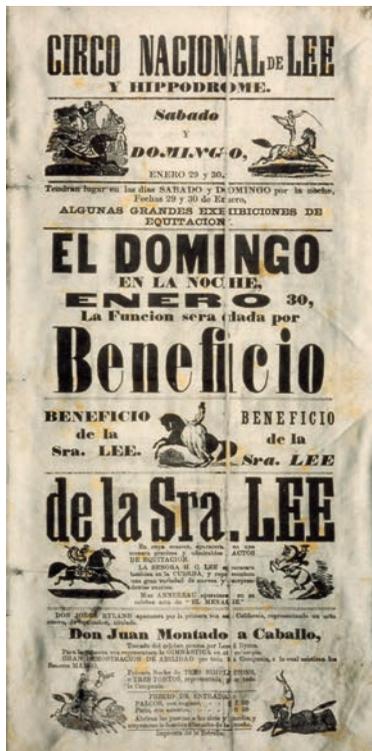
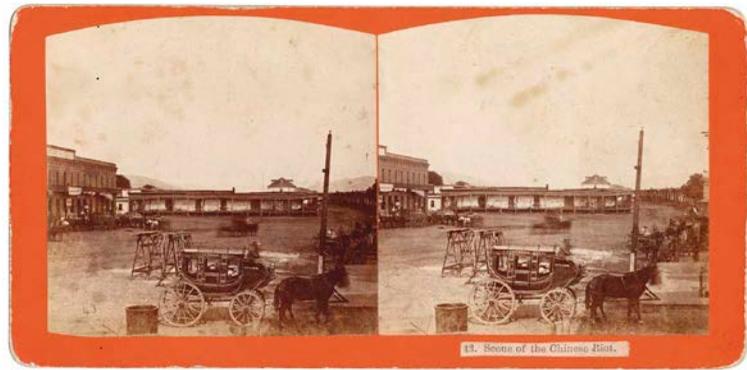


Figure 1.12: Circo Nacional e Hipódromo de Lee, 1859. Huntington Library, call number 208401.

Satin playbill for Lee's National Circus, Saturday and Sunday January 29 and 30, 1859; the Sunday benefit performance will be offered to Mrs. Lee. Don Jorge Ryland will perform Don Juan montado a caballo, and the Manzo Brothers (Sabino and Jesús) will assist (Program printed by the Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles).

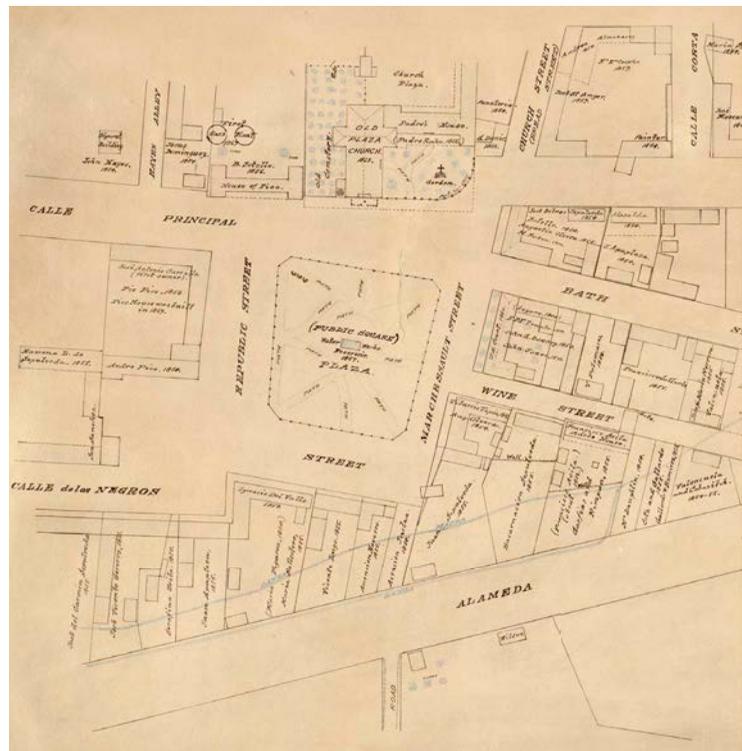


Figure 1.13: Map of Los Angeles Plaza Area, 1873. Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division, call number G4364.L8G46 1873 .R8.

This cadastral map, prepared by A. G. Ruxton, shows the land ownership of town lots in the Plaza district in 1873 and earlier years. The house of José Vicente Guerrero, where Rafael Guerrero produced Spanish-language plays in 1852 and 1853, is shown at bottom left (second house lot from left at bottom). The Sánchez house/sala, an early performance space, is to the left of the Plaza on the Calle de los Negros. Calle Principal is today's North Main Street, and Wine Street had not yet been renamed Olvera Street. It was renamed in honor of the prominent Californio Judge Agustín Olvera, whose house was located there. (A. G. Ruxton, detail of "Map of the Old Portion of the City Surrounding the Plaza [...] March 12th, 1873").

**Gran Funcion de Teatro,**  
Para el Domingo, 21 del corriente.

El que suscribe, director de la Compañía comica recientemente organizada en esta ciudad, tiene el honor de anunciar a este ilustrado publico de los Angeles, que de mañana en ocho dias, se dara una funcion de teatro, en la casa de Don José Vicente Guerrero calle de los negros.

Despues de una escogida pieza de musica, se pondrá en escena el hermoso Drama fantastico y religioso, nombrado Don Juan Tenorio, 1.<sup>a</sup> Parte.

*Frecios de entrada.*  
Patio \$1 . . 4 rs.  
Grada . . . 6 rs.  
La funcion comenzará á las 8 1-2 de la noche.

RAFAEL GUERRERO.  
Angeles Noviembre 13 de 1852.

GRAND THEATRICAL EXHIBITION.  
On Sunday, November 21.

THE subscriber, Director of the company of comedians recently organized in this city, has the honor to announce to the public of Los Angeles, that on Sunday, the 21st inst., he will give a Theatrical Exhibition in the house of Don José Vicente Guerrero, *calle de los Negros*.

The entertainment will commence with a celebrated overture by a competent band, which will be followed by the beautiful drama of Don Juan Tenorio.

Prices of admission—to the Pit \$1.50, to the corridor, 75 cts. The performances will commence at 8 1-2 o'clock, P.M.

n13 RAFAEL GUERRERO.

**Teatro domingo 16 de Enero.**

La compañía que no omite ninguna clase de sacrificio para complacer a este publico que sabe premiar tan bien sus debiles tareas, tiene la complacencia de anunciar para el mencionado dia el hermoso Drama en 3 actos y en verso, escrito por Don José Zorrilla, titulado: CADA CUAL CON SU RAZON.

Concluire la funcion con una graciosa *peti-piesa*.

RAFAEL GUERRERO.  
Director.

Pagas de costumbre

Figures 1.14-1.16: Advertisements for Guerrero's troupe, 1852 and 1853.

These three advertisements were for performances of Spanish-language plays given by Rafael Guerrero's troupe in late 1852 and early 1853 in the sala or patio of the home of José Vicente Guerrero, on the Calle de los Negros, facing the Los Angeles Plaza. These are the earliest documented performances of secular plays given in Spanish in Los Angeles (Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Angeles, November 13, 1852 and January 15, 1853).

Figure 1.17: *El zapatero y el rey*, theatrical playbill, 1852. Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 208400. Playbill printed on satin cloth for a benefit performance of *El zapatero y el rey* (José Zorrilla) and *Una noche toledana* (Ventura de la Vega) December 12, 1852, given by the Rafael Guerrero troupe at the home of José Vicente Guerrero. The playbill also includes a poem by Guerrero dedicated to his audience. The expression "una noche toledana" means to pass a sleepless night.

DOMINGO, 12 DE DIC<sup>bre</sup> DE 1852.

**GRAN FUNCION  
ESTRAORDINARIA.**

A beneficio del  
**DIRECTOR DE LA COMPANIA.**

Quien la dedica a los Señores del Comercio de esta ciudad, en prueba de aprecio.

Orden de la Funcion.

Se pondrá en escena el hermoso Drama en cuatro Actos, y en verso, escrito por el inmortal Poeta, Don José Zorrilla,

**EL ZAPATERO  
Y EL REY! 2<sup>o</sup> P<sup>TE</sup>**

Concluido, se pondrá en escena la graciosa pieza, en un Acto, nombrada

**¡ Una Noche Toledana !**

Si con esta funcion logro complacer a mis favorecedores quedarán colmados los deseos del beneficiado.

Publico ilustre y piadoso, En la funcion que se ofresco Sere feliz si merezco, Que quedes de ella gustoso. Al mirar que generoso Con todos sabos mostrarte, Quisiera manifestarte	Mi dulce agradecimiento Mas lo que en mi pecho siento, Yo no se como explicarme. De una funcion escogida A dar el conjunto voy, Y complaciendome estoy, Pues creo será aplaudida. R. G.
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**PAGARE.**  
Entrada General, 1 peso. A los S.S. a quienes se dedica, Arbitraria.

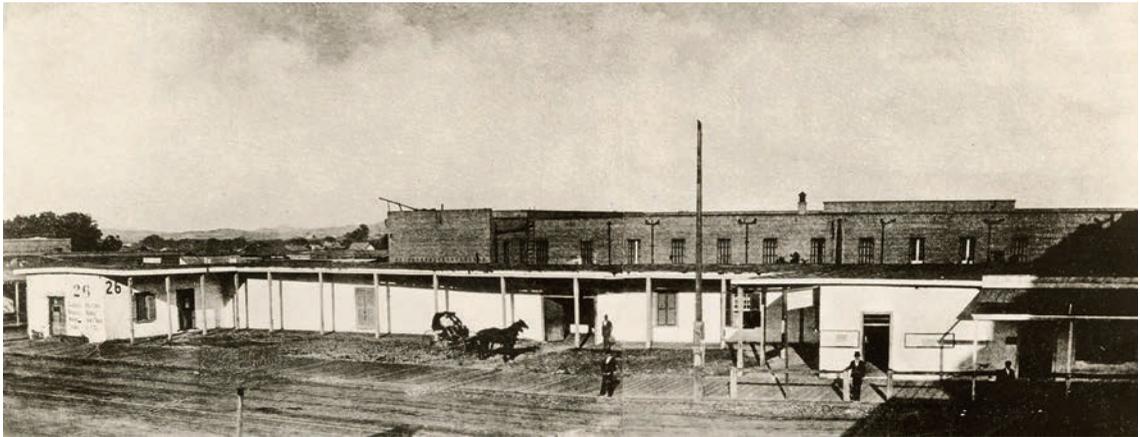


Figure 1.18: Abel Stearns's Home and Sala, "El Palacio", ca. 1860? California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 2003-0276.

*Abel Stearns's home "El Palacio," on North Main Street south of the Plaza, was constructed between 1835 and 1838, most likely by forced Indian labor. Its reported 100-foot-long interior sala, and large exterior patio were used as spaces for countless bailes and numerous theatrical and musical events, and other gatherings, over many years. The taller building behind "El Palacio" was the Arcadia Block (named after Stearns's wife Arcadia Bandini) on Los Angeles Street. "El Palacio" was torn down by 1878 and the Baker Block of commercial businesses was erected on its site; that building was demolished in 1941.*



Figure 1.19: Los Angeles Street and Arcadia Block, with Stearns Hall. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 1989-0528.

*Looking south at Los Angeles Street at the two-story Arcadia Block, the building at far right, with Stearns' Hall performance space on the second floor of this building. The pointed spire of St. Vibiana's Cathedral (dedicated in 1876) is seen in the far left-of-center distance. Stearns' Hall opened for theatrical performances and other events in 1859, and was in operation as a performance venue at least until 1878. The Arcadia Block opened in 1859 and was demolished in 1927.*

**CALIFORNIA MINSTRELS!!**  
 LAST NIGHT OF THEIR ETHIOPIAN CONCERT.  
 Armory Hall, Los Angeles.  
 Saturday Evening, Feb. 9th, 1856.  
 NEW SONGS, SOLOS,  
 Burlesques, Dances, &c.  
 BOX \$1. PIT 50 CENTS.  
 Front seats reserved for Ladies.  
 Doors open at 7. Performance to commence at 7½

---

**LOS NEGRITOS!!**  
 ULTIMA NOCHE DE SUS CONCIERTOS.  
 Cuartel de los Guardas, Los Angeles.  
 Esta Noche, Sabado, Febrero 9, de 1856  
 NUEVOS CANTOS, SOLOS,  
 Danzas, &c.  
 Asientos \$1. Palco 50 Centavos.  
 Las puertas se abrirán a las 7 Empezará a las 7½

Figure 1.20: Advertisement for California Minstrels, 1856.

*Bilingual advertisement in El Clamor Público (February 9, 1856) for the California Minstrels blackface troupe at Armory Hall: "nuevos cantos, solos, danzas, etc."*

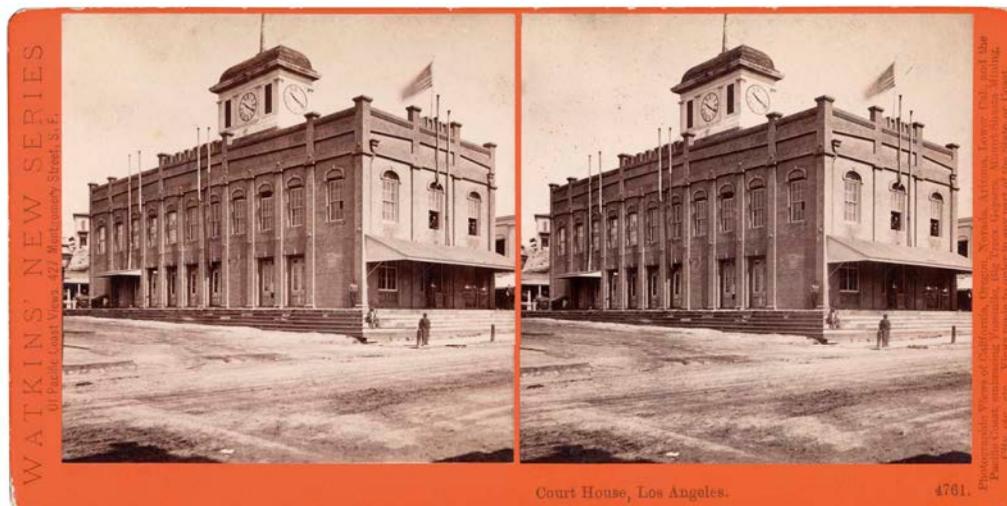


Figure 1.21: Los Angeles Court House and Temple Theater, Photograph by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1880. California State Library, California History Room, call number STEREO-0386.

*The Los Angeles Courthouse, City Market, and Theater, built by local businessman Thomas Temple, opened in 1859 and was the site for many theatrical and musical performances over the years. The theater was located on the second floor of the building. The Gerardo López del Castillo Company performed plays and musical theater works there in 1865 and 1866. The building was replaced ca. 1895 by the Bullard Block, and that building was itself replaced in the 1920s by the still-standing, and now-iconic Los Angeles City Hall.*

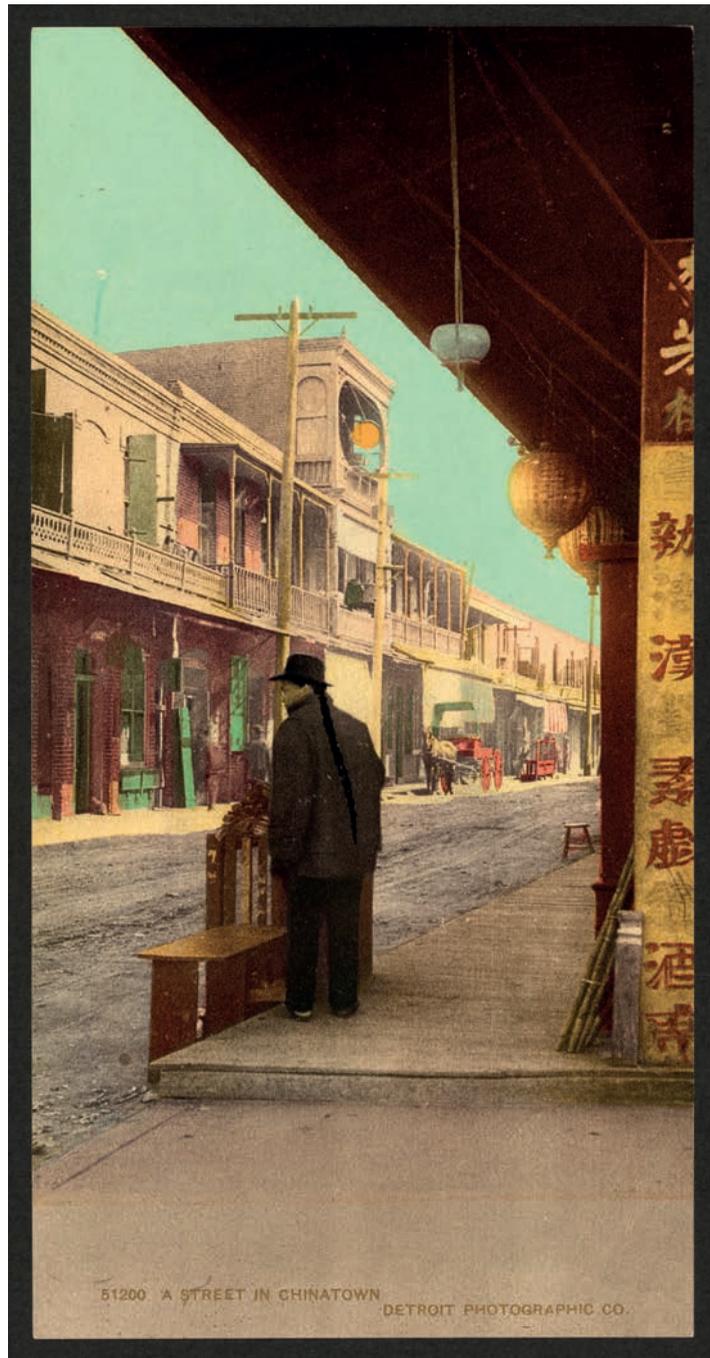


Figure 1.22: A Street in Chinatown, ca. 1898-1905. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number LOT 13923, no. 90. *A postcard from the turn of the twentieth century showing Apablaza Street (east of Alameda Street) and the old Los Angeles Chinatown. This site was located across from the Los Angeles Plaza and was near Sonoratown and the Mexican quarter. Los Angeles' Union Railway Station now stands on this spot.*

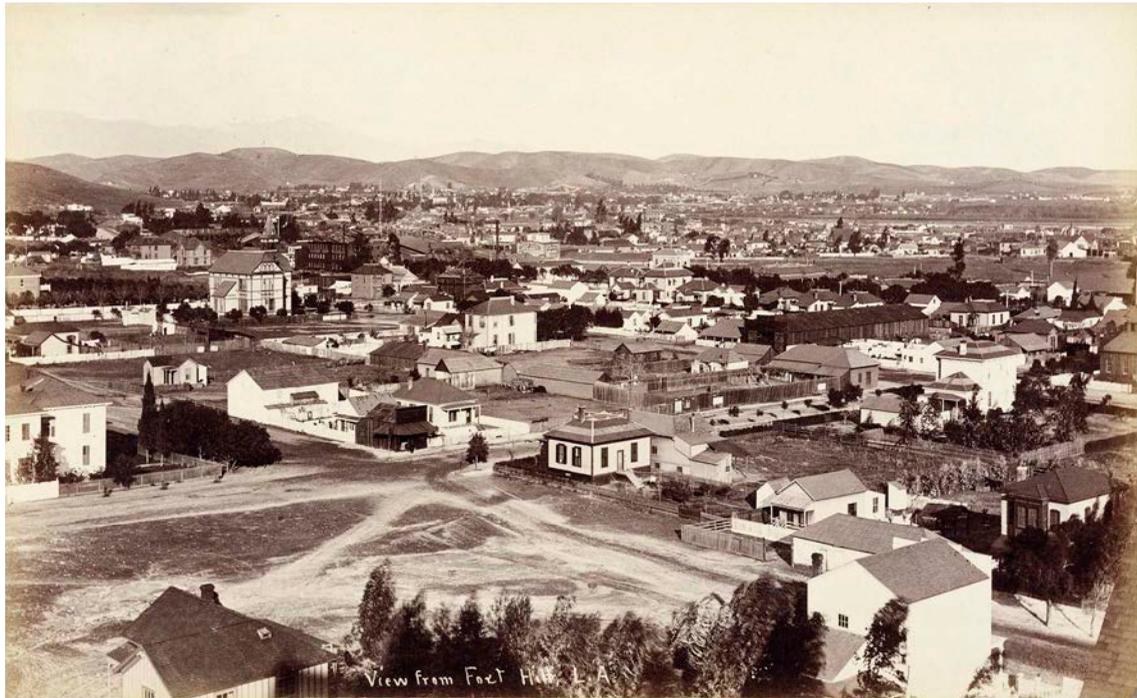


Figure 1.23: Sonoratown, photograph by W. H. Fletcher, ca. 1890. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 1989-0532.

*Sonoratown was the later nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Mexican neighborhood immediately north of the Los Angeles Plaza. This view looks northeast from Fort Moore Hill (which was located west and above the Plaza), with the San Gabriel mountain range faintly visible in the far distance.*



Figure 1.24: Pico House Hotel (left), Merced Theatre / Teatro Merced (center), and Masonic Hall (right), photograph by Carleton E. Watkins, ca. 1870s. California State Library, California History Room, call number STEREO-0127.

*The Merced Theatre / Teatro Merced opened with an inaugural concert on December 30, 1870 and until 1877 many hundreds of theatrical and musical works were performed there.*

**NEW TO-DAY.**

---

**Merced Theatre.**

A grand display of the

**Spanish Dramatic Troupe,**

**On Thursday Evening, January 1. 1874.**

---

**First ..... GRAND SYMPHONY**

**Second—A magnificent Drama in three Acts,**  
in verse, entitled

**FLORES Y PERLAS.**

**Third—A Graceful Song, entitled**  
**La Polca de las Habaneras en la Zarzuela del juicio final.**

---

**ADMISSION:**

<b>CHAIRS.....</b>	<b>\$1 00</b>
<b>GALLERY.....</b>	<b>50</b>
<b>PRIVATE BOXES.....</b>	<b>5 00</b>

Figure 1.25: *Flores y perlas* (Luis Mariano de Larra) at Teatro Merced, 1874. Advertisement for Ángel and Laura Mollá's performance of the play *Flores y perlas* (Luis Mariano de Larra) with music, at the Teatro Merced on January 1, 1874 (Los Angeles Herald, December 31, 1873).



Figure 1.27: Los Angeles Grand Opera House, ca. 1890. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 1997-0026. The 1,500-seat Los Angeles Grand Opera House opened in 1884 at 110 South Main Street. It was the most lavish theater ever built in Los Angeles up to that time, and was the first theater in the city to have electric lighting. It was in operation under various names until 1936, and in its last years it operated as the Spanish-language Teatro México.

**TURN VEREIN HALL.**

**Saturday, June 6, '74.**

**INEZ FABBRI, ANNA ELZER**

—AND—

**Prof. Mulder Fabbri's**  
**GRAND OPERATIC**

—AND—

**Lyric Performance.**

**CELEBRATED ITALIAN OPERA**  
**SCENES IN COSTUME.**

Canciones Espagnoles, English Ballads, Etc.

FIRST PART.

**CONCERT!**

FANTASIA—Piano and Violin...Les Deuxanges—Prof. MULDER and Mr. STRELITZ.

ROMANZA—Non e Ver.....Tito Mattel, Madame FABBRI.

CAVATINA—La Generentola.....Rossini, Miss ELZER.

CANCION ESPAGNOLA—La Flor de la Canela—Madame FABBRI.

ENGLISH SONG—Tender and True.....Lely, Miss ELZER.

WALTZ—Duo.....Mulder, Madame FABBRI and Miss ELZER.

SECOND PART—(In Costume).

**Linda di Chamouni!**

Grand Opera by Donizetti—(2d Act).

LINDA.....Mad. FABBRI

PIEROTTO (a Savoyard Boy).....Miss ELZER

**LA NARANJERA!**

Spanish scene, in Costume, by Miss ELZER

THIRD PART—In Costume.

**NORMA!**

Grand Opera by Bellini—Third Act.

NORMA.....Mad. FABBRI

ADALGISA.....Miss ELZER

Children of Norma.

Musical Conductor on the Piano, Professor FABBRI.

**To Commence at 8 O'Clock.**

**TICKETS - - - \$1.00**

To be had at the principal stores in town. Reserved Seats can be secured at Brodriek's Book Store, on payment of 50 cents extra.

Figure 1.26: Fabbri Troupe at Turnverein Hall, 1874.

Advertisement for Inez Fabbri troupe's concert of opera excerpts and Spanish songs at Turnverein Hall in 1874 (Los Angeles Herald, May 30, 1874).



Figure 1.28: Los Angeles Theatre, 1897. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number 989-0273.

*The 1,488-seat Los Angeles Theatre at 227 South Spring Street (the tallest building in the center) opened in 1888 and hosted a variety of theatrical and musical entertainments over many years under various names. It closed as the Lyceum Theatre in 1940.*



Figure 1.29: Hazard's Pavilion. California State Library, California History Room, Picture Collection, call number BEHR-0044.

*Hazard's Pavilion (also known as the Academy of Music), a 4,000-seat multi-purpose auditorium opened in 1887 at Olive and Fifth Streets, across from Los Angeles' Central Park (today's Pershing Square), and hosted a huge variety of events and performances. It was replaced by the building that became Philharmonic Auditorium, where the Los Angeles Philharmonic played for many years.*

**Los Angeles Theater**

C. M. WOOD, Lessee and Treasurer  
H. C. WYATT, Manager

The Greatest Musical Festival Ever Held in Southern California. Direct from Milan, Italy, and the City of Mexico. ||| The First Time in the United States of *The Italian Grand Opera Company*

COMMENCING TONIGHT—TUESDAY EVENING, OCT. 12 in the following repertoire:  
 Tonight—Ponchielli ..... La Gioconda ||| Friday Evening—Verdi ..... Ernani  
 Wednesday Evening ..... Un Ballo in Maschera ||| Saturday Matinee—Puccini ..... La Boheme  
 Thursday Evening—Puccini ..... La Boheme ||| Saturday Evening—Verdi ..... Trovatore

Grand Chorus, Grand Orchestra, Elaborate Costumes. The Famous Singers of Italy in the cast each evening and

The Famous Musical Director of Milan, Italy, ||| *Sig. Luis E. Saloma*  
*Sig. Piero Vallini* ..... Violin Concertino

SEATS NOW ON SALE. Prices—25c, 50c, 75c, \$1.00, \$1.50. Telephone Main 70.

Figure 1.30: Opera at the Los Angeles Theatre, 1897.  
 Advertisement for the United States premiere of Giacomo Puccini's opera La bohème given by the Del Conte Italian Grand Opera Company at the Los Angeles Theatre on Thursday October 14, 1897 (Los Angeles Herald, October 12, 1897).



Figure 1.31: "The 'Teatro Metropolitan' at the Plaza", 1912.  
 A "Spanish Señorita" wearing a comb and lace mantilla sells a ticket to a Chinese man for a film and vaudeville show with "Spanish and Italian Opera Selections" at the Teatro Metropolitan, 513-515 North Main Street (Los Angeles Times, May 12, 1912).



Figure 1.32: Teatro Metropolitan, Collection of John Koegel, ca. 1910. Advertising button: Teatro Metropolitan. Moving Pictures and Vaudeville (513-515 North Main Street. Los Angeles, Cal.).



Figure 1.33: “The Film Show Boom in Los Angeles” caricature, 1907. On the left, a multi-racial working-class immigrant audience views a silent film likely accompanied by piano in a Plaza area nickel theater (with a cockroach as a “regular attendant”). On the bottom right (“It Is Different Uptown”), a middle-class, white audience watches a film in a different theater in greater comfort (Los Angeles Times, October 13, 1907).

PROXIMAMENTE  
**¡Brillante - Inauguración!**  
 DEL  
**TEATRO HIDALGO**  
 Dedicado exclusivamente a espectáculos de alta moralidad y cultura, en el bello y sonoro idioma español  
 Durante el año se harán temporadas de Drama, Comedia, Opereta, Zarzuela y Variedades.  
 Se presentaran artistas de verdadero merito procedentes de Madrid, Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Mexico y Habana.  
 Grandiosas Vistas Cinematograficas.  
 Gran Orquesta! Banda Militar!  
**El Teatro Hidalgo**  
 será el más amplio, elegante y cómodo lugar de cita de las honorables Colonias de España, México y demás naciones hispano-americanas  
 Pidanse Informes y Búsquense Programas.  
 Gerente, Teléfono A2891. P. O. Box 899.  
 S. P. LABAT. 373 N. Main St. Los Angeles, Cal.

Figure 1.34: Announcement for Teatro Hidalgo, 1918.

“Drama, Comedia, Opereta, Zarzuela y Variedades, Grandiosas Vistas Cinematográficas, Gran Orquesta!, Banda Militar!” at the Teatro Hidalgo, 373 North Main Street, the “teatro de la raza”. The Teatro Hidalgo, in existence as a Spanish-language theater from 1912 to 1936, was one Los Angeles’ principal theatrical venues for the Latino community (El Heraldo de México, February 10, 1918).



Figure 1.35: Skyline view of Los Angeles, photograph by Carol M. Highsmith, 2013. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, call number LC-DIG-highsm- 24459.

The very elegant Los Angeles City Hall (completed 1928) is the tallest building at the northern edge of the historic core of downtown Los Angeles (top center). The historic Los Angeles Plaza, not seen here, is directly north of (behind) City Hall. The 1930 art deco Eastern Columbia building (with the clock face), one of the most beautiful buildings in the city (bottom right), marks the southern part of the historic core shown in this photograph. The street immediately to the right of Eastern Columbia is South Broadway, Los Angeles’ historic theater district. The dozen surviving theaters on South Broadway (and the several theaters on nearby streets) have mirrored the history of the city, and in recent decades served as Spanish-language movie palaces. The snow-capped San Gabriel mountains are in the far distance.

## Appendix 1.2: Population Statistics by Decades for the City of Los Angeles, 1850-2010, from Federal Census Records<sup>171</sup>

1850	1,610
1860	4,385
1870	5,728
1880	11,183
1890	50,395
1900	102,479
1910	319,198
1920	576,673
1930	1,238,048
1940	1,504,277
1950	1,970,358
1960	2,479,015
1970	2,816,061
1980	2,966,850
1990	3,485,398
2000	3,694,820
2010	3,792,621

## Appendix 1.3: *Daily Alta California* Newspaper Reportage of the Isidoro Máiquez Company's Performances at the American Theatre in San Francisco, 1859 and 1860<sup>172</sup>

### Principal Performers

Señor Isidoro Máiquez and Señora Pepita Pérez de Máiquez  
 Señor Manuel Armario and Señora Armario  
 Señores León and Vásquez

### Saturday Evening, January 29, 1859

*No hay humo sin fuego* (Ramón de Valladares y Saavedra, 1850), Señor and Señora Máiquez  
*Las travesuras de Hortensia*, Señor and Señora Máiquez  
 Beautiful Ballets *El jaleo de Jerez* and *El currutaco chasqueado, o la cigarrera de Cádiz*, Señor and Señora Máiquez  
 Andalusian Song *La creada* (*sic?* = *La criada?*), Señora Máiquez  
 A Ballet Corps has been engaged for the occasion

<sup>171</sup> The 1850 to 1990 Los Angeles City statistics are from Gibson, Campbell; and Jung, Kay. "California-Race and Hispanic Origin for Selected Cities and Other Places: Earliest Census to 1990." *Historical Census Statistics on Population Totals by Race, 1790 to 1990, and by Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, for Large Cities and Other Urban Places in the United States* [Population Division Working Paper, 76]. Washington, D.C., U.S. Census Bureau, 2005, Table 5, <<https://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0076/twps0076.html>>. For the 2000 and 2010 federal census, see "Sort by Place", U.S. Census Bureau, <<https://www.census.gov/census2000/states/ca.html>>. In 2010, the population of Los Angeles County (including the city of Los Angeles) was 9,519,338.

<sup>172</sup> Abstracted from advertisements and announcements in the *Daily Alta California* (San Francisco): January 13 and 29, 1859; February 8, 15, and 18, 1859; May 27, 1859; June 3, 12, 24, and 20, 1859; July 17, 1859; and June 11, 17, and 28, 1860.

Wednesday Evening, February 9, 1859

*The Mischievous Hortensia, or, I Wish to Be an Actress (Las travesuras de Hortensia)*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Magical Ballet *The Parade of Mahoma* ("taken from the Arabian Nights"), Señor and Señora Máiquez

Spanish Song *Si Ud. lo sabe*, Señora Máiquez

Favorite Comic Songs Sung by Miss Louise Paullin and Master Edgar Paullin

A Ballet Corps has been engaged for the occasion

Wednesday Evening, February 16, 1859

*Dos en uno* (Luis Olona, arranged from the original French, 1850), Señor and Señora Máiquez

Play *Iron and Poison, or the Actress and the Editor*

In which Señora Pepita Máiquez will appear in four different characters

Dances *El andaluz y la mejicana*, and in costume *Pacorrillo el tunante* and *La perla gaditana*, Señora Máiquez

*American Ondina, or Sacramento Water Lily*

Composed and dedicated to the Ladies of San Francisco by Señor and Señora Máiquez

Saturday Evening, February 19, 1859

Benefit for Señora Pepita

Spanish Comedy *No More Children, or the Bachelor and the Girl*, Señora Máiquez

To be followed by the following dances, in costume, *Hernán Cortés*, *La rosita de Cádiz*, and *La encantadora*

Spanish Song *La colosa* (sic, = *La colasa*), Señora Pepita

*El jaleo de Jerez*, Manuel Y. Ferrer, guitar

Dances and Comic Songs by Miss Louise Paullin and Master Edgar Paullin

Sunday Evening, May 29, 1859

Three-act Drama *Excommunication, or, the Revealed Confession (El excomulgado)*, José Zorrilla, 1848)

During which Señora Máiquez will sing the favorite song *The Angel of Love (Ángel de amor)*, accompanied on the guitar by Señor Manuel Y. Ferrer

Dance *El andaluz y la mexicana*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Farce *E. H.*

Sunday Evening, June 5, 1859

Comic Melo-drama *A Hero by Compulsion, or El cervecero de Preston (Héroe por fuerza, Ventura de la Vega, comic drama)*

During the piece Señora Pepita will sing the favorite song of *La tambora*

Pantomime *La cigarrera de Cádiz*

Which will terminate with the admirable jaleo *La manola*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening, June 12, 1859

Comedy *My Secretary and I (Mi secretario y yo)*, Manuel Bretón de los Herreros)

After which Señora Pepita will sing the Andalusian song *La avellanera*

Polka *Sebastapoliana*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Farce *Palo del ciego* (Juan del Peral?, zarzuela?, 1851?), Señor and Señora Máiquez

Comic Dance *The Coquet and the Fool*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening June 26, 1859

Comedy *What a Pair of Jewels*

After which Señor and Señora Máiquez will dance *La gallegada*

Farce *The Bachelor Husband*

Chinese Dance *Chinesco*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening July 3, 1859

Romantic Drama *El trovador* (Antonio García Gutiérrez, 1836)

*Styrian Dance*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening July 10, 1859

Comedy in Two Acts *El poeta y la beneficiada* (Manuel Bretón de los Herreros, 1838)

During which Señora Pepita will sing *La aldeana*

*Let All Obey*, by an Amateur

Song, Miss Kammerer

*Highland Fling*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Guitar Solo, Manuel Y. Ferrer

Comedy *Mauja*

Sunday June 10, 1860

Sentimental Drama *El compositor y la extranjera*

In the course of which Señora Pepita Máiquez will sing the Spanish song *La partida del prisionero* accompanied on piano by G. W. Feret

Burlesque Chinese Solo *John, Kan Kin Kon*, Isidoro Máiquez

Comedy *La molinera de Marly*

Spanish Song *Chinoeri*, sung by Pepita Máiquez accompanied by Mr. Feret

French Song *La brune Therese*, sung by Isidoro Máiquez

Grand Pas de Deux *La camelia*, composed and executed by Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening June 17, 1860

English Song *Jenny Lind's Salutation to America* (Bayard Taylor), sung in English by Señora Máiquez

Comedy *Bruno, el tejedor* (Ventura de la Vega, 1855?)

Spanish Song *Rita, la madrileña*, Señor Máiquez

Farce *La viuda y el sacristán* (*El sacristán y la viuda*)

Andalucian Dance *La sevillana y el jaque*, Señor and Señora Máiquez

Sunday Evening July 29, 1860

Grand Overture *El pabellón mejicano*

Song *Tú de mis lágrimas el único autor*, sung by Pepita Máiquez

New Comedy *Los amores de Shakespeare*

Comedy *La vuelta de Estanislao* (Ventura de la Vega, 1841?)

## Appendix 1.4: Extracts of Notices of *California* and Mexican-Related Entertainment Events in Southern California, 1839-1900

Note: Events occurred in Los Angeles unless otherwise noted. All newspapers published in California.

### Key to Sources

- CA =       Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers, Library of Congress, Washington DC; <<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>>.
- CC =       Antonio F. Coronel (1817-1894) Papers, Seaver Center for Western History Research, Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles, California; General Collection 1001, folders 778, 782, 792, 844, 858, 865.
- CDNC =     California Digital Newspaper Collection, University of California, Riverside; <<https://cdnc.ucr.edu>>.
- CNP =     California Newspaper Project, University of California, Riverside; <<https://cdnc.ucr.edu>>.
- CS =       *California Star* (preceded by *Californian*, succeeded by *Alta California*), San Francisco, 1847-1848; available through CDNC, holdings listed in CNP.
- D =       Dobinson Collection, Theater Programs, 1870?-1903, 15 bound volumes of theatrical and musical programs and reviews; Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California, call number FR 812.09 D633 folio.
- DC =       *Daily Courier*, San Bernardino, 1886-1894; available through CDNC and NC, holdings listed in CNP.
- E =       Earnest, Sue Wolfer. *An Historical Study of the Growth of the Theatre in Southern California, 1848-1894*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1947.
- EA =       *El Aguacero*, Los Angeles, extant issues for March 24-31, 1878; originals and microfilm in LACMNH, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- ECP =     *El Clamor Público*, Los Angeles, 1855-1859; original copies in Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 225168; mostly complete run digitized at <<http://digitallibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll70>>, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- EE =       *Evening Express* (continued by other titles), Los Angeles, 1871-1931; available online on CDNC (as *Los Angeles Herald*), holdings listed in CNP.
- EP =       *El Eco de la Patria*, Los Angeles; extant issues for February 14-21, 1878; original issues in LACMNH, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- GB =       Digital copies available by subscription through Genealogybank.com.
- H =       Huber, Robert Christopher. *The Merced Theatre of Los Angeles: An Analysis of Its Management and Architecture, 1870-1879*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1980.
- IAMR =    Stevenson, Robert M. "Music in Southern California: A Tale of Two Cities (Los Angeles: The First Biennium and Beyond)". *Inter-American Music Review*, X, 1 (1988), pp. 51-112.
- IV =       Ignacio del Valle Family Papers, 1818-1920, Seaver Center for Western History Research,

- Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles, General Collection 1002, folders 477a, 513, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 616, 617, 618, 852, 1755.
- LACMNH = Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History, Los Angeles, California.
- LAH = *Los Angeles Herald* (continued by other titles), 1873-1921; available online on CDNC, holdings listed in CNP.
- LAPL = Central Library, Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California.
- LAS = *Los Angeles Star / La Estrella de Los Ángeles*, Los Angeles, Spanish and English sections published 1851-1855 (usually pages 1-2 printed in English, and pages 3-4 in Spanish), published in English only 1855-1864, 1868-1879; scattered original issues and microfilm copies in Huntington Library, call number 57450; issues for 1851-1864 available online on CDNC and at <<http://digitalibrary.usc.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/p15799coll68>>, holdings listed in CNP.
- LAT = *Los Angeles Times*, Los Angeles, 1881-present; available online through NC and ProQuest.
- LC = *La Crónica* (succeeded by *Las dos repúblicas*), Los Angeles, 1872-1892; incomplete run of issues at LAPL and LACMNH, holdings listed in CNP.
- LDR = *Las dos repúblicas* (continuation of *La Crónica*), Los Angeles, 1892-1898; incomplete run of issues at LACMNH, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- LG = *La Gaceta*, Santa Barbara, 1879-1881; incomplete run of issues at Huntington Library and LACMNH, available online on GB, listed in CNP.
- LU = *La Unión*, Los Angeles, 1895-1912; extant issues from 1896 and 1897 at LACMNH, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- M = Journal of Francis Mellus (manuscript), *Journal of Voyages to, from, and along the Coast of California*, 1838-1847, Huntington Library, call number HM 16370.
- MC = *Morning Call*, San Francisco, California, 1878-1895 (followed by *San Francisco Call*, 1895-1913); available online at CA, holdings listed in CNP.
- MP = *Morning Press*, Santa Barbara, California, 1872-1922, available through CDNC and NC, holdings listed in CNP.
- N = Newmark, Marco R. "Ordinances and Regulations of Los Angeles, 1832-1888". *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXX, 1 (1948), pp. 26-41; XXX, 2 (1948), pp. 97-110.
- NC = Digital copies available by subscription through Newspapers.com.
- O = *Ordenanzas revisadas de la ciudad de Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, California, Imprenta del "California Meridional", 1855; Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 226070.
- P = Pasadena Historical Society, Pasadena, California.
- RHA = *Revista Hispano Americana*, Los Angeles, 1889-1895?; original issues at LACMNH, available online on GB, holdings listed in CNP.
- SB = Santa Barbara Historical Society, Santa Barbara, California; music vertical files.
- SV = *Southern Vineyard (Semi-Weekly Vineyard)*, Los Angeles, 1858-1859; original copies in Huntington Library, Rare Books, call number 212252, holdings listed in CNP.
- TS = Tallant Smith. *The History of the Theatre in Santa Barbara: 1769-1894*. M.A. thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1969.

## 1839

- M July. "This city of angels [Los Angeles] is a miserable hole and as dull as dull can be" (page 20).
- M November 20 [In Santa Barbara]. "Mr. Luis Burton, an American, was married to M. A. Carrillo, a girl of about 16 years. I went to the dinner which was very nice, and in the evening went to the fandango or dance. I danced, or, rather, attempted to four or five times. It was one o'clock a.m. when I left [...]. There were a great many other dances. I went to a number of them, but there was none equal to that given by Don Carlos" (pages 21-22).

## 1847

- CS: May 29. "Santa Barbara, May 9, 1847. This place is unexceptionably the loneliest of the lonely. [...] As a sea port town it possesses no life –no activity, and if Los Angeles is dull, Santa Barbara is tedious in the extreme. [...] Then, occasionally, a spirited dance, or fandango enlivened the place at night, and the natives, both male and female, were ever in full attendance. This kind of amusement with them is never out of place– a fandango is never unseasonable".

## 1852

- IV: July 2. Fourth of July *baile* to be given at Abel Stearns's home (El Palacio) evening of July 3 (printed invitation).
- LAS: July 17. "Fourth of July at San Pedro. Long before the sun had risen from his bed in the east, many of the citizens of our small though very important city assembled in the public square, where the precession was to form. The fierce roaring of artillery, and the sharp, quick reports of muskets, rifles and other small arms, awoke those of our citizens who were still sleeping, and all now hastened to the public square. [...] The Los Angeles Guards, commanded by Captain Dummix and accompanied by a splendid band of music, were the leaders of the procession".
- N: August 12. Resolution of the Common Council of Los Angeles: "Because of excesses committed at the *maromas* or tight rope performances, subversive to public morals and because of complaints concerning the noise which penetrates the neighborhood for a great distance, and considering the danger of a cruel epidemic threatening to invade the country; which would be fed by the hours and excesses, it is resolved that the Mayor be invited to abate these nuisances, prohibiting the beating of drums before and during the performances and not allowing them to continue after 11 p.m."
- TS: September. *Las maromas*, tight-rope exhibitionists, performing in Santa Barbara.
- IV: September 1. *Baile* to be given at Star Hotel on September 2; Luis Granger, Alejandro Gibson, Andrés Pico, Juan Reed, directors (printed invitation).
- IV: September 27. *Baile* to be given tonight at home of Don Manuel Garfias (printed invitation).
- IV: October 1. Santiago Lander and Margarita Johnson request your presence at a *baile* in honor of their marriage to be given tonight at the home of Don Alejandro Bell (printed invitation).

- LAS: November 13. Gran Función de Teatro: Rafael Guerrero, director of the theatre company recently organized in this city announces that in eight days (on November 21, 1852), at the house of Don José Vicente Guerrero, Calle de los Negros, José Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* (*primera parte*) will be performed. "The entertainment will commence with a celebrated overture by a competent band".
- E: November 21, December 12, 20, 26, 1852, and January 2, 1853. Works performed at Vicente Guerrero's house theater on the Calle de los Negros by Rafael Guerrero's troupe: *Don Juan Tenorio* Part 1, *El zapatero y el rey* (José Zorrilla), *El médico a palos* (Molière, translated by Leandro Fernández de Moratín), and *Los dos virreyes de Nápoles*.
- LAS: November 27. On December 5 *La familia del mendigo* to be performed by Guerrero troupe. "Si con esta función logro con placer a este indulgente público, quedarán colmados los deseos de Rafael Guerrero, Director. Pagas entrada general \$1, a las ocho en punto".
- IV: December 31. Juan Bandini, J. O. Wheeler, Carlos Johnson, D. W. Alexander, B. D. Wilson, and Ricardo S. Den dedicate a New Year's *baile* to be held at the home of Ricardo S. Den in honor of their *señoritas comadres* (printed invitation).

### 1853

- IV: January 11. Ricardo S. Den, Pío Pico, Juan Bandini, D. W. Alexander, and Agustín Olvera will hold another *baile* at the home of Ricardo Den on January 12 (printed invitation).
- LAS: January 15. Guerrero troupe to give *Cada cual con su razón* (José Zorrilla) on Sunday January 16, followed by a *graciosa petipieza*. The *baile* at the home of Ricardo Den, included *los bals* (vals), *cuadrillas*, and *contradanzas*; the dance ended at 5 a.m.
- IV: February 21. *Baile* for George Washington's Birthday on February 22 at Abel Stearns's home (printed invitation).
- LAS: April 2. "El Sabado de Pascua [...] fue saludado por innumerables cañonazos, o demostraciones de júbilo [...]. Comenzaron después las reñidas peleas de gallos, que ocuparon la atención de los aficionados, hasta las tres de la tarde; hora en que la estrepitosa música del Circo llamaba la concurrencia hacia otro paraje, en que no se angustiaron con el espectáculo de la muerte de inocentes animales, sino que gozaron de los chistes de los payasos. En este mismo local se divisaba un cartel, en el cual decía 'Baile esta noche'".
- LAS: April 2. Advertisement for music teacher Rosendo Uruchurtu, giving piano, harp, and guitar instruction (advertisement originally inserted March 6), in the Spanish section of the paper (Uruchurtu was likely the first professional music teacher in Los Angeles).
- LAS: April 2. "Smiles and mirth have succeeded the tears and sadness of Passion Week; out and in-door sports and amusements have prevailed in place of the ceremonies at the church; the black, sombre dresses of the *señoritas* have retired before the beautiful costly silks in which they have this week adorned themselves. The tinkling of the harp and guitar fill the ear with grateful mush; and above all, the mild, balmy air of a California spring, the singing of birds, and the delicious fragrance of fields of waving and beautiful flowers, make our city one of the pleasantest spots on earth".

- IV: May 9. *Baile* at home of Eulogio de Celis on May 10 (printed invitation).  
 LAS: May 14. *Baile* given at home of Eulogio de Celis ended at 4:00 a.m.  
 LAS: August 20. Circo Mexicano featuring Sabino and Jesús Manzo to perform August 21.  
 IV: October 10. *Baile* tonight at the home of J. M. Carrillo (printed invitation).  
 IV: November 23. *Baile* at home of Don Manuel Garfias tomorrow (printed invitation).  
 LAS: December 10. Procession in honor of La Purísima Concepción held on December 8.  
 E: December 25. A Spanish theatrical troupe is performing in San Diego.

**1854**

- LAS: January 21. "Aviso al Público". The Compañía de Volatines is performing in Los Angeles. Gregorio Valencia, Agustín Bernal, and Epifanio Serbantes (*sic*, Cervantes) will all perform their own "bailes de cuerda". "Presentarán algunas figuras de pirámides, dando fin con una graciosa pantomima".  
 LAS: February 11. Grand *baile* to be given by the Los Angeles Rangers on George Washington's Birthday.  
 LAS: March 4. The *Maromeros* H. Cruz and G. Valencia to perform on March 4. The usual dances will follow the first act. The sainete will be *El sombrero invisible*.  
 LAS: April 22. *Las maromas* given on April 22. "For the first time (in Los Angeles) the *Gran Salto Mortal*; games and diversions and a *gracioso sainete* followed.  
 LAS: September 21. In honor of Nuestra Señora, *la patrona de la ciudad*, five days of celebration were held, with bullfights, *bailes*, and the celebration of a high, solemn sung mass.

**1855**

- O: "Todas las compañías de circo, teatro, música, maroma, ligereza de mano y magia serán requeridas sacar sus licencias en la debida forma y cada compañía pagará al Marshall la suma de cinco pesos por tal licencia, por cada y toda representación".  
 LAS: January 4. "Christmas and New Year's festivities are passing away with the usual accompaniments, viz: bullfights, bell ringing, firing of crackers, *fiestas*, and *fandangos*".  
 LAS: April 21. The "City Guards" [...] turned out last Saturday for Parade and Drill. Over forty members mustered, and marched through our streets, attended by a fine band of music".  
 ECP: June 19. The first issue published of *El Clamor Público* (June 19, 1855, volume 1, number 1) includes an advertisement for *Baile Aniversario de la Independencia* in honor of July 4, to be given by the Los Angeles Guards; tickets are available at Gambrinus Hall and other locations.  
 CC: July 4. July 4 *Baile* by Los Angeles Guards (printed invitation).  
 LAS: August 4. "An accident occurred on Monday evening last, near the Mexican *fandango* house, situated a short distance east of this city".  
 TS: August 14. The Santa Barbara City Council passed ordinance requiring theatrical troupes to pay \$5.00 tax for permit to perform, the same as required by the Los Angeles City Council.  
 ECP: October 2. "Baile". A grand *baile* was held last week at the home of Don Pío Pico in honor of Mexican Independence.

- ECP: December 8. A *baile* at the wedding of Francisco Vejar and Felipa Lugo.  
 ECP: December 29. “La Noche Buena”. *Los Pastores* performed at Plaza Church, Los Angeles, on Christmas Eve; Francisco Ramírez, editor of *El Clamor Público*, was highly critical of the performance.

### 1856

- ECP: February 2. Circo del Pacífico to perform, Mr. Bartholomew, director.  
 ECP: February 9. California Minstrels playing every night this week at Armory Hall; performances include *Richard III*, *Bones*, and *Jeff Johnson*.  
 ECP: March 1. California Minstrels performing at Music Hall on Spring Street.  
 ECP: March 8. California Minstrels continue their performances.  
 ECP: April 5. *Baile* at the house of Manuel Garfias after the wedding of Juan S. Smith and Josefa Yorba.  
 ECP: June 21. “Se imprimen en esta oficina toda clase de tarjetas de invitación para baile, funeral, etc., doradas, o con diversos colores”.  
 ECP: June 28. Saint John’s Day celebrated at Mission San Gabriel; 2,000 in attendance at bull fight; a “nueva compañía filarmónica” serenaded at night; a *baile* concluded the festivities.  
 ECP: September 27. Professor Krause, from Vienna, after residences in Chile, Hong Kong, and Northern California, announces his availability as teacher of music and dancing.  
 ECP: October 4. Professor Krause charges \$12.00 per quarter for dance classes.  
 ECP: October 18. Adding to the rhythm instruments used in his dance classes, Professor Krause “recently procured a very excellent toned triangle as an accompaniment to the martial notes of the snare drum”.  
 ECP: December 20. A *baile* was give in Masonic Hall by the Plaza by the friends of the Honorable José L. Brent prior to his departure for the north.

### 1857

- ECP: March 7. E. J. Johnston and A. B. Foster will perform acts of prestidigitation at the house of Doña Benancia Sotelo de Domínguez on March 8.  
 ECP: March 14. Professor Rivière, magician, to perform eight different magic tricks on March 15 at the house of Doña Benancia Sotelo de Domínguez.  
 ECP: March 21. On the first day of spring, “Al ponerse el sol se oyeron los celestiales gruñidos de la orquesta”.  
 ECP: April 18. *Baile* to be held at the house of Tomás Sánchez on April 19.  
 ECP: April 25. At the *fiesta de Mayo* on May 1, the students at the Sisters of Charity school will sing songs and give speeches.  
 LAS: June 20. “Fort Tejon Dramatic Association. It is very creditable to the men of the First Dragoons, who garrison Fort Tejon, to find that they have organized, and can sustain, an institution of this kind. We understand, from persons who have been present, that the performances are most creditable, the various characters being generally well sustained. The theater is handsomely fitted up: the orchestra is filled with talented musicians, and the affairs of the association generally well managed” (Fort Tejon was north of Los Angeles in the Tehachapi mountains).

- ECP: July 4. Independence Day will be celebrated with a *banda de música*; July 4th organization committee includes Antonio F. Coronel, Agustín Olvera, and Anglo-American citizens; July 4th parade to begin at the Plaza.
- ECP/IAMR: July 11. The *Banda de música* from Fort Tejon (directed by Lieutenant Ogle) entertained during the Fourth of July celebrations, as did the Rifleros del Sur (Southern Rifles), a civilian militia group, who gave a ball after the parade.
- ECP: September 19. Feast of the Ascensión celebrations held in the Plaza, including a bullfight and music.
- ECP: October 3. The Circo de Los Ángeles performs in the plaza.
- ECP: October 10. The Manzo Brothers (Sabino and Jesús) perform twice with the Circo de Los Ángeles; performances advertised by *carteles* (placards, posters, flysheets).
- ECP: November 14. Circus of Thomas Van Deusen, touring Southern California, to give two performances, including the Dance of the High Wire.
- ECP: December 5. Fiesta de la Concepción: La Compañía de Lanceros Californios to participate.

## 1858

- LAS: January 2. At the Masonic Ball an “excellent band of music was in attendance, and dancing was kept up till an advanced hour in the morning”.
- ECP/IAMR: January 16. California Minstrels (Lew Rattler, Master Peter Sterling, Ned Hamilton, R. B. Frances, Albert Hart, and Henry Hallett, violinist) performed in the house of Jesús Domínguez; the venue was too small for the large audience in attendance, causing them to move to the larger brick house of Mr. Nichols.
- ECP: January 23. “Baile”. An elegant *baile* was given in the brick house of Don Juan G. Nichols. After dancing, and an elegant dinner, the guests continued dancing to the sound of the music recently performed in Los Angeles by the California Minstrels.
- ECP: February 2. Van Deusen’s Circus personnel will include the Manzo Brothers (Sabino and Jesús), dancer Peter Stirling, formerly of the California Minstrels, and Nicolás Martínez, “el nuevo payaso español”.
- ECP: June 5. Corpus Christi mass in plaza church was sung by girls from the Sisters of Charity school; after mass the public visited *ermitas* at the houses of Ignacio del Valle and Agustín Olvera; marching in front of the procession that left the plaza church at 5:00 p.m. were more than 100 girls dressed in white; the Banda de Música de Los Angeles played during the procession.
- ECP: June 12. “Gran Pic Nic y un Baile se dará el día 4 de julio próximo en el potrero de Don Luis Sainsevain por los miembros de los Rifleros del Sur. [...] También habrá una excelente música. Se espera que la Band[a] de Música del Regimiento Primero de Dragones [se] hallará presente”.
- LAS: July 3. “Grand Musical Tournament. The members of the Los Angeles Brass Band [...] will give a Grand Musical Entertainment, on Sunday, the 4th day of July, and also on every successive Sunday, during the summer and pleasant weather, in the beautiful garden belonging to Mr. Albright”.
- ECP/IAMR: July 3. During graduation exercises of the Sisters of Charity school the students sang Spanish and English hymns, and secular songs.

- ECP: July 17. "Música y Baile". For a dance in the pasture of the Sainsevain Brothers (local vineyard owners), a dance floor measuring forty by twenty-five feet will be erected; refreshments will be served; free entertainment will include music.
- ECP: July 17. C. Ducommun, at the corner of Main and Commercial Streets, advertises the sale of musical instruments.
- LAS: September 4. "Electioneering. [...] Music, and banner, and flaunting flags, and the fascinations of the dance, were all pressed into the service. Fandangoes [*sic*] were quite a feature of the [election] campaign, and the party who could get up the biggest "baile"; and have the best music [...] was on the high way to success".
- ECP: September 9. After a two-year absence the Compañía de los Negritos (California Minstrels) have returned via steamship; they gave their first performance at the house of Jesús Domínguez.
- ECP: September 25. The Circo de Los Ángeles to perform on September 25 and September 26.
- SV: October 30. Advertisement for a Dancing Academy: "Professor C. Guedon to open school in the hall over the store of N. A. Potter on Sunday October 30. The following dances will be taught: Schottische, Highland Schottische, Polka, Heel and Toe Polka, Mazourka, St. Leon Waltz, Esmarilda, Cicilian [=Sicilian?] Redova, Plain Waltz, Quadrille, and Polka Quadrille, and particularly the celebrated Varsoviana. All of the above dances can be taught in a very short time by the above Professor, renowned in San Francisco and the northern mines".
- ECP/SV: November 27. Nuevo Circo Nacional de Lee, H.C. Lee, impresario, to give five performances only, beginning December 1.
- ECP: December 11. Circo Lee is performing on Saturdays and Sundays, to continue in Southern California area for two months.
- ECP: December 18. Circo Lee to give benefit performance December 22 for the Sisters of Charity.
- ECP: December 25. Comment regarding the Circo Lee: "la música vale el precio de la entrada".
- LAS: December 25. "George H. Edmonds, of the California Minstrels, now of Lee's National Circus. Intending to remain in Los Angeles the present winter, is prepared to furnish music for balls, parties, processions, funerals, serenades, etc. [...]. Also, prepared to give lessons on the violin. Charges moderate".
- SV: December 28. Lee's Circus to perform on January 1 and 2, 1859.

## 1859

- SV: January 4. Lee's Circus to perform on January 8 and 9.
- SV: January 7. Lee's Circus continues every Saturday and Sunday evening.
- SV: January 14. Lee's Circus advertised: "Grand Change of Program. Performances every Saturday and Sunday evening. The Grand Cotillion Entree. Masaronia, The Italian Banditti".
- ECP: January 15. Circo Nacional e Hipódromo de Lee: *Las Cuadrillas* to be danced by the company for the first time in Los Angeles; performers to include George Ryland, Dan Conover, and Miss Annerau.

- ECP: January 22. Circo Lee to perform the famous dance *La Perche Equipose* and the pantomime *Jack, el vencedor de gigantes*.
- SV: January 25. Lee's Circus: *Don Joan [= Juan] on Horseback. The Three Simpletons* (comic ballet de action). *Cupid in the Sut Bag*. Benefit Wednesday for the Manzo Family.
- ECP: January 29. Circo Lee to perform *Don Juan, a caballo*.
- ECP: February 5. Circo Lee to give benefit for Señorita Lee; performers include Eugenio and Francisco Lee.
- SV: February 11. Lee's Circus benefit performances for Master George Henry to be held February 12 and 13.
- SV: February 15. Lee's Circus benefit performance for George Ryland February 17.
- ECP: February 19. Gran Circo Nacional (Circo Lee) to perform the new act *La botella de Burgundy*.
- SV: February 22. Lee's Circus performances on February 26 and 27 (one performance to be a benefit for Mr. H. C. Lee). Company to leave Los Angeles on March 9.
- ECP: February 26. Circo Lee using twelve costumed horses to perform new tricks and pantomime, with music.
- SV: March 1. Lee's Circus benefit for H. C. Lee on March 3; other performances on March 5 and 6. Company to go to San Bernardino. Positively last performances in Los Angeles to be given on March 12 and 13 upon company's return from San Bernardino.
- ECP: March 5. Circo Lee to hold a sack race; benefit for Miss Annerau, the tent to be erected in the Plaza.
- ECP: March 12. Last performance of Circo Lee (Gran Circo Nacional) to be held on March 13.
- ECP: March 19. During mass on March 17 at the Plaza Church a chorus of about twelve girls from the Sisters of Charity school sang hymns accompanied by organ.
- ECP: July 9. Advertisement: "Fernando Zinke, piano teacher, speaks Spanish, English, and German".
- ECP/IAMR: July 16. California Minstrels at the new hall of Abel Stearns (Stearns' Hall, in the Arcadia Block), July 16-19. Company personnel includes Louis Butler, comic; P. Sterling, Spanish dancer; C. Henrique, singer and guitarist; George Edmunds, violinist; Edward Hamilton, bass, bandola, and cornet; and Master William (Don Guillermito), dancer / pupil of Mr. Sterling. Daniel Gil, director and agent.
- SV: July 19. At Stearns' Hall on Los Angeles Street: "A few more nights of the popular California Minstrels".
- E: August 1, 14-21. California Minstrels still at Stearns' Hall.
- SV: August 2. California Minstrels announce a benefit on August 2 for the Los Angeles Library Association. Company listed as including Lew Rattler, C. E. Hamilton, P. Sterling, C. Henry, George H. Edmonds, Master William, and Daniel G. Waldron.
- ECP: August 20. Señor and Señora Máiquez to arrive on the next steamship, proponents of "comedy, dance, and song". "It has been almost ten years that we have not had a single [professional?] theatrical performance in this city". Named leading players included Isidoro and Pepita Máiquez, and Manuel Armario.
- ECP: August 27. "Diversiones de Baile y Gimnástica": T. W. Tanner Company performed;

- routines by “Señora de la Rosa, Don Agustín Bernal, el joven Tomasito, y la niña Soledad” were applauded. The Máiquez Company will perform tonight and tomorrow.
- ECP: September 17. The best families attended the performance of the Teatro Español (Máiquez Company) at Stearns’ Hall; Señora Pepita Máiquez was outstanding; the last performances of the Máiquez troupe will be today and tomorrow; Andrés Pico attended one of the performances (Andrés Pico was the brother of Pío Pico, California’s last Mexican governor).
- ECP: September 24. The French Troupe, led by Madame Felicia Menant (“Grand Musical Directress”), “will perform some of their bewitching Vaudevilles, Ballets, Musical Symphonies, etc., at the Varietes Theater this evening” (Stearns’ Hall?).
- TS: Fall 1859. Máiquez Company performed in Santa Barbara.
- SV: October 11. Washington Circus, T. W. Tanner, proprietor, “performs every Thursday, Saturday and Sunday evening on the north side of the Plaza in a new pavilion”. Company includes Lew Rattler as clown and jester.
- SV: October 21. Market House and City Hall constructed by City Council and J. Temple. A “capacious hall” (theater) is on the second floor.
- SV: October 28. “Great Elephant Exhibition and Circus” (Wilson’s Circus), performances October 29-31, November 1-2.
- ECP: October 29. Gran Circo, Wilson and Company.

**1860**

- IV: January 12. “The pleasure of your company is respectfully solicited to attend a Ball to be given to the benefit of the Library Association on Thursday the 12th January, 1860, at the Bella Union Hotel” (printed invitation).
- E: April 21-May 19. Spanish Troupe (Máiquez Company?) at Temple Theater.
- IV: October 8. A ball will be held at the Bella Union Hotel tonight in celebration of “the completion of the telegraph to this city” (printed invitation).
- IV: December 8. A ball will be held December 12 at the Bella Union Hotel (printed invitation).

**1862**

- LAS: June 21. At Washington Gardens (opened June 1, 1862), an excellent band of music is in attendance. The Garden is opened every Sunday in the summer season, and a coach leaves regularly from the Bella Union hotel (12 ½ cents fare each way).
- LAS: August 16. The choir of the Plaza Church will give a concert at City Hall (Temple Theater?) on August 20.
- LAS: December 13. At the New Year’s Eve Ball and celebration of the German Teutonia Singing Society in their hall in the Arcadia Block, a good band of music will perform.

**1863**

- LAS: June 20. Corpus Christi celebrated with Mass, procession, choirs of children, and a band of music.

LAS: August 8. Advertisement: “James W. Herre, Music Lessons (Vocal and Instrumental)”.

#### 1864

LAS: July 9. July 4th celebrations included a ball at Stearns’ Hall in the Arcadia Block, with the Band of the Fourth Infantry, stationed at Drum Barracks, Wilmington, providing the dance music. “The excellent band of the Fourth Infantry occupied the orchestra, and discoursed such enlivening music it caused the hours to glide away on angel wings”. Don Abel Stearns donated the use of the hall.

#### 1865

E/IAMR: November 17-18, 25. California Minstrels at Temple Theater.

E/IAMR: November 21, 23. Gerardo López del Castillo Spanish Company at Temple Theater; they performed *La trenza de sus cabellos* (Tomás Rodríguez Rubí) and *Attila* (Verdi?), Act I.

#### 1866

E: January 6-7, 14, 21, 28; February 4, 11, 18; March 4, 11, 15, 18; April 1-2, 8, 15, 21-22, 29; and May 6. Gerardo López del Castillo Spanish Company at Temple Theater performed *The Printer’s Devil*; *Troubadour*; *La hija de los flores*; *The Grace of God*; *Angelo Malipieri, or the Tyrant of Padua*; *Lázaro el mudo*; *God, My Arm and My Right*; and *The Bandit’s Heart* (and probably other works as well).

CC: May 3. Celebrations in honor of the Mexican national day (Battle of Puebla), May 5th, at Temple Theater, and in the orchard of José María Fuentes (printed invitation).

#### 1868

LAS: July 18. Ball to be held at Bella Union Hotel on July 20 in honor of Antonio F. Coronel (State Treasurer).

#### 1871

EE: January 5. Advertisement: “Miguel S. Arévalo, Professor of Music” (originally placed in *Evening Express* on October 19, 1870).

EE: January 5. Advertisement: “Musical Institute. Professor M. S. Arévalo, Member of the Musical Academy of Guadalajara, and Professor J. D. Knell will open their musical school on the 1st of November [1870]” (advertisement originally placed in *Evening Express* on November 1, 1870).

E: May 14. Performance(s) by Mexican Dramatic Troupe and Mexican Circus, at a corral on Upper Main Street.

LAS: August 17. “Señor Miguel S. Arévalo, Professor of Music from Mexico and San Francisco, gave a guitar concert with the assistance as usual of the local amateurs”.

H: August 31. Arévalo to be given a complimentary benefit at the Merced Theatre on August 31.

## 1872

- H: January 1. Arévalo given a "Farewell Benefit".
- LAS: April 17. Professor Van Gulpen (local piano teacher) and his wife performed with the assistance of Arévalo at Merced Theatre on April 15.
- LC: May 4. "San Diego posee un salón público de lectura, Los Ángeles no, pero en cambio abundan cantinas y tabernas, lo cual indica un grado más alto de civilización".
- LC: May 11. Advertisement for a concert to be given by Professor Arévalo and Professor Knell (and others): Overture to *Martha* (Friedrich von Flotow); Duo (Gaetano Donizetti), Miss Roehner y Sr. Arévalo; *The Mocking Bird* (M. S. Arévalo), *El ave errante*, waltz (Arévalo), *Carnival de Venetia* (arranged by Arévalo).
- LC: August 10. Dance at the ranchito of Don Pío Pico (near Whittier) on August 10; free entrance, refreshments to be served.
- LC: September 2. Mr. Guenette is organizing an instrumental and vocal concert of operatic excerpts to be held at the Merced Theatre on November 11; more than twenty professional and amateur musicians will perform. The orchestra will be made up of piano, flute, violins, guitar, clarinet, etc.
- LC: October 5. Expenses for celebration of Mexican Independence Day include \$65.00 for music.
- LC: November 23. Dance given by Sóstenes Sepúlveda in Leck's Hall.
- LC: December 21. Dance given by Club Social Mexicano in Leck's Hall.

## 1873

- LC: January 8. "It is said that the dramatic company which José María Fuentes directs will for certain give a performance in Spanish on Saturday the 15th of January to benefit the Catholic church (St. Vibiana Cathedral building fund)".
- LC: January 25. Sister Emanuela is the music teacher at the Sisters of Charity School.
- LC: February 12. The Lobero Theater in Santa Barbara to open with an operatic performance. Company led by José María Fuentes to perform at Teatro Merced in Los Angeles on February 15 (Catholic church benefit). To be performed: *El puñal del godo* (José Zorrilla), and *La calentura*.
- E: February 15-April 11. Spanish Troupe performed at Teatro Merced, along with other plays: *El eco del torrente* (José Zorrilla).
- LC: February 22. Benefit concert for Public Library was held on January 18, with musicians M. S. Arévalo and Mr. and Mrs. Guenette participating.
- LC: February 26. \$270.00 profit was raised from the Public Library benefit concert of January 18.
- LC: March 5. Concert at the Teatro Merced, organized by Arévalo, included works by Rossini and Haydn performed by Arévalo, Knell and family, and Guenette.
- LC: April 12. Compañía Dramática Española at Teatro Merced, directed by Luis L. Romero, to perform *Cada cual con su razón* (José Zorrilla) and the comedy *La receta de Patricio*.
- LC: April 16. Compañía Dramática Española de Jóvenes Aficionados performed April 12 *El eco del torrente*, and *El paje de la leche*.

- LC: April 23. Mexican circus to perform in Los Angeles.
- LC: April 26. Arévalo to give a farewell concert at the Teatro Merced, April 28, before his trip to the eastern states; opera excerpts, patriotic songs, and choral music to be performed.
- LC: May 3. Review of Arévalo's benefit concert of April 28: Arévalo and Eduardo Arzaga performed a guitar duet; Miss Roehner sang a vocal solo by Mercadante (accompanied by Knell and Arévalo); Arévalo, accompanied by chorus, sang the *Himno Nacional Mexicano*; other popular and operatic selections performed. Arévalo to play in Anaheim May 5 in Planter's Hall.
- LC: May 7. Manuel Y. Ferrer's piano composition *Alexandrina* published in San Francisco by Matthias Gray, and dedicated to the Bohemian Club of that city. Advertisement for music lessons given by David Nesfield "Profesor de Canto, Piano, y Órgano" (Nesfield performed with Ferrer and Arévalo, and provided English translations for Spanish-language songs in Ferrer's *Compositions and Arrangements for the Guitar*. San Francisco, M. Gray, 1882, reprinted in Boston by O. Ditson).
- LC: May 10. Concerts to be given at Teatro Merced by guitarist Manuel Y. Ferrer on May 21 and 24, with Eunice Barston, alto; Adolph Hartdegen, cello; and David Nesfield, piano, baritone.
- LC: May 21. Mexican circus in town, directors Murillo and Rodríguez. News of M. Y. Ferrer (he stayed in the Pico House hotel when in Los Angeles, as did Hartdegen and Barstow). The play *Los Banditos* given by the students at the Colegio Franciscano in Santa Barbara.
- LC: May 24. Circo Mexicano to perform. Review of concert by Ferrer; "Habanera" from the zarzuela *El relámpago* (Francisco Asenjo Barbieri), played by cellist Hartdegen. Ferrer to perform on May 27 in Ventura; May 29 in Santa Barbara; May 31, and June 1 in San Luis Obispo.
- LC: May 28. Ferrer performed in a private concert given at Los Angeles by the French consul Morenhaut; Ferrer to perform in Salinas, June 4; and Gilroy, June 5. Arévalo to organize benefit concert for Josephine Barstow at Teatro Merced.
- LC: May 31. *Ventura Signal* of May 24 mentioned Arévalo's performance at the home of Judge A. G. Escandon, in Ventura.
- LC: June 4. Ferrer and Hartdegen gave a concert in San Luis Obispo. Arévalo performed at Mrs. Barstow's benefit in Los Angeles.
- LC: June 7. Ferrer concert in Ventura (with Hartdegen and Nesfield) reviewed in *Ventura Signal*, May 31.
- LC: June 18. Advertisement for Rosendo Uruchurtu, music teacher (piano, violin, guitar, vocal music, piano tuning).
- LC: July 2. St. John's day celebrated in San Fernando at the house of Gerónimo López with a dance and horse races.
- LC: July 19. Concert in Turnverein Hall July 19 to be a benefit for Signora Luigia Bernardi Catalano; Arévalo to perform, along with Mrs. Gelcich, Sra. Strelitz, Sr. Guenette (tobacconist), Eduardo Preuessini, Sr. Stallini, Hugo Heinerdinger, and Sr. Catalano; dance to be held after concert.

- LC: August 6. For ceremonies at the installation of Bishop Mora as Bishop of Mosynopolis (Auxiliary Bishop of Monterey and Los Angeles), Mozart's Ninth Mass (spurious?) was performed by a chorus, including Arévalo.
- LC: August 9. Arévalo, Signor Catalano (tenor), and Signora Catalano (soprano and piano), to give a vocal and instrumental concert, August 23, in Ventura at the school house.
- LC: August 31. The Amat Company to perform *Vivir loco y morir más* (José Zorrilla) and the sainete *Los negros catedráticos* (Francisco Fernández) on September 2 at Teatro Merced; a band to play during the entr'actes.
- LC: September 4. San Luis Obispo concerts by Arévalo and the Catalanos were successful.
- LC: September 8. Arévalo and the Catalanos returned to Los Angeles on the steamship Mahongo.
- LC: October 22. The Junta Patriótica de Juárez gave a dance October 18 at the Teatro Merced in honor of Judge Ignacio Sepúlveda.
- E: November. The Mollá Company performed *Herman, or the Crusaders; Pobres mujeres;* and *No hay humo sin fuego* in Horton's Hall, New Town, San Diego.
- E: November 29. The Mollá Company performed *La casa del campo* (José Sánchez Albaral) in Bank Exchange Hall, Old Town, San Diego.
- LC: December 6. Advertisement: "M. S. Arévalo, music lessons, recently returned from his tour of the coast".
- LC: December 13. Concert and dance at Turnverein Hall, December 15, with Arévalo, Nesfield, and Guenette.
- LC: December 24. Romanza *Una primavera en el sur*, composed by Vicente Quevedo, music professor in San Luis Obispo, dedicated to E. F. Teodoli (editor of *La Crónica*). The Mollá company will perform *Flores y perlas* (Luis Mariano de Larra), the afterpiece to be the one-act play *Como el pez en el agua*; Laura Morales de Mollá will sing the canción andaluza *El arenero*.
- LC: December 27. A *Gran sinfonía* will precede the play to be presented by the Mollá Company; program change from that announced December 24.
- LC: December 31. Review of Mollá Company's performance.

## 1874

- LAS: January 7. The Mollá Company "gave great satisfaction to both the English and Spanish portions of the audience" at the Teatro Merced.
- LC: January 10. Mollá troupe performed *Flores y perlas* at the Teatro Merced; Laura de Mollá sang the songs "El arenero" and "Danza de las habaneras" from *El juicio final* (Miguel Albelda).
- LC: January 14, 28. Mollá Company at Teatro Merced again.
- LC: February 7. Mollá Company still at the Teatro Merced; Laura de Mollá to sing a habanera accompanied by Arévalo.
- LC: February 14. At the Teatro Merced, "Debido a ser domingo, no habrá música a la puerta del teatro, antes de comenzar la función anunciada por el Sr. Mollá".
- LC: February 21, 25. Mollá Company at Teatro Merced again.

- LC: February 28. Both the Mollá Company and the English-language troupe led by Fanny Morgan Phelps will perform on the same evening at the Teatro Merced.
- LC: March 7. Benefit performance for Laura Morales de Mollá at Teatro Merced; Arévalo to perform his own compositions (with violinist Mendel Meyer); Laura Morales de Mollá to sing the “Brindis” from the operetta *Galatea* (Victor Massé). Pastor de Celis was the *padrino* of the benefit.
- LC: March 11. Review of Laura Morales de Mollá’s benefit.
- LC: March 25. Benefit for Ángel Mollá.
- LC: March 28. Performance by Mollá Company; they will perform in Santa Barbara at the Lobero Theater April 4, 6, 8, 11.
- LC: May 2. Arévalo to perform on May 2 and 4 at the Teatro Merced, joined by Helen Marble (vocalist), and A. H. Havell (pianist).
- LC: May 6. Arévalo to perform at the benefit concert for the building fund for St. Vibiana’s Cathedral.
- LAH: May 6. “Los Angeles sadly needs a first-class theater or opera house”.
- LC: May 30. Expenses for Cinco de Mayo celebration included \$30.00 for music.
- LAH: May 30. Inez Fabbri and Company to perform operatic excerpts and songs at Turnverein Hall.
- LAH: June 9. Fabbri Company to perform scenes from *Der Freischütz* (Carl Maria von Weber) and *La Traviata* (Giuseppe Verdi), and will conclude with a concert, on June 10.
- LC: June 10. Review of Fabbri performance of June 6: Fabbri sang in the second part of *Linda di Chamounix* (Donizetti), and third part of *Norma* (Vincenzo Bellini). Anna Elzer sang the song “La naranjera” and Inez Fabbri sang “La flor de la canela”. Benefit performance for Anna Elzer to be held June 10; Arévalo to perform his own Trío concertante (Prof. Mulder Fabbri, piano; Mendel Meyer, violin; M. S. Arévalo, guitar); Fabbri to sing “El jaleo de Jerez”.
- LAH: June 12. At the Fabbri concert on June 10 someone threw a big rooster on the stage, whether by malice or as a joke. “We trust that in the future no rowdy or set of rowdies will perpetrate another disgraceful trick of the kind in Los Angeles”.
- LC: June 13, 17. Benefit concert at Turnverein Hall for the *escuela española*; orchestra made up of Coronel, Falkeneau, Guerrero, and a *banda de música*; Arévalo performed a solo, accompanied Srta. Olivas on the song “La noche está serena”, and “Io vivo e t’amo”. Report of incident at benefit for Anna Elzer on June 10: “Al concluir el ‘Trío Concertante’ de guitarra, violín y piano, algún majadero quiso hacer el chusco y lanzó a la escena un gallo con un ramillete atado al pie” (see LAH, June 12).
- LAH: June 13. The Fabbri troupe left by the Telegraph Stage Line for San Francisco yesterday.
- LAH: June 23. On their way to San Francisco, the Fabbri troupe gave one performance in Bakersfield last week. “The distinguished trio (Inez Fabbri, Anna Elzer, Professor Mulder Fabbri) were evidently astonished as well as pleased at the extent and appreciative character of the audience”.
- LC: June 27. The Mollá Company performed four times in New Almaden, California (the location of mercury mines near present-day San Jose).
- LC: September 19. Pipenberg’s Band performed during Mexican Independence Day celebrations sponsored by the Junta Patriótica de Juárez.

- LC: October 7. Arévalo performed at a concert given by Prof. Snyder.
- LC: November 21. "Gran sarao en obsequio a la Señorita Dominga Olivas" on November 23; Arévalo will perform *Fantasia de Sonambula*, selections from *Norma* (with Prof. Havell on melophone), and premiere his own Canción Española "A Ozaila".
- LC: November 25. Benefit dance at Turnverein Hall on December 6 for "Jóvenes aficionados de la banda de música de Los Angeles"; band directed by Prof. Isard.

## 1875

- LC: January 30. City directory of Los Angeles lists three music stores.
- LAH: April 6. On Friday April 2, at the Teatro Merced, *El conde de Raousset en Guaymas*; on Saturday April 3, *The Adventures and Capture of Vasquez* and *El maestro pintor, o el muchacho goloso*. Miss Rodríguez also sang Spanish songs.
- LC: May 8. Signor Marra will direct the concert to be given at Turnverein Hall on May 8 by the Compañía Lírica Italiana; Arévalo sings (tenor?) in the Quartet from *Rigoletto* (Verdi).
- LC: May 29. Arévalo (along with los señores Vivian, the Fisher brothers, and Mendel Meyer) returned from Orange, where they gave successful concerts.
- LC: June 2. Same group listed under May 29 to give concert in Anaheim.
- LC: June 28. Arévalo to perform in the second concert given by pianist Teresa Carreño and violinist Émile Sauret at Turnverein Hall on June 28.
- LC: June 30. Braga's *Serenade* (performed by Ida Valerga, soprano, Carreño, Sauret, and Arévalo) was the favorite piece with the audience during the concert of June 28.
- LAH: July 2. The Mexican Band will perform for the July 4th festivities at (the still incomplete) St. Viviana's Cathedral in Los Angeles.
- TS: July 12-13. Émile Sauret-Teresa Carreño troupe (with Arévalo?) will perform in Santa Barbara.
- LC: July 17. "Un baile a la moda del país en San Pascual... Profesor Silvas y su familia hicieron el gasto de la música" (at San Pascual, near San Diego), quote from "Correspondence" section in the *San Diego World*.
- LC: September 4. Benefit concert for Prof. A. Fisher, September 4 in Turnverein Hall; Arévalo to perform.
- E: October 18. Señor Manuel Marín, violinist, performed at Horton's Hall, San Diego.
- TS: December 16-18. Arévalo-Olivas Concert Company gave "Grand Vocal and Instrumental Concerts" at Tebbett's Hall in Santa Barbara.
- E: December 24. José Pérez García Spanish troupe performed (with the Mollás) at Merced Theatre.

## 1876

- H: February 17. José Pérez García Spanish troupe performed the plays *La positiva* and *Presente, mi General* at the Teatro Merced.
- LC: February 26. Arévalo to sing in a sacred concert at St. Vibiana's Cathedral. The Compañía Dramática Española (director, José Pérez García) will perform *Lázaro el mudo* (Joseph M. Bouchardy) at Teatro Merced, February 27; Laura de Mollá (accompanied by pianist Juan B. Guerrero) will sing M. Y. Ferrer's song *Los lindos ojos*.

- LC: March 1. Review of concert at St. Vibiana's Cathedral February 26. Review of theatrical performance at Teatro Merced on February 27; small attendance because of the rain; Laura de Mollá sang. Performance announced for March 5 –Laura Morales de Mollá will sing "Las habaneras".
- LC: March 8. Review of March 5 theatrical event. Advertisement for performance on March 12.
- LC: March 15. Review of March 12 performance. Advertisement for theatrical performance March 19.
- LC: March 22. Review of March 19 performance. Advertisement for performance March 26.
- LC: April 5 and 8. Advertisement for performance of *Don Juan Tenorio* (José Zorrilla).
- P: April 7. "Concert at Pasadena. A Vocal and Instrumental Concert Will Be Given at the Pasadena Presbyterian Church (Indiana Colony) Friday Evening April 7th 1876. Profs. Arévalo and Knell, Guitarist and Violinist and Mr. F. Guenette, of Los Angeles have kindly tendered their services, and will be assisted by Mesdames Stoneman and Skinner, Messrs. Locke, Moody and others" (concert flyer).
- LC: April 19. Benefit concert for Professor Schad in Turnverein Hall April 19; Arévalo to perform; Dúo de *Norma* ("Mira o Norma"?, Bellini) will be sung by Sra. Marra and Sra. Sepúlveda (debut performance of Sra. Sepúlveda, a student of Sra. Marra).
- LC: April 22. Review of performance of April 19; Professor Shad played Louis Moreau Gottschalk's *Última esperanza* (*The Last Hope*, méditation religieuse).
- LC: April 26. Compañía Dramática Española (director, José Pérez García) will perform at the Teatro Merced on April 30.
- LC: May 3. For celebration of Cinco de Mayo, the band led by Sr. Velasco will march from the house of José Dolores Guerrero to the Teatro Merced; the band will then play for an hour (in front of the theater), followed by another parade through the city. At 8:30 p.m. the orchestra will play a *preciosa sinfonía*, which will be followed by Sra. Laura Morales de Mollá, who will sing the *Himno Nacional Mexicano* accompanied by a chorus of twenty voices. A play follows.
- LC: May 10. Benefit for actor José Pérez García announced, to be held at Teatro Merced. Opera singer Inez Fabbri and company to visit Los Angeles.
- LC: May 13. Fabbri troupe to present *Il Trovatore* at Turnverein Hall.
- LC: May 17. Fabbri Company to perform single acts from *Der Freischütz* (von Weber), *Faust* (Charles Gounod), and *Rigoletto* (Verdi) at Turnverein Hall; Miss Elzer to sing "El jaleo de Jerez". Benefit for Laura Morales de Mollá to be held at Teatro Merced May 27. Notice of the death of actor/manager José Pérez García, aged 36, on May 15.
- LAH: May 18. On May 19 at Turnverein Hall *Martha* (Friedrich von Flotow) will be given complete for the first time in Los Angeles by the Fabbri Company.
- LC: May 20. Dramatic performance at Teatro Merced May 21, to be preceded by an "hermosa sinfonía dirigida por el Sr. Velasco"; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing "La poderosa" at the end of the dramatic portion of the program.
- LC: May 24. Benefit for Laura Morales de Mollá on May 24 at the Teatro Merced; she will sing the "Brindis" from *Galatea* (Massé).

- LC: May 31. Benefit June 4 for Doña Jesús Terán de Pérez (widow of José Pérez García) at the Teatro Merced; Sra. de Pérez will perform in the zarzuela (*tonadilla*) *La viuda y el sacristán* (*El sacristán y la viuda*) with Sr. Covarrubias. Pedro C. y Pellon is now the director of the Compañía Dramática Española.
- LC: May 31. The first annual Pic-Nic of the Sociedad Hispano-Americana de Beneficencia Mutua to be held on June 11 in the Arroyo Seco (near Pasadena) with entertainment provided by a “magnífica banda de música”, followed by a *baile*.
- LC: June 3. Benefit for Ángel Mollá June 11 at Teatro Merced; his wife Laura will sing.
- LC: June 7. Dramatic performance June 10 at Teatro Merced.
- LC: June 10. Carriages for the Pic-Nic in the Arroyo Seco will leave from the Pico House, from the Temple Block, and from Hotel Lafayette. Kalmbach’s Band will parade through the streets in the morning, and will provide selected and choice pieces throughout the day (in the Arroyo Seco).
- LC: June 14. Benefit for Sr. Angulo and Sr. Covarrubias at Teatro Merced June 18. Review of the Pic-Nic in Arroyo Seco; all nationalities attended, not only the “población de raza española”.
- LC: June 17. Señores Angulo and Covarrubias picked their own padrinos for their June 18 benefit.
- LC: June 21. Benefit for Ismael Gaxiola, “primer galán” at Teatro Merced to be held on June 25; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing.
- LC: July 1. Benefit for dancer and primera joven Elena Mancera at Teatro Merced on July 2; Mancera to dance and sing “Arrincónamelo ahí”.
- LC: July 8. Compañía Española at Teatro Merced, July 9; Laura Morales de Mollá will sing two songs.
- LC: July 15. Performance at Teatro Merced, July 16; Laura Morales de Mollá will sing “El silvido”.
- LC: August 9. Ángel Mollá and his wife will celebrate Mexican Independence Day on September 16 in Lone Pine (in Inyo County, in eastern central California).
- LC: August 23. Benefit performance September 6 for Arévalo in Turnverein Hall. At his benefit Arévalo’s students Srta. Rosario Reihm and Srta. Isabel del Valle will perform, as well as Sr. Eduardo Arzaga, guitarist. Personal notice for Francisco García, musician, formerly resident at Mission San Gabriel, now believed to be at (Mission) San Antonio (de Padua), Monterey County, to contact his father who is gravely ill.
- EE: September 6. Benefit concert for Arévalo at Turnverein Hall tonight.
- LC: September 9. Review of Arévalo benefit; pianist María Pruneda made her début.
- LC: October 25. Advertisement for piano and voice lessons given by Sra. de E. F. Teodoli (wife of the editor of *La Crónica*).
- LC: November 4. Benefit for Laura Morales de Mollá to be given on November 5 at the Teatro Merced; Arévalo to accompany her in the “Brindis” from *Galatea*.
- LC: November 8. Encore demanded of Laura Morales de Mollá at her benefit performance; Arévalo performed an unscheduled guitar solo.
- LC: November 11, 15, 23 and 25. Fabbri Company to perform various operatic excerpts.
- D/IAMR: November 20. Arévalo performed a guitar solo at the Teacher’s Social in Union Hall.

- LC: November 25. In Ventura, Mexican Independence Day was festively celebrated by Mexican and English-speaking residents; \$40.00 was spent on music. The celebration was given at the *enramada* constructed south of the Mission San Buenaventura orchard.
- LC: November 29. Fabbri Company gave their last performance: “Los Angeles does not deserve artists of Fabbri’s quality; minstrel shows and circus performances are all that it merits”.
- LC: December 2. Benefit for guitarist Luis T. Romero to be given at Teatro Merced; concert includes a *tanda de piezas escogidas por la banda*; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing “Las habaneras” at conclusion.
- LC: December 20. Benefit for Doña Jesús Terán de Pérez on December 24; *Geroma, la castañera* (Manuel Z. Cazorro) to be performed.
- LC: December 30. Mollá and Company to perform on December 31 at Teatro Merced; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing “Los lindos ojos” (Manuel Y. Ferrer) accompanied by the orchestra.

**1877**

- LC: January 20. Invitational concert held tonight at Pico House: “The best musical talents of Los Angeles to participate”.
- LC: February 7. Arévalo elected Vice President of Sociedad Hispano Americana de Beneficencia Mutua.
- LC: February 21. Invitational concert at Pico House, followed by dinner hosted by Sr. Antonio Cuyás; Arévalo and students performed (María Pruneda, Rosario Rheim, Isabel del Valle), also violinist Mendel Meyer. The “best class of society in Los Angeles attended”.
- LC: April 14. Compañía Dramática Española (Mollá Company) to perform on April 19 at Teatro Merced; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing the “Bolero” from Verdi’s *Las vísperas sicilianas* (*Les vêpres siciliennes*), accompanied by orchestra directed by M. S. Arévalo, and “Las habaneras” from *El juicio final* (Albelda), accompanied by Arévalo on guitar.
- E: April 20. Mollá Company performed at Turnverein Hall.
- LC: May 2. Compañía Dramática Española (Mollá Company) will perform at Teatro Merced on June 7; Laura Morales de Mollá to sing “La primavera” accompanied by Arévalo.
- LC: July 28. Violinist Manuel Marín will give a concert in Turnverein Hall on August 1; Arévalo will also perform.
- LC: August 1. Preview of August 1 concert: Arévalo to join with Miss Mattie Wheeler, Madame Marra, and Mr. Hasselman in singing the Quartet from *Martha*; “Serenata de Los Ángeles” will be sung by Miss Wheeler, accompanied by Arévalo on guitar, Sr. Falkenau on piano, and Sr. Marín on violin; Arévalo’s *Gran vals cantabile* (voice, guitar, violin, and piano?), to be performed; and Arévalo and Madame Marra will sing Arévalo’s *Duo: Viene la notte é plácida*.
- LC: August 4. Review of August 1 concert.

- LC: August 15. Marín, Arévalo, and Marra to perform in Anaheim on August 25.
- LC: September 12. Marín leaves for San Francisco.
- EJ: September 18. “The public of Los Angeles desires to hear Sr. Espinosa, one of the famous pianists who won first prize at the Conservatoire in Paris”.
- LC: October 10. Long poem by J. M. Paredes entitled *Pic-Nic* describing activities (music, dance, etc.) at picnics (dated San Francisco, October 4, 1877).
- LC: October 24. Dance at the house of the Prayor Family (Pryor?) on October 29 will be given by Señores Califero and Rocha; “la música será dirigida por los mismos señores”.
- LC: October 27. Guatemalan pianist Miguel Espinosa (“del Conservatorio de Música de París”) to give a concert on November 2 at Turnverein Hall, with the assistance of local musicians.
- LC: November 7. Review of Espinosa concert. During the “Cavatina de Figaro” (“Largo al factotum”) from *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Gioacchino Rossini) Espinosa accompanied Mr. Cogswell on the piano. Espinosa also played Thalberg’s *Variations on Home Sweet Home*, and a composition by Liszt.
- LC: November 21. “Laura Morales de Mollá will go to Spain to further her artistic career”.
- LC: December 12. Benefit to be held for Laura Morales de Mollá at Turnverein Hall; Señora Doña Teodosia E. Sepúlveda will sing the song “La poderosa”; Sr. Sormano to provide piano accompaniment for his wife and daughter, who will play selected pieces between the acts.

## 1878

- H: January 1. A Spanish troupe performed *Deudas de la honra* at the Teatro Merced.
- LC: January 23. Espinosa to leave for San Francisco; a private concert was given by Espinosa and his pupil Miss Crowley at residence of French consul Morenhaut.
- LC: January 30. Ángel Mollá leaves Los Angeles for San Francisco.
- LC: February 13. The Turnverein rented their hall at half price to the organizers of Mrs. Marra’s benefit.
- EP: February 14. “Sr. Mollá, who left for San Francisco to find a theater in which to perform, has accomplished his goal; he will be joined shortly by his wife Laura”.
- EA: March 24. First known mention of the term *mariachi* in Los Angeles; given, however, in a derogatory sense: “El miércoles por la noche salió una comitiva a dar una serenata a East Los Angeles con una viola, una música de ‘hocico,’ timbales y chinescos y un burro cargado de esquite y requesón. Nada supimos de ellos, hasta otro día que resultaron en un mariachi en la Calle del Toro gritando ‘¡Ay Chihuahua, cuánto Apache!’ y pidiendo que comer”.
- LC: March 30. “Professor Conterno is organizing a new band for young men”.
- EA: March 31. Teatro Alarcón, a new Spanish-language theater, to open April 7 (located on Upper Main Street, in one of the rooms of Sr. Terán); Señorita Adelina Domínguez will be one of the stars of this new theater.
- LC: April 3. The new Spanish-language company will perform at the Teatro Alarcón, directed by J. D. Guerrero and Adolfo Vásquez. Professor Velasco will be in charge of the orchestra (with six musicians).

- LC: April 10. Concert and dance on April 25 at Turnverein Hall to benefit the Sociedad Hispano-Americana de Beneficencia Mutua; music to be arranged by M. S. Arévalo; Prof. Knell will play the piano.
- LC: April 20. The play *Atrévalo* by San Francisco poet and musician Jesús María Paredes to be given at the Teatro Alarcón.
- LC: April 27. Brief mention of April 25 concert.
- D/IAMR: May 9. Arévalo's song "A Ozaila" sung by Fred E. Berry at one of the "Unitarian Thursday" concerts.
- LC: June 29. Professor Conterno's Band contracted by the Los Angeles Guard for their Fourth of July celebrations.
- LC: July 17. A pic-nic near Spaadra (near present-day Pomona) in the Cañada de la Brea was organized July 7 by Simón Márquez and his wife Francisca S. de Márquez. Raquel Reyes and the young Isidoro Méndez were the musicians at the fiesta. Concepción Reyes sang several beautiful songs.
- LC: July 20. Having sold a violin that was loaned to him cost Francisco Vallejo nothing less than 20 days in jail.
- LC: July 28. The band will play *el jarabe*, *el son*, and *el vals español* at the *baile* to be given September 16 at Union Hall, on Spring Street. Special care will be taken to assure that persons are not admitted who cannot mix with the best families of our society.
- LC: July 31. This past Sunday at San José de Spaadra a very enjoyable fiesta was held in the countryside. The Chávez, Soulé, and Martínez families took care of the preparations for the fiesta. The Vigil and Romero families attended, together with more than fifty other persons, as well as the worthy Sheriff from Pomona and his wife. The traditional dances, *la jota*, *el jarabe*, *los panaderos*, and others were performed.
- LC: August 7. A *Gran Baile* announced for Saturday August 31 at Number 1 Arcadia Block, to benefit the collection fund for the celebrations of the anniversary of the glorious September 16. A magnificent band of music will be in the hall and all possible measures will be taken to assure that order reigns.
- LC: August 21. The Guardias de Los Ángeles will hold a *baile* in their headquarters next to the Pico House hotel (in the Old Merced Theatre) on Thursday night.
- LC: September 4. The Saint Vincent's College Band, with ten musicians, under the able direction of Professor Conterno, is making great progress.
- LC: September 7. During the *baile* on September 16 Ramón Benítez will dance *el son* and *el jarabe*; Patricio Abila will dance *la jota*; Carlos Prudhomme will dance the *valse* "al uso del país".
- LC: September 11. Mozart's "Ninth Mass" was sung at St. Vibiana's Cathedral.
- LC: Sept. 14. Pic-nic to be given by the Guardia Hidalgo at Washington Gardens on September 15; a parade through the streets will precede the pic-nic. There will be a good band for the occasion.
- LC: September 18. Juan B. Guerrero played the piano for the girls who sang the hymn during the celebrations given by the Junta Patriótica de Juárez on September 16.
- LC: September 21. A September 16 fiesta was held in the house of Antonio F. Coronel, who was in charge of the music. On September 16 in San Luis Rey a *baile* and a magnificent

dinner were given in the house of S. Goldbaum. Señorita Leonides Alvarado and her sister-in-law Concepción C. de Alvarado sang two beautiful songs alluding to Mexican Independence.

- LC: September 25. Violinist Mendel Meyer will offer a concert tomorrow in Turnverein Hall; he will be assisted by eighteen musicians and friends.
- LC: October 5. \$2,700 has been subscribed to date for the St. Vibiana's Cathedral organ fund.
- LC: October 9. Conterno's Band will play for the ball to be given by the Los Angeles Guards October 14 in Turnverein Hall.
- LC: October 12. The band from St. Vincent's College to play at the Sisters of Charity Fair in Turnverein Hall.
- LC: October 19. Geier and Bartholomeu, Dotter and Bradley, and the Los Angeles (Musical Instrument) Factory will present organs, pianos and other musical instruments of superior quality (at the Agricultural Exposition). "The phonograph is a curious object which merits seeing and hearing".
- LC: October 30. *Baile* in honor of Antonio F. Coronel's wife (Mariana Williamson de Coronel), Merced Coronel, and Josie Mellus held at Stewart's Hall, in Downey.
- D/IAMR: October 31. Arévalo performed the guitar solo *Fantasia on Themes from Ernani* at a Unitarian Thursday concert in Union Hall, and he accompanied the "Miserere" from *Il Trovatore* (Verdi), the singers were Madame Marra, Madame Mayo, Dr. Corbett, and Messrs. Severance; the instrumentalists included Arévalo, Mrs. Stratton, Mr. Wangerman, and Mr. Dohs.
- LC: November 2. A benefit for Professor Knell is announced (his son, Edward Knell, aged 15 years, drowned in Los Angeles at the end of October).
- LC: November 16. *Baile* to be given November 30 by the Guardia Hidalgo in Terán Hall, Upper Main Street.
- LC: December 18. The choir of St. Vibiana's Cathedral is practicing the Fourth Mass of Haydn (*Schöpfungsmesse*), the music of which is sublime and has only been sung three or four times before in California.

## 1879

- LC: June 14. The Banda de la Guardia Nacional has been organized. Members include: Frank C. Indart (Yndart), E. Arzaga, B. Olivas, J. Rodríguez, M. Velasco, A. Smith, J. Martínez, and F. Olivas. Señor Indart is the director; Señor Arzaga, president; Señor Olivas, treasurer; Señor Rodríguez, secretary.
- LC: June 25. The Guardia de Los Ángeles announces its first annual *baile*, to be held in Armory Hall (former Merced Theatre). Benefit dinner and concert for St. Vibiana's organ fund to be held July 4.
- LC: July 12. \$500.00 profit realized from benefit dinner and concert for St. Vibiana's organ fund held on July 4.
- LC: July 16. Benefit concert and dramatic production for the Sociedad Hispano Americano de Beneficencia Mutua to be held on August 23 in Turnverein Hall.
- LC: July 19. *Baile* to be given August 1 to raise money to buy instruments for the Banda

- de la Guardia Nacional. Reception committee includes: Pastor de Celis, Eulogio F. de Celis, M. J. Varela, and Reginaldo F. del Valle.
- LC: July 30. *Gran Baile* to be given August 16 by the Guardia Zaragoza in Terán Hall, 25 and 26 Upper Main Street.
- LC: August 3. Band to play at Democratic rally for Reginaldo del Valle at the Plaza. In honor of September 16, the Junta Patriótica de Juárez will organize the festivities.
- LC: August 6. Fiesta announced in honor of San Luis Rey de Francia August 27 at Mission San Antonio de Pala (a chapel connected to Mission San Luis Rey, in San Diego County).
- LC: August 27. *Gran Baile* for the Guardia Hidalgo to be given on September 1 in Terán Hall. Another *Gran Baile* to be held on September 2 by the Junta Patriótica de Juárez in the house of Don Cristóbal Aguilar, to celebrate September 16.
- LG: September 13. In Santa Barbara several band pieces were played during a serenade given for Mr. A. B. Williams, County Recorder elect; after many toasts and congratulations Ramón Leiva sang a selection from *Il Trovatore*.
- LC: September 20. Professor Conterno's band performed on September 16 in the Mexican Independence Day parade.
- LC: September 24. Gymnastics held in the open air every Sunday at Washington Gardens; a dance is given in the pavilion.
- LG: October 18. In Santa Barbara José M. Obande (agent for *La Gaceta*, Santa Barbara Spanish-language newspaper) was serenaded by Sr. Medardo Ferioli (grocery and fruit store owner), who performed two difficult pieces from *Il Trovatore* and *Lucrezia Borgia*.
- LC: October 18. Hefferman's Band to accompany the solo cornet competition at the Agricultural Fair in Los Angeles on Monday night. Bands from San Luis Obispo (nineteen members), Ventura, and Visalia will participate in the band competitions to be held on Wednesday and Thursday nights.
- LC: October 22. The band from San Luis Obispo was unable to attend the Agricultural Fair. First prize for the band competition is \$100.00, second prize \$25.00.
- D/IAMR: October 30. Arévalo performed the guitar solo *Peruvian Air with Variations* at the Unitarian Thursday concert in Union Hall; pianist María Pruneda played a "selection" from *Il Trovatore*.
- LC: November 1. A *Gran Baile* on November 8 in Armory Hall (old Merced Theatre) will benefit the band of the Guardia Nacional.
- D/IAMR: November 6. Arévalo sang a duet with Miss Lanterman at a Congregational Church Benefit.
- LG: November 8. The Misses de la Guerra were serenaded by Luis Ortega and his companions in Santa Barbara.
- LG: November 22. *La Gaceta* of Santa Barbara advertised a *pastorela* performance to be held in Ventura on Christmas Eve, to be directed by Antonio M. Soto.
- LG: December 13. "The best band from Santa Barbara has been engaged for the performance of *La pastorela* (in Ventura); the cast includes actors and four actresses; Antonio Soto and Andrés Arrellanes are the directors".

- LG: December 13. "The wind band under the direction of José Lobero is making good progress" in Santa Barbara (Lobero was a trombonist and impresario of the Lobero Theater in Santa Barbara).
- D/IAMR: December 18. M. S. Arévalo and O. Von Ploennies performed a duet for the Episcopal Church Entertainment at Turnverein Hall.
- LG: December 20. Lobero's Band will march through the streets of Santa Barbara on Christmas day.

## 1880

- LG: January 10. "Carta de Los Angeles" in *La Gaceta* (Santa Barbara): the correspondent from Los Angeles notes the recent (1879) public début performance of Eulogio F. de Celis as a singer. Performances also given by María Pruneda (pianist), M. S. Arévalo (guitar), Eduardo Arzaga (Arévalo's guitar student), and Rosa (Rosario) Rheim (singer, step-daughter of Arévalo's friend Ignacio García). Rheim is the "poseedora de una voz arrogante y sonora, merece ser mencionada. Varias ocasiones la hemos oído cantar, y como el público siempre le ha recibido con nutridos aplausos, soy de opinión de que han sabido apreciar sus bellas cualidades".
- D: January 29. M. S. Arévalo and E. F. de Celis performed Arévalo's vocal duet "A Ozaila".
- D/IAMR: February 21. Arévalo played a guitar solo during the "Grand Entertainment and Ball" of the Confidence Engine Number Two at Turnverein Hall.
- LG: March 27. In Santa Barbara: "At public sale, an *órgano de mano* was sold. It was brought to Santa Barbara in 1849 by Pedro Abadie (now a rich merchant in Northern California). With this organ and a monkey, said Sr. Abadie, he began to make his fortune in California. The *hijos del país* (*Californios*) paid him five dollars per hour to play for them; he also played at *bailes*. In 1851 Sr. Abadie sold the organ to Don José Lorenzana of Montecito for 50 head of cattle; and on Saturday, after 31 years, it was sold at auction".
- D: April 7. Prof. A. Hoeninghaus and Señor Castillon performed a violin and guitar duet, the Air from *Lucrezia Borgia* (Donizetti) at the entertainment at Union Hall.
- D: April 22. Benefit concert for Madame Marra; Señor Cuyás recited *El penar de una sultana* to Mrs. Stratton's piano accompaniment.
- LG: May 8. Señora Concepción de la Guerra and her daughters Erlinda y Rosa were serenaded in Santa Barbara. Afterwards a *baile familiar* lasted until dawn.
- D: May 28 and 29. At the benefit performance for Grand Army of the Republic veterans, Madame Marra, Miss Mamie Perry, Messrs. Fanning, Lock, Arévalo, and Pleonis sang the Sextet from *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti).
- D: June 28. At the benefit for Miss A. Losee, Sr. Arévalo and Mr. F. B. Fanning sang a vocal duet of Arévalo's; Madame Marra, Miss Pierson, Mr. Abernathy, and M. S. Arévalo sang the Quartet from *Rigoletto*.
- LG: July 10. In Santa Barbara a *baile* was given by various *Mexicanos* at Lobero's Theater that lasted until 4 a.m.
- LG: July 17. The young musician Luis Ortega, who in the company of Agustín Janssens, left for Arizona not long ago, returned to Santa Barbara last Sunday.

## 1881

- LG: January 8. Dominga Olivas, Felicidad Abadie, Delfina and Erminia de la Guerra, Minerva Streeter, and Frank Streeter sang at mass on New Year's day at Mission Santa Barbara in Santa Barbara.
- LG: February 26. In Santa Barbara a private ball was held for the Misses Erlinda and Rosa de la Guerra (from Ventura) in the spacious and elegant rooms of Doña Josefa de la Guerra; the music was provided by young men from Santa Barbara. Señorita Hortensia Andonaegui sang several Spanish songs.
- LAH: April 19. First Fabbri concert given last night at Turnverein Hall; vocal and instrumental music, including operatic excerpts, were performed.
- LAH: April 20. Second Fabbri concert given tonight at Turnverein Hall, with an excerpt from *Der Freischütz*.
- LAH: April 24. Final Fabbri concert to be given tomorrow at Turnverein Hall.
- D/IAMR: May 6. Grand Testimonial to Prof. M. S. Arévalo. Sr. Arévalo and Sr. Eduardo Arzaga performed Arévalo's arrangement for two guitars of *The Mocking Bird*. Arévalo played his *Variations on the Carnival of Venice* on the guitar. Miss Nell Carter and Miss Isabelita del Valle performed on the piano.
- D/EE/IAMR: May 7. Review of Arévalo benefit of May 6 in the *Evening Express*: Arévalo and Arzaga played a guitar duet arrangement of Arditi's *Il Bacio Waltzes* for an encore; Arévalo's performance of his *Variations on the Carnival of Venice* was lauded by the reviewer.
- LG: July 15. In Ventura the previous Sunday Professor Hall and his wife, and Erlinda and Rosa de la Guerra sang Farmer's Mass (Mass in B flat by Henry Farmer) at high mass at Mission San Buenaventura.
- LG: July 23. In Montecito (near Santa Barbara) mass in the chapel was followed by a *baile* under the shade of the vine arbor next to the house of Leandro Juárez.
- LC: September 4 (LAH), September 6 (LC). "100 Years Ago. Two Nights of Rejoicing". St. Charles Hall on Main Street to be the site of benefit dances on September 6 and 7 for the Compañía de Bailadores and St. Vibiana's Cathedral. The following traditional dances will be presented: *la jota, el jarabe, los camotes, el fandango, las palomitas, el son, la escondida, la bamba, la zorrilla, el pantorrillo, la malagueña, el jicote, el burro, los parraderos, la contradanza española, el valse figurado, and la cuadrilla mexicana*. The evening to conclude with a Ball.
- LAH: October 15. Argentine guitarist Pedro C. Dorrego played at Turnverein Hall, as part of the touring Carusi Concert troupe. "We have never listened to his equal on the guitar".
- LAH: December 13. *La pastorela* to be performed in Turnverein Hall on Christmas Eve, by the Sociedad Progresista Mexicana to "obtain funds for the organization of a new brass band".

## 1882

- LAT/IAMR: January 12. A complimentary concert was tendered to pianist María Pruneda at Turnverein Hall during which Dr. Fernández sang an aria from *Die Zauberflöte* (Mozart); M.S. Arévalo and Eulogio F. de Celis performed the vocal duet "Vieni la notte e placida"; and María Pruneda performed Liszt's *Rigoletto* paraphrase.

- LAT/IAMR: January 13. Review of Pruneda benefit concert of January 12.
- LAH: January 16. *La pastorela* repeated (after its Christmas Eve performance); Father Peter Verdaguier, of the Plaza Church, directed. The performer who played the devil character (Luzbel) was particularly praised.
- LAH: April 14. An amateur company will perform *No mas mostrador, o la vanidad corregida* (Mariano José de Larra) at Turnverein Hall, on April 22. Between the acts a band will play Arévalo's *Amadir* waltz and his *The Dream schottische*.
- LAT: April 23. Turnverein was "well filled" for *No mas mostrador, o la vanidad corregida*. "The actors were lively and sparkling in their wit. [...] The audience last night was a credit to the drama-loving Spanish people.

**1883**

- LAH: February 17. Advertisement for Christmas shepherds' play *Los Pastores*; afterwards a "Social Dance with Fine Music in Attendance", at Turnverein Hall on February 17 (performed earlier on January 6).
- LAH: February 23. "The Ball of Confidence No. 2". At Turnverein Hall, for the Confidence Engine Company (firemens') dance, members of the local *Californio* elite performed traditional dances such as *Las pollitas*, *La jota*, *La escondida*, *La zorrilla*, and *Los camotes*, with music provided by Ylario Ibarra and Dolores Cañedo.
- LAH: June 7, 12. The Mollá troupe returns to Los Angeles, after years of performing in Mexico and Central America; at Turnverein Hall they will perform *Una vieja, como hay muchas*; *Hija y madre*; *Pescar y cazar*; and Spanish songs.
- LAH: June 17. Laura Morales de Mollá to perform at her benefit the role of María in *Las dos madres*, and will sing a habanera.
- LAH: June 22. At Laura Morales de Mollá's benefit at Turnverein Hall on June 21 Antonio F. Coronel presented her with a floral basket and a poem he wrote in her honor.
- LAH: July 8. At Turnverein Hall, the Mollá troupe, with some local amateurs, will perform the play *La esposa del vengador* and Laura Morales de Mollá will sing the song "La hija del regimiento".
- LAH/LAT: July 13. At Don Ángel Mollá's benefit last night at Turnverein Hall *La esposa del vengador* was performed.
- LAH: August 8. Next Saturday evening the Mollá troupe will perform the play *La vuelta al mundo* and Laura Morales de Mollá will sing the "Brindis" from *Galatea* (Massé).
- LAH: August 19. Don Ángel Mollá and Doña Laura Mollá left Los Angeles for Arizona after spending several months in their home in Los Angeles.

**1884**

- LC: February 16. German touring piano virtuoso Albert Friedenthal appeared in San Diego (January 12, in Horton's Hall).
- LC: March 1. Albert Friedenthal to give piano recitals at Turnverein Hall.
- LC: March 8. Friedenthal's concert to be held March 14 (Friedenthal also appeared in Riverside, Pomona, and Anaheim).
- LC: April 5. Benefit for Sra. Laura Morales de Mollá, *Don Juan Tenorio* (José Zorrilla) to be performed.

- LAH: August 29. On September 1, 2, and 3, the Royal Spanish Opera Company will perform the zarzuela *El juramento* (Joaquín Gaztambide), and the operettas *La Fille de Madam Angot* (Charles Lecocq) and *The Grand Duchess* (Jacques Offenbach), in Spanish, at Child's Opera House (Los Angeles Grand Opera House). The 30-member company travels with its orchestra, and brings with it 140,000 pounds of costumes, the most ever brought to Los Angeles.
- LAH: September 2. "The Royal Spanish Opera Bouffe Company opened to a large and fashionable audience. It proved to possess considerable talent.
- LAH: September 5. The Royal Spanish Opera Bouffe Company left Los Angeles for San Bernardino.
- LAH: September 10. The Royal Spanish Opera Company has returned to Los Angeles to give additional performances, on September 15, 16, and 17, of *The Chimes of Normandy* (*Las campanas de Carrión*, Robert Planquette), *El relámpago* (Barbieri), and *Las hijas de Eva* (Gaztambide), all in Spanish, at the Grand Opera House (They also appeared in Sacramento in June and San Francisco in October and November of 1888).
- LC: November 1. Advertisement for the *Gran Baile Anual* of the Sociedad Progresista Mexicana to be held at Turnverein Hall.

**1885**

- LAH: December 29. "The Pastorela": an extensive account by General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo of the *pastorela* tradition in Mexican California (reprinted from the *San Francisco Call*).

**1886**

- LAH: January 14. Extensive advertisement for Carlos Curti's Orquesta Típica Mexicana (Mexican Typical Orchestra), to appear at Los Angeles Grand Opera House; with detailed list of personnel (names and instruments).
- D/CC: January 22, 23. Mexican Typical Orchestra, directed by Carlos Curti, performed at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House on January 21, 22, and 23; soloists included A. Cuyas, guitar; Juan Curti, harp; Encarnación García, *psalterio*; Carlos Curti, xylophone; Adrian Galarza, clarinet (printed programs).
- LAH: January 23. Long, detailed, and very positive review of Curti and his Orquesta Típica's performance on January 22. "They probably discoursed more sweet, varied by bravura music, than any company which has favored Los Angeles with a visit since the city has had an existence" (They later performed to great acclaim in San Francisco and Sacramento and elsewhere in California).
- LAT: December 11. At the Bazaar of Nations at Mott Hall, for the "Spanish-American Evening" on December 10, Don Antonio Coronel, aged 69, danced *El jarabe* and *El jaleo* with Señora J. Castellón. Prof. Arévalo arranged the music for piano and guitars. In attendance were 1,540 individuals.

**1887**

- LC: January 29. Advertisement for Arévalo's services as a music teacher: Apply at the office of

*La Crónica*. “El Señor Arévalo es el único profesor de guitarra en esta ciudad. Así mismo enseña canto, piano, e idioma español, todo por métodos más fáciles y progresivos”.

- LC: May 14. Benefit performance on May 24 at Armory Hall to help build a Catholic church in Wilmington; Arévalo is in charge of the music.
- E: September 5, 6 and 7. Zerega’s Royal Spanish Troubadors appeared at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House; they also performed September 8 at Odd Fellow’s Hall, San Bernardino; September 9 and 10 at Leach’s Opera House, San Diego; September 12 and 13 at San Bernardino Opera House, San Bernardino; and September 14 at Pomona Opera House, Pomona.
- LAT: September 6. Review of Zerega’s Royal Spanish Troubadors, who opened an engagement of three nights and a matinee on September 5 at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House. Program included guitar music, and an elocutionist of “moderate ability” (the audience “reviled him unmercifully”). “Those who expected real Spanish music and Spanish dancing [...] hoped in vain. The music consisted chiefly of well-worn American ballads”.

## 1888

- LAH: January 9. *La pastorela* performed January 7 by the Spanish Society at Armory Hall, followed by a dance enjoyed by all.
- DC: April 21 and 22. Spanish opera bouffe company (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) is performing to great success in San Bernardino: April 21, *Chimes of Normandy* (*Les cloches de Corneville*, Planquette); April 23, *La Mascota* (Edmond Audran); and April 24, *Olivette* (*Les noces d’Olivette*, Audran), directed by Faustino Ureña.
- LAH: April 27. Great Zarzuela Spanish opera bouffe company (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) to perform *Boccaccio* (Franz von Suppé) and *Olivette* on April 29 at Los Angeles Grand Opera House (Child’s Opera House).
- LAT: April 30. Performances of *Boccaccio* and *Olivette* yesterday were “particularly enjoyed by the Spanish residents of the city, who don’t often have an opportunity to hear an opera given in their own language”. *Boccaccio* was extensively revised (“mutilated”) for their performances.
- MP: May 9. Spanish opera bouffe company (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) gave *Boccaccio* (von Suppé) and *Olivette* at the Lobero Theater, Santa Barbara, May 10-12.
- LAH: May 14. The Zarzuela theatrical troupe (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) gave *El juramento* (Gaztambide) at Armory Hall last night, May 13, to a large and delighted audience. In June 1888 they appeared in Sacramento and San Francisco. Their repertory also included *La tempestad* (Ruperto Chapí) and *El anillo de hierro* (Pedro Miguel Marqués).
- CC: May 13. Grand Testimonial Concert Tendered to Prof. M. S. Arévalo the guitarist at Turnverein Hall, Los Angeles, Monday Evening, May 13th, 1889. Performers included A. J. Stamm, M. S. Arévalo, students of M. S. Arévalo, Dr. Fernández. Pieces included Quintette (Sextette) from *Lucia di Lamermoor*, *The Mocking Bird* (arranged for 2 guitars by Arévalo), Song “Forever and Ever” (Arévalo), Vocal Solo “Grande Valse” (Arévalo), and *Variations on the Carnival of Venice* (Arévalo) (concert program).

- LAT: May 30. Last evening the Spanish Opera Company (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) gave *El sargento Federico* (Barbieri and Gaztambide) as a benefit for Señora María Villaseñor de Ureña and Señorita Mercedes Villaseñor.
- LAT: June 3. Last night the Spanish Opera Company (Villaseñor-Ureña Company) performed *Los Magyares* (Gaztambide) at Armory Hall as a benefit for stage manager Antonio Sánchez (comic tenor).
- LAT: August 1. The play *Los furiosos de un cesante* (Luis Mariano de Larra) to be performed by a local amateur dramatic company at Armory Hall, along with dances including *El jarabe* and *El son*, followed by a *Gran Baile*.

**1889**

- LAT: May 12. Testimonial concert to be given to Prof. Arévalo at Turnverein Hall.
- LAH: September 16. A grand *baile* in honor of Mexican Independence was held at the hall at 267 Upper Main Street, and “was attended by nearly every Spanish-American resident of the city”.

**1890**

- D: May 6. At the Los Angeles Theatre Prof. Arévalo and Prof. Brenner performed the guitar duet *Old Folks at Home* (Stephen Foster) and *Stephanie Gavotte* during the “Entertainment of the Ladies’ Annex of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce”.

**1891**

- D: January 13 and 14. “Spanish Music, Señor Arévalo”, benefit performance for Los Angeles Charity Kindergarten, New Los Angeles Theatre.
- RHA: June 3. Advertisement: “M. S. Arévalo. Office Wilson Block #24, First Street, Room 16, Hours 9-10 a.m., 2-4 p.m., and 6-9 p.m.”
- LAT: September 17. For Mexican Independence day celebrations at Stimson Hall on Upper Main Street: patriotic speeches, with songs and a guitar solo by Professor Arévalo, accompanied by Mercedes García. A *baile* attended by “American and Mexican citizens” followed.
- EE: December 1. Advertisement: “Guitar lessons: M. S. Arévalo, guitarist, vocal culture and Spanish taught. Studio Room 16, Old Wilson Block, Los Angeles”.

**1892**

- MC: June 19. Beginning on June 22, the Hermanos Arcaraz Company (Arcaraz Grand Spanish Opera Company) will perform a season of Spanish opera at San Francisco’s Orpheum Theater, with a company of 75. Their repertory reportedly included 22 different works.
- E: August. Arcaraz Grand Spanish Opera Company performed at the Pasadena Opera House, Pasadena, August 8; San Bernardino Opera House, San Bernardino, August 9; Loring Opera House, Riverside, August 10 and 11; Fisher Opera House, San Diego, August 12; and Grand Opera House, Los Angeles, August 13-20. Their repertory included opera, *zarzuela*, and operetta.
- LAH: August 14. The Arcaraz Operatic Company, with 60 members, will give a number of

- Spanish works this week at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House, including Chapí's zarzuela *La tempestad*. The company played at the Orpheum Theater in San Francisco, in June and July.
- RHA: August 16. Advertisement for Gran Compañía Española Arcaraz. Performances begin August 15. Monday, *La tempestad*; Tuesday, *Campanone* (Giuseppe Mazza); Wednesday, *Boccaccio* (von Suppé); Thursday, *Carmen* (Georges Bizet); Friday, *Doña Juanita* (von Suppé); Saturday, *El proceso del can can* and *La Gran Vía* (Federico Chueca); and Saturday matinee *Las campanas de Carrión* (*Chimes of Normandy*, Planquette).
- LAH: August 17. "No traveling American company could show such a number of uniformly good singers" as the Arcaraz Company.
- LAH: August 22. Regarding the Arcaraz Company: "The moods and whims of the Los Angeles people astonish me at times. [...] Last week there was a Spanish opera company that gave better performances, both in music and ensemble, than have been given here before in five years, and, with the exception of *Carmen*, on Thursday night, they played to empty benches".
- LDR: September 6. The Club Dramático Español will perform on September 16 the patriotic drama *El corazón de un soldado, o heroísmo de una dama mexicana*, by Don Juan Miguel Lozada, in Hazard's Pavilion. A *Gran Baile* follows the play. Laura Morales de Mollá will play the role of the heroine Catalina.
- LAT: September 15. The famous Mexican Band of the 24th Battalion played at the Los Angeles Plaza to a large audience.
- D: October 12. Prof. M. S. Arévalo with Mr. M. Carrizosa performed a guitar duet (at the Grand Opera House?).
- CC: October. The Mexican Band of the 24th Battalion performed at the 13th Annual Agricultural Exposition, at Hazard's Pavilion (printed program).
- RHA: October 12. "Gran Serenata al Cónsul de México". On October 6 a serenade honored Mexican Consul J. Díaz Prieto. The Band of the Mexican Band of the 24th Battalion from Sonora, Lieutenant Antonio Cuenca, director, played the waltz *Sobre las olas* (Juventino Rosas) –repeated by popular demand– and the Quintet (Sextet) from *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti). Some Mexican traditional music was also performed: "Estas piezas son mexicanas, y además del mérito musical, hicieron reír tanto por lo filosófico de los versos punzantes al uso de Veracruz y otros estados de México". Distinguished guests included Mayor H. T. Hazard, and Professor M. S. Arévalo; the Ignacio García and the Miguel Villa families; the piano teachers Miss E. H. Scarborough, Miss Mary Mansfield, and Miss Conradi. Many French, American, and Jewish families attended.
- RHA: October 21. The Mexican Band of the 24th Battalion left Los Angeles on October 10. It was sent on tour by General Porfirio Díaz "con motivo del centenario de Coronado".
- LAH: November 1. The Arcaraz Opera Company presented in Los Angeles "the most perfect ensemble ever given here and a repertory of five new operas out of six".
- D: December 7. Arévalo performed at the benefit concert for Miss Josephine Williams.

**1893**

LAT: May 28. Advertisement for Pasadena Music Company in Pasadena, California: "Our stock of Mexican Music, Banjo Music, and Pipe Organ Music is the largest in Southern California".

**1894**

LAH/LAT: July. Notices and advertisements for concerts given at the Los Angeles Grand Opera House and elsewhere in the region by the Famous Mexican Band of 50 players, conducted by Encarnación Payén (Earlier, the band had performed at San Francisco's Midwinter International Exposition of 1894).

LAH/LAT: November 24. Advertisement: Los Angeles International Exposition (in Hazard's Pavilion), Corner Fifth and Olive Streets, "The Great Spanish Fandango with a troupe of First-Class Spanish Dancers", with Carmen and Pepita.

**1895**

LAH: March 16. "The Friday Morning Club. [...] Professor Arévalo and others Render Spanish Music".

LAT: April 1. "A Spanish Concert". The Arévalo Club performs at the Hotel Carleton for high society guests.

LAT: June 30. "Spanish Opera". The Lyric Dramatic Club gave two comic operas at Turnverein Hall: *Gracias a Dios que está puesta la mesa* and *Pepillo el peluquero*.

**1896**

LAT: April 2. "Mexican Philharmonic Band Organized in This City", under the direction of Sr. J. D. Balderas. The 30-member group has just purchased a set of band instruments. All band members are Mexicans (A personnel list is included in the article).

LAH: May 11. The Ramírez Spanish Troubadours will present a potpourri of Spanish music in their vaudeville act at the Orpheum Theater.

LAT: May 17. A Guatemalan marimba group (the Ramírez Spanish Troubadours?) appears at the Orpheum Theater.

LAH: August. Notices of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara performances of Mexican Band from Tucson, the Club Filarmónico Tucsonense (with Fred Ronstadt, grandfather of popular singer Linda Ronstadt).

LAT: September 17. The Mexican Philharmonic Club Band of Los Angeles, under Prof. Balderas (formerly director of the Club Filarmónico Tucsonense), played for Mexican Independence Day. The group now has 36 musicians.

LU: November 21. The Club Filármonico Mexicano will give a dance and concert on November 28 at the Music Hall on South Spring Street.

LAH: November 29. Review of *baile* given by the Club Filármonico Mexicano; music provided by the Orquesta Balderas. The *baile* was attended by members of the local Mexicano/a elite.

**1897**

- LU: January 9. The Club Filármonico Mexicano at its last election elected a new slate of officers: Federico Arizmendez, President; P. Y. Pérez; C. M. Garzopeta, Secretary; A. R. Zuñiga, Treasurer.
- LAH: January 31, and February 4. Spanish and Mexican Day at Hazard's Pavilion for the Home Products Exposition, music by the Mexican Band, with a Spanish chorus of 40.
- LAT: February 4 and 5. Spanish and American Day. The Spanish (Mexican) Band (Sr. J. D. Balderas, director) performed, along with the Arévalo Guitar Club.
- LDR: February 6. Advertisement for "Tercer Gran Baile a Beneficio del Club Musical Hispano-Americano 'La Estudiantina'", at Music Hall, 231 South Spring Street. Scho-neman and Blanchard's orchestra will perform.
- LAH: June 11. The Mexican Band of Los Angeles will perform at Redondo Beach next Sunday.
- LAH: June 19. Serenade Concert given by Mexican Band at the Nadeau Hotel to honor Mexican Consul General Andrade; they played Mexican national airs.
- LAH: July 30. Free Spanish Barbeque in Santa Monica, dancing and open air concert by the 36-member Mexican Band, attendees can take the Southern Pacific Railroad, round-trip ticket from Los Angeles, for 50 cents.
- LAH: August 22. Soprano Señora María R. del Castillo and tenor Señor E. del Castillo, of the Teatro Nacional in Mexico City, will perform for the first time in Los Angeles, at the Burbank Theater. Their repertory includes classic and comic Italian and Spanish operas (*Il Trovatore, Carmen, Faust, La Traviata, La tempestad, El anillo de hierro*, etc.). They also sing popular Spanish and Mexican songs.
- SB: September 14. "Farewell Concert Tendered to Señora Y. Manzo de Gallardo at the Opera House, Santa Barbara, September 14, 1897". Performers included Sra. Y. Manzo de Gallardo, Sra. M. R. de Castillo, and José E. del Castillo. Pieces included *La tempestad* for piano (Julio Ituarte), the Aria from the opera *Keofar* (Felipe Villanueva), and music by Bellini, Verdi, Mendelssohn, Saint Saens, and Donizetti" (concert program).

**1898**

- LAH: October 7. Grand Benefit Concert at Southern California Music Company's Music Hall tendered to the renown baritone Sr. Antonio O. Vargas, held Friday October 7, organized by Professor Miguel S. Arévalo, assisted by the Mexican Band (Sr. Y. Escobar, director), and many local artists. Review and list of program published in *Los Angeles Herald* on October 8 (Vargas was one of the first baritones to make operatic recordings, in the 1890s, and to record Spanish songs).

**1899**

- LAH: June 29. Advertisement for the "Grand Band Concert by the Famous Mexican Band" on July 4 at Terminal Island (between San Pedro and Long Beach); 26 members in the band. Performances continued through September.
- LAT: July 7. Mexican music to be played by the Mexican Band at Terminal Island (San Pedro). "Plenty of shade and the only place on the coast for surf and still water bathing".

LAH: September 14 and 17. Arévalo helped organize a musical celebration of Mexican Independence Day at Turnverein Hall; Spanish *zarzuela* and operatic excerpts were performed. A *baile* followed.

LAH: September 30. Advertisement for Mexican Band Concert at Terminal Island: "A unique programme of Mexican music will be rendered by this famous band".

### 1900

LAT: July 8. "M. S. Arévalo, whose recent death occurred in this city, was a well-established and favorably known teacher of mandolin and guitar. His sudden death was a matter of great surprise and sad regret to hosts of friends".