Disneyland, Music, and Theories of Nostalgia

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Abstract

Since Disneyland opened in 1955, many have described a trip to the theme park in Anaheim, California, as a nostalgic experience. This dissertation, rooted in critical theory, examines music's role in this phenomenon. As such, it is the first study to substantively address music in Disneyland. Taking four attractions as case studies, I explore ways in which their music evokes nostalgia. I analyze the Dapper Dans (a roving barbershop quartet), Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room (a fifteen-minute Polynesian musical revue), the Indiana Jones Adventure (a thrill ride based on the film franchise), and Space Mountain (a space-themed indoor roller coaster), drawing on a variety of theoretical approaches to nostalgia as conceived by Svetlana Boym, Fred Davis, and others. On the premise that music's capacity to elicit nostalgia is informed by other elements, I also place the music of these four attractions in their respective historical and cultural contexts, buttressing my observations with musical analysis. Other aspects of this study involve strategies more akin to ethnomusicology, such as interviews with Disneyland composers and performers, analyses of fan comments on Disney-related websites, and my own visits to the park, which included making field recordings. Throughout, I argue that nostalgia is crucial to Disneyfication, the process of simplifying, sanitizing, and sentimentalizing source material, whether novels, history, or even cultures to make them commercially palatable and family friendly. Further, while nostalgia is an entirely real part of the Disneyland experience, in fact a fundamental irony applies: the park's reconstructions of historical places and eras—and their music—often stray so far from reality that they give rise to things that never existed yet nonetheless generate strong attachments among guests.

Acknowledgments

"All children, except one, grow up," wrote J.M. Barrie in his novel *Peter Pan*.[1] Although Barrie was referring to his titular character, I often felt like I was the exception while working on this project about music and nostalgia in Disneyland—"the happiest place on Earth." Of course, I would not have been able to indulge my inner Peter Pan and turn my adventures in the park (which I assured my professors were research trips) into a dissertation without the guidance and support of many generous people.

I would first like to thank my wonderful professors at UC Davis. Eric Smoodin helped me navigate the vast world of Disney scholarship and lay out the theoretical frameworks that ground this dissertation. Beth Levy's thoughtful comments on conference papers and early chapter drafts greatly shaped the direction of my research. Henry Spiller encouraged me to pursue the Tiki Room as one of my case studies, and his keen editorial eye improved the final version of this document. And most of all, I was privileged to have Carol A. Hess as my advisor. Carol's encouragement, no-nonsense approach, and dry wit have had a profound impact on this project and my growth as a scholar. For these reasons, and many others, I will forever be grateful for her mentorship. I hope that one day she'll visit Disneyland and look back on this dissertation with nostalgia.

A small handful of Disneyland performers and composers contributed significantly to my research. I'd like to thank Chad Bennett and Chris Burns for sharing their experiences as Dapper Dans. I'd also like to thank Jeremey Nathan Tisser for introducing me to the composer Richard Bellis, who kindly answered my questions regarding his approach to scoring the Indiana Jones Adventure. Other performers and scholars graciously offered their insights as well. Chris Froh of

[1] J.M. Barrie, *Peter Pan* (New York: Barnes & Noble Classics, 2005), 7.

UC Davis helped me identify drumming patterns in the Tiki Room; Daniel Goldmark of Case Western Reserve University pointed me towards many invaluable Disney music resources; and Paul Sommerfeld of the Library of Congress shared the Library's copies of uncatalogued scores to several Disneyland attractions.

The generosity of the Bilinski Educational Foundation made the completion of this project possible. In addition, my parents, Fred and Penny Nason, and fiancée, Dana Sheng, helped sponsor my trips to Disneyland and accompanied me on many of them. I am grateful for their unending love and support, and the memories of us in the park together.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Upon entering Disneyland, the theme park in Anaheim, California, every guest passes beneath a welcome sign written by its founder, Walt Disney (1901-1966), that reads, "Here you leave today and enter the world of yesterday, tomorrow and fantasy." Guests then walk down Main Street USA where they may hear a barbershop quartet, ragtime, and familiar selections from Broadway musicals such as *The Music Man* and *Hello, Dolly!*, both set in turn-of-the-twentieth-century America. Main Street leads to a hub at the center of the park where themed "lands" filled with rides, live shows, and various other attractions branch off via pathways, like spokes on a bicycle wheel (Figure 1.1). These domains—Fantasyland, Adventureland, Frontierland, and Tomorrowland—all have their own period-oriented music. Like Main Street, all evoke nostalgia (even Tomorrowland). Each does so with its own flavor.



Figure 1.1: Disneyland's hub-and-spokes.[1]

[1] Image taken from "Destinations," Disneyland Resort, accessed January 15, 2025, https://disneyland.disney.go.com/destinations/.

As Charles Carson observes, guests to Disney parks are "bombarded by innumerable musical events," representing a wide range of styles.[2] Indeed, there is scarcely a corner in Disneyland where music cannot be heard. This dissertation explores one of music's more significant roles in Disneyland: its capacity to evoke nostalgia. In inviting guests to reflect on the past, music is heard in a variety of formats. I focus on four such formats: 1) background music for the themed lands mentioned above; 2) a preshow, or background music for waiting in an attraction's queue; 3) soundtracks for selected rides; and 4) live music performed by roving musicians. Each setting arouses a particular type of nostalgia, or a combination of types, which are detailed below. The musical styles employed to this end, examined here, run the gamut, including barbershop, classical, exotica, Hawaiian, calypso, big band, video-game music, sci-fi film music, marches, fanfares, and surf music.

Theories of Nostalgia

Scholars of the Disneyland experience often use the word *nostalgia*. For example, Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone write that "[t]he entire Main Street experience is designed to evoke nostalgia for an Age of Innocence."[3] David Buckingham points out that while Disneyland "both constructs and speaks to elements of children's lived experience" it also "provid[es] adults with opportunities for nostalgic fantasies about their own past."[4] To better understand nostalgia's role in Disneyland, it's helpful to consider the origins of the term. It comes from the Greek *nostos*, to return home, and *algia*, meaning pain or longing. The Swiss

[2] Charles Carson, "'Whole New Worlds': Music and the Disney Theme Park Experience," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 2 (November 2004): 229.
[3] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, "Images of Main Street: Disney World and the American Adventure, *Journal of American Culture* 22, (1999), 85.
[4] David Buckingham, "Dissin' Disney: critical perspectives on children's media culture," *Media, Culture and Society* 19, no. 2 (April 1997): 286.

physician Johannes Hofer coined it in 1688 to describe the severe homesickness Swiss mercenaries experienced in France.[5] A so-called epidemic of nostalgia swept over the soldiers when they heard a tune that accompanied shepherds driving their herds to pasture.[6] This phenomenon has long been connected to music. Because some Scottish Highlanders suffered debilitating nostalgia when they heard bagpipes, military superiors banned the use of the instrument and playing, singing, or even whistling native tunes.[7] Thus, nostalgia, which originally referred to physical spaces for which people longed, was often triggered by music.[8]

Its consequences could be serious. Hofer believed that nostalgia was a disease that exhausted the "vital spirits" and could cause nausea, appetite loss, respiratory problems, brain inflammation, cardiac arrest, severe malnutrition, and even suicide.[9] Early symptoms involved the senses: besides seeing ghosts, nostalgics might well hear voices or other unexpected sounds. This dire prognosis was temporary, however. By the end of the nineteenth century, Hofer's conception of nostalgia as a disease gave way to the more contemporary understanding of it as a bittersweet emotion that can often be positive for the individual.[10] For instance, nostalgic reflections tend to focus on significant life achievements and relationships, which, in turn, bolsters people's sense of purpose and assures them they have had meaningful lives.[11]

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[5] Johannes Hofer, "Medical Dissertation on Nostalgia," trans. Carolyn Kiser Anspach, *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine* 2, no. 4 (1934): 376-391.
[6] Filiberto Fuentenbro de Diego and Carmen Valiente Ots, "Nostalgia: a conceptual history," *History of Psychiatry* 25, no. 4 (2014): 405.
[7] Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic Books, 2001), 4.
[8] Janelle Lynn Wilson, "Here and Now, There and Then: Nostalgia as a Time and Space Phenomenon," *Symbolic Interaction* 38, no. 4 (November 2015): 478-79.
[9] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 4.
[10] Wilson, "Here and Now," 479.
[11] Constantine Sedikides, Tim Wildschut, and Denise Baden, "Chapter 13: Nostalgia: Conceptual Issues and Existential Functions," in *Handbook of Experimental and Existential Psychology*, eds. Jeff Greenberg, Sander L. Koole, and Tom Pyszczynski (New York: The Guilford Press), 200-14; Andrew A. Abeyta and Clay Routledge, "Nostalgia as a Psychological Resource for a Meaningful Life," in *The Happy Mind: Cognitive Contributions to Well-Being*, eds. Michael D. Robinson and Michael Eid (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 427-442.

Twentieth-century scholars began to recognize various types of nostalgia. The seminal work of Fred Davis is of particular importance for theorizing how nostalgia works in Disneyland. He asserts that while nostalgia is typically experienced as a private emotion, it is also a social phenomenon, one that helps shape both personal and collective identities. He describes "private nostalgia" as "those symbolic images and allusions from the past that by virtue of their source in a particular person's biography tend to be more idiosyncratic, individuated, and particularistic in their reference, e.g., the memory of a parent's smile."[12] In contrast to this individualized reaction is "collective nostalgia," which Davis defines as the "condition in which the symbolic objects are of a highly public, widely shared, and familiar character." Those symbols, continues Davis, "can trigger wave upon wave of nostalgic feeling in millions of persons at the same time."[13] Clearly, nostalgia for a shared past—whether that past is accurately remembered or not—and the symbols it embraces can be a powerful force in society at large. In Disneyland, as Davis points out, such symbols may well include Disney's own animated characters, whom guests came to know, and perhaps love, as children.[14]

Davis identifies three orders of nostalgia. The first, "simple nostalgia," proposes that the past was superior to the present, such that an individual sentimentalizes the past and erases unpleasant memories. In the second order, "reflexive nostalgia," a subject may question the verisimilitude of the nostalgic claim, asking whether the past is truly as they remember it. The third order, "interpreted nostalgia," involves the objectification of nostalgia, which prompts questioning as to the very reasons for nostalgic feeling in the first place.[15] When it comes to music, we find that all three orders can combine in unexpected ways.

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[12] Fred Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday: A Sociology of Nostalgia* (New York: Free Press, 1979), 123.
[13] Ibid., 122-23.
[14] Ibid., 121.
[15] Ibid., 17-25.

Of course, nostalgia is directly linked to memory. When people try to recall facts, events, or ideas—as they often do with simple nostalgia—they commit what the psychologist and memory scholar Daniel. L. Schacter calls the "sin of bias." (A "sin" for Schacter is simply an error of memory.) As Schacter observes, "[w]e often edit or entirely rewrite our previous experiences—unknowingly or unconsciously—in light of what we know and believe." He concludes that this process skews reality and says "more about how we feel *now* than about what happened *then* [emphasis original]."[16] As we'll see, Disneyland, along with the music that guests experience there, offers plenty of opportunities for guests to commit this "sin." In part, this distortion occurs because the park brings to life Walt Disney's own childhood memories, fantasies, and recollections of history—and the way he wanted people to remember it. Guests to Disneyland prove a receptive audience, as many are perfectly eager to escape into a nostalgic view of these idealized pasts, which combine with their private nostalgias.

In the influential and provocatively titled study, *The Future of Nostalgia*, Svetlana Boym recognizes two additional tendencies of nostalgia: it can either restore or reflect. Restorative nostalgia is a wistful longing for the past, emphasizing *nostos* in its desire to reconstruct the lost time, home, or other bygone monuments.[17] Disneyland's Main Street, for example, recreates a rosy version of small-town America c. 1900, with a variety of shops reminiscent of five and dimes and reinforced with musical selections of the era. Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, accepts that the past is irretrievable. It doesn't attempt to rebuild what was lost but rather reflects on memories by dwelling in *algia*, in the longing and loss of a time and/or place. When Disneyland guests walk down Main Street, they easily relegate the music they hear to memories

[16] Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2001), 6.
[17] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 41.

of the past as recalled by their grandparents, say, or through other accounts of small-town life. Alternatively, they may take their own nostalgia as a primary point of reference, remembering previous trips to Disneyland, perhaps as part of a cherished family tradition.

These two tendencies inform other types of nostalgia found in Disneyland. One form of reflective nostalgia is a peculiar phenomenon the anthropologist Renato Rosaldo identifies as "imperialist nostalgia": a longing for a culture or environment that one has destroyed.[18] As Rosaldo observes, imperialist nostalgia is typically experienced by "agents of colonialism," such as constabulary officers and missionaries, whose yearning for these lost civilizations makes imperialism "appear innocent and pure."[19] By romanticizing the very cultures they destroy, these agents suppress their destructive behavior and reframe their civilizing mission as benevolent or even protective. As I detail below, this type of nostalgia manifests itself in Adventureland, the land dedicated to reconstructing mysterious far-off places and which, accordingly, draws on nostalgia-evoking musical selections.

An additional type of nostalgia on display at Disneyland is retrofuturism, clearly an oxymoron. It refers, however, to *past* visions of the future and the ways in which these visions shape our experience in the present.[20] For example, the future-themed Tomorrowland boasts attractions that demonstrate the possibilities of further space exploration, advanced technology, and innovation. Yet many Tomorrowland attractions retain visions of the future celebrated in 1955, the year the park was founded. Autopia, for one, has offered guests the opportunity to drive small, gas-powered cars along a guided track that resembles open highways, overpasses,

[18] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 107.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Elizabeth Guffey, *Retro: The Culture of Revival* (London: Reaktion, 2006), 152; Elizabeth Guffey and Kate C. Lemay, "Retrofuturism and Steampunk," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Science Fiction*, ed. Rob Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Joe P.L. Davidson, "Blast From the Past: Hopeful Retrofuturism in Science Fiction Film," *Continuum* 33, no. 6 (2019): 729-743.

and underpasses. Whereas the ride seems outdated today, it reflects 1950s-era optimism about personal transportation that prevailed just before the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 led to the creation of the interstate highway system. As part of Disneyland today, Autopia preserves this nostalgic vision of the future.

Nostalgia and Music

Whereas music certainly evoked nostalgia long before Hofer coined the term, the phenomenon became a major theme in nineteenth-century American music, especially via two strands of songwriting. One, the parlor ballad, features lyrics that summon memories of young women separated from their male lovers due to the passage of time or even death.[21] These songs were popular among the middle class and resonated with the vogue for sentimentality more generally in American culture, which manifested itself in novels such as Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* of 1852.[22] Take, for example, Stephen Foster's "Ah! May the Red Rose Live Always" (1850) with the opening lyrics "Ah! May the red rose live always/ To smile upon earth and sky!/ Why should the beautiful ever weep?/ Why should the beautiful die?" A second type of nostalgia song is a subgenre of blackface minstrelsy, namely, a song that depicts home and family life on a southern plantation.[23] Written by white Northern songwriters during the mid-1800s, these songs mythologize the Old South as a haven safe from the industrialization plaguing the northern landscape. One such song is Foster's "Old Folks at Home" (also known as "Swanee River") of 1851, which relies on what then passed for Black dialect: "All up and down de whole

[21] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 244.
[22] Susan Key, "Sound and Sentimentality: Nostalgia in the Songs of Stephen Foster, *American Music* 13, no. 2 (1995): 145-166; Susan Key, "'Forever in Our Ears': Nature, Voice, and Sentiment in Stephen Foster's Parlor Style," *American Music* 30, no. 3 (2012): 290-307.
[23] Brian Roberts, *Blackface Nation: Race, Reform, and Identity in American Popular Music, 1812-1925* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017).

creation/ Sadly I roam,/ Still longing for de old plantation,/ And for de old folks at home." Even after the Civil War, nostalgic plantation songs remained part of both white and African American performers' repertory, thus continuing a racial fantasy at odds with Reconstruction's political, economic, and legislative goals—and Southern resistance to all.[24] In other words, nostalgia in music can avoid reality and commit the "sin" of memory identified by Schacter.

At the end of the nineteenth century, another popular genre steeped in nostalgia emerged, namely, barbershop quartet singing.[25] Barbershop is a style of close-harmony singing that was performed by men and fostered camaraderie. Songs in the repertoire typically address small-town life in Victorian America ("A Little Street Where Old Friends Meet"), idealized courtship/relationships ("A Bicycle Built for Two"), and male fraternity ("Wedding Bells Are Breaking Up that Gang of Mine"). By the 1920s, barbershop singing declined due to the growing popularity of jazz and various dance fads.[26] However, in 1938, two traveling salesmen launched a revival of the genre and formed the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barbershop Quartet Singing in America (SPEBSQSA). The SPEBSQSA wanted to preserve not only the singing style but also the Victorian values and atmosphere of American small towns around the turn-of-the-twentieth century.[27]

As for classical music, nostalgia figures prominently in the works of twentieth-century composers searching for an authentically American voice. Charles Ives's oeuvre, for example, is riddled with quotations from nineteenth-century American music that conjure images from the

[24] Brook Thomas, "The Unfinished Task of Grounding Reconstruction's Promise," *Journal of the Civil War Era* 7, no. 1 (Mary 2017): 16-38.
[25] Gage Averill, *Four Parts, No Waiting: A Social History of American Barbershop Harmony* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003); Gage Averill, "Bell Tones and Ringing Chords: Sense and Sensation in Barbershop Harmony," *The World of* Music 41, no. 1 (1999): 37-51; Richard Mook, "White Masculinity in Barbershop Quartet Singing," *Journal of the Society for American Music* 1, no. 4 (2007): 453-483.
[26] Averill, *Four Parts*, 77-79; Mook, "White Masculinity," 453.
[27] Averill, "Bell Tones," 42.

composer's childhood and the small-town values of his New England upbringing.[28] In "Putnam's Camp," the second movement of *Three Places in New England* (1914), Ives quotes many patriotic tunes, including "The Star Spangled Banner," "Yankee Doodle," and "The Battle Cry of Freedom," to depict what a picnicking child might have heard a village band play on the Fourth of July. Like Ives, Aaron Copland looked back to another era and incorporated quotations of folk music and cowboy songs, albeit often disguised through fragmentation and rapid juxtapositions (e.g., *Billy the Kid* of 1938).[29]

Today, countless examples of musical nostalgia flourish throughout the United States: swing dances, sock hops, Broadway musical revivals, Elvis Presley impersonators, and Grateful Dead and Beach Boy concerts, to name a few.[30] Films are rife with nostalgic music also.[31] As Daniel Goldmark observes, an "overwhelming sense of nostalgia pervades" the entire film catalogue of Pixar, the animation studio Disney owns.[32] Michael Giacchino's score for *Up* (2009) amplifies feelings of loss and longing for both its characters and the audience with a 1920s-style jazz waltz based on Ferde Grofé's "Alice Blue" from the orchestral piece *Three Shades of Blue* (1928). Used as a main theme, it accompanies a montage of the main couple's life together, from dewy-eyed courtship to the wife's death. Each time the theme recurs, the audience is reminded of the couple's long and happy marriage but also the husband's grief.[33]

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[28] David Metzer, "'We Boys': Childhood in the Music of Charles Ives," *19th-Century Music* 21, no. 1 (1997): 77-95; J. Peter Burkholder, *All Made of Tunes: Charles Ives and the Uses of Musical Borrowing* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
[29] Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 17.
[30] Averill, *Four Parts*, 14; Cross, *Consumed Nostalgia: Memory in the Age of Fast Capitalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 143, 182.
[31] Caryl Flinn, *Strains of Utopia: Gender, Nostalgia, and Hollywood Film Music* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).
[32] Disney acquired Pixar in 2006; Daniel Goldmark, "Pixar and the Animated Soundtrack," in *The Oxford Handbook of New Audiovisual Aesthetics*, eds. John Richardson, Claudia Gorbman, and Carol Vernallis (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 218.
[33] Ibid., 221.

Similarly, the lyrics to the recurring song "Remember Me" from Pixar's *Coco* of 2017 "describe the bittersweet parting of two people and the desperate need to live on in one's memory," writes Jacqueline Avila.[34] In short, the music of many genres and eras can be as powerful as Proust's madeleine, the small cake that unleashed a flood of childhood memories for the narrator in the novel *In Search of Lost Time,* at welling up memories and emotions from the past. As argued below, much of the music guests absorb at Disneyland draws on this evocative power that is just as potent today as it was in Hofer's time.

Disneyfication

Since its inception in 1923, the Disney company has produced cartoons, feature-length films, television shows, stage musicals, and has built theme parks, resorts, and a fleet of cruise ships, all recognized throughout the world. Disney's enormous cultural influence has made the entertainment giant the subject of social science scholars who have coined the term "Disneyfication," that is, the process of simplifying, sanitizing, and sentimentalizing source material, whether novels, history, or even cultures to make them commercially palatable and family friendly.[35] Disney's first full-length animated film underwent such treatment. 1937's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, the first of thirteen Disney films to feature a princess, turned the story by the Brothers Grimm—a "serious fable" about a girl, youth, aging, death, and sexual

[34] Jacqueline Avila, "*Memorias de oro*: Music, Memory, and *Mexicanidad* in Pixar's *Coco* (2017)," *Americas: A Hemispheric Music Journal* 29 (2020): 9.
[35] Alan Bryman, *The Disneyization of Society* (London: Sage Publishers, 2004), 5-10; Marc Napolitano, "Disneyfying Dickens: *Oliver and Company* and *The Muppet Christmas Carol* as Dickensian Musicals," *Studies in Popular Culture* 32, no. 1 (Fall 2009), 80; Gene Walz, "Charlie Thorson and the temporary Disneyfication of Warner Bros. cartoons," in *Reading the Rabbit: Explorations in Warner Bros. Animation*, ed. K.S. Sandler (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 51; Richard Schickel, *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art, and Commerce of Walt Disney* (London: Pavilion, 1986), 225. Andrew Ross, *The Celebration Chronicles: Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Property Value in Disney's New Town* (New York: Ballantine, 1999), 134; Janet Wasko, *Understanding Disney: They Manufacture of Fantasy* (Cambridge: Polity, 2001), 113.

maturity—into "a vehicle for seven funny little men," according to Walt Disney's biographer Michael Barrier.[36] Disney also removed much of the original version's violence, including a scene in which the evil queen eats what she believes to be Snow White's lungs and liver.

In addition to Disneyfying literature, Disney has a long history of repurposing classical music for popular audiences. The early *Silly Symphonies* cartoons often drew from classical themes.[37] In *The Skeleton Dance* of 1929, the composer Carl Stalling used Edvard Grieg's *March of the Dwarfs*, originally scored for solo piano, to accompany a skeleton playing another's ribcage like a xylophone. Stalling's arrangement humorously mimics the rattling bones with an actual xylophone. Perhaps the most famous Disneyfied musical product, *Fantasia* (1940), introduced many viewers to classical music. However, it was the film's animation that Disneyfied the music, not Stokowski's own orchestrations of canonical pieces such as Bach's Toccata and Fugue in D Minor. As Mark Clague has demonstrated, *Fantasia* "uses color, image, pattern, and narrative to articulate musical experience for its audience."[38] In contrast, George Bruns's reworking of themes from Tchaikovsky's ballet *Sleeping Beauty* for the eponymous 1959 animated Disney film engages more directly in adapting classical music. The songs "Once Upon a Dream" and "I Wonder" are derived from waltzes in Act I of the ballet, exhibiting an overt borrowing of classical music for a popular medium.[39] Nonetheless, Bruns scored his adaptations for orchestra rather than popular music ensembles, perhaps a nod to his sources.

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[36] Michael Barrier, *The Animated Man: A Life of Walt Disney* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 121.
[37] James Bohn, *Music in Disney's Animated Features:* Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs *to* The Jungle Book (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2017), 29-55.
[38] Mark Clague, "Playing in 'Toon: Walt Disney's *Fantasia* (1940) and the Imagineering of Classical Music," *American Music* 22, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 92.
[39] Raymond Knapp, "Medieval 'Beauty' and Romantic 'Song' in Animated Technirama: Pageantry, Tableau, and Action in Disney's *Sleeping Beauty*," in *The Disney Musical on Stage and Screen*, ed. George Rodosthenous (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 36-41.

Many have lambasted Disneyfied products. One of the most scathing commentaries comes from the celebrated librarian, UCLA lecturer, and children's literature advocate Frances Clarke Sayers. Her 1965 letter to the editor of the *Los Angeles Times* goes into detail, taking aim at several Disney icons:

> He [Walt Disney] shows scant respect for the integrity of the original creations of authors, manipulating and vulgarizing everything for his own ends.
>
> His treatment of folklore is without regard for its anthropological, spiritual or psychological truths. Every story is sacrificed to the "gimmick"…of animation.
>
> The acerbity of Mary Poppins, unpredictable, full of wonder and mystery, becomes, with Mr. Disney's treatment, one great marshmallow-covered cream puff. He made a young tough of Peter Pan, and transformed Pinocchio into a slap-stick, sadistic revel.[40]

Others write about Disneyfication with similar disdain. The film historian and documentarian Richard Schickel describes it as a "shameless process" that destroys an original work's "magic, mystery, [and] individuality."[41]

Disneyfication has often been linked to consumerism. In their Marxist diatribe against the Disney company, *How to Read Donald Duck*, Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart condemn Disneyfication as "Dollarfication": "For Disney, history exists in order to be demolished, in order to be turned into the dollar which gave it birth and lays it to rest."[42] But Disney sells more than just corrupted histories; it sells memories, or rather, manufactured nostalgia. Lynette Unger, Diane McConocha, and John Faier have defined six elements of nostalgia that companies use to influence consumers: references to past family experiences, references to olden days, period-

[40] Frances Clarke Sayers, "Letter to the Times: Educator Takes Strong Exception to Rafferty's Praise of Disney," *Los Angeles Times*, April 25, 1965, E6.
[41] Richard Schickel, *The Disney Version: The Life, Times, Art, and Commerce of Walt Disney* (London: Pavilion, 1986), 225.
[42] Ariel Dorfman and Armand Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck: Imperialist Ideology in the Disney Comic*, trans. David Kunzle (New York: I.G. Editions, 1991), 62.

oriented symbolism, period-oriented music, references to old brands, and patriotism.[43] Disney employs all these strategies. In fact, guests often purchase souvenirs to remember their family trip from one of Disneyland's many gift shops. The Disney company also relies on guests' emotional connection to songs as an important branding method. As Jimmy Johnson, the former head of Disneyland Records, stated, "Records and books [and films] help sell the ride, and the attraction [ride] sells the merchandise."[44]

As Bethanee Bemis points out, however, the commonly accepted definition of Disneyfication provided above negates the public's role in the process, casting them only as unwitting consumers.[45] For Bemis, on the other hand, Disneyfication is a "process by which the public and a corporation are engaged in a cultural ritual of transforming historical fact into the 'national narrative.'"[46] She cites online petitions to change Disneyland's Splash Mountain—a log-flume ride based on Disney's 1946 film *Song of the South*, itself an adaptation of Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories of 1881—as an example.[47] Though Splash Mountain, which operated from 1989 to 2023, did not contain racist depictions of African Americans and plantation life in the way that its source material does, guests could observe robotic creatures (foxes, bears, and rabbits) that talked and sang "Zip-a-Dee-Doo-Dah" and other songs in a manner rooted in minstrelsy. In response to the petitions and to meet modern-day sensibilities, the ride was reimagined in 2024 as a New Orleans Mardi Gras celebration inspired by Disney's 2009 animated film *The Princess and the Frog*, which introduced Tiana Rogers as the first Black

[43] Lynette S. Unger, Diane M. McConocha, and John A. Faier, "The Use of Nostalgia in Television Advertising: A Content Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (Fall 1991): 351.
[44] Johnson quoted in Bohn, *Music in Disney's Animated Features*, 6.
[45] Bethanee Bemis, *Disney Theme Parks and America's National Narratives: Mirror, Mirror, for Us All* (New York: Routledge, 2023), 116.
[46] Ibid., 116-117.
[47] Ibid., 104; "Chase A. Bringardner, "Disney-Fying Dixie: Queering the 'Laughing Place' at Splash Mountain," in *Performance and the Disney Theme Park Experience: The Tourist as Actor*, eds. Jennifer A. Kokai and Tom Robson (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 107-126.

Disney Princess. Changes such as this exemplify the public's role in Disneyfication at the same time that they do history a disservice by washing away its unsavory aspects.

In general, Disneyfication has been used as a pejorative. Unlike most critics, my goal in this dissertation is not to condemn—nor praise for that matter—Disney and its practices. I do, however, aim to expand Disneyfication's definition to include nostalgia's role in the process. As I'll demonstrate, Disneyland attractions engage in restorative and reflective nostalgia. They also invite guests to reflect on their personal and collective memories of reconstructed times and places. Central to this process of exchange is music.

Theme Parks, Simulacra, and Hyperrealities

Disneyland is a theme park, not a simple amusement park. Though the terms are often used interchangeably, their designs and intents differ. An amusement park is a large outdoor area with unrelated entertainments, such as thrill rides that seem to defy Newtonian laws. In contrast, a theme park, as defined by Margaret J. King, is a "social artwork" with a "four-dimensional symbolic landscape" meant to evoke "impressions of places and times, real or imaginary."[48] Themes can be based on movies (Fantasyland is dedicated to Disney's classic animated films), television shows (Universal Studios in Hollywood features a "land" based on *The Simpsons*), or other media. They can also be based on more abstract concepts, such as technological innovation, as in Tomorrowland, described above.[49]

Theme parks are designed to immerse guests into a space's story or concept. Scott A. Lukas defines immersion as "the idea that a space and its multiple architectural, material,

[48] Margaret J. King, "Theme Park," in *The Guide to United States Popular Culture,* eds. Ray B. Browne and Pat Browne (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 2007), 837.
[49] Sabrina Mittermeier, *A Cultural History of the Disneyland Theme Parks: Middle Class Kingdoms* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021), 6.

performative, and technological approaches may wrap up or envelop a guest within it."[50] Immersive spaces thus require a "suspension of disbelief," a phrase coined by the English Victorian poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge for the voluntarily withholding of skepticism for the sake of enjoying an illusion.[51] For instance, guests must overlook the fact that no American in 1900 would have heard "Daisy Belle" play from hidden speakers as they sauntered down their town's Main Street. Yet on Disneyland's Main Street, the use of such anachronistic technology is permissible—even expected—thanks to its power to establish the period aurally.

Theme parks existed in spirit if not by name long before Disneyland opened on July 17, 1955. One of the handful of precedents from across the globe is Prince Ludwig's Neuschwanstein castle in Bavaria, the inspiration for Disneyland's Sleeping Beauty Castle. Tourists to the late-nineteenth-century castle can witness how Ludwig manifested his obsession with Richard Wagner in the castle's interior design, which features stage sets that dramatize scenes from the composer's operas, especially *Lohengrin*.[52] At the start of the twentieth century, theme parks popped up on New York's Coney Island. Among them was the original Luna Park, which operated from 1903 to 1944. Its featured attraction, A Trip to the Moon, simulated space travel and invited guests to stroll on a faux lunar surface.[53]

With his park, Walt Disney was intent on presenting idealized images of America and the world more generally. As guests ride comfortably down a simulated Nile, mosquitos are nowhere to be seen on the Jungle Cruise, nor does the Black Death lurk around Sleeping Beauty's

[50] Scott A. Lukas, "Introduction: The Meanings of Themed and Immersive Spaces," in *A Reader in Themed and Immersive Spaces*, ed. Scott A. Lukas (Pittsburg: ETC press, 2016), 3.
[51] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria; or, Biographical Sketches of My Literary Life and Opinions vol. II* (London: Rest Fenner, 1817), 2.
[52] Margaret J. King and J.G. O'Boyle, "The Theme Park: The Art of Time and Space," in *Disneyland and Culture: Essays on the Parks and Their Influence*, eds. Kathy Merlock Jackson and Mark I. West (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2001), 7.
[53] Ibid, 9.

medieval castle in Fantasyland. Thus, Disneyland's themed spaces offer hyperrealities. As Umberto Eco explains, hyperrealities occur when imitations (he calls the latter fakes) try to improve upon an original.[54] Viewers are cognizant of the difference. Eco recalls a wax reproduction of the famed Venus De Milo at the Palace of Living Arts in Buena Park, Los Angeles, that had arms, unlike the original marble sculpture.[55] He notes that visitors are aware the wax figure is fabricated, yet they are nonetheless seduced by it; they "admire the perfection of the fake."[56] This perspective contradicts Walter Benjamin, who argues that "[e]ven the most perfect reproduction of a work is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be," a lost cultural context Benjamin famously called an "aura." [57] Tellingly, Eco addresses Disneyland's absent auras. In one particularly vivid example, he discusses the presence of Audio-Animatronics, Disney's lifelike robots with the capacity to emit sound. Why do they occupy the park rather than live animals? Drawing on his own experience, Eco observes:

> A real crocodile can be found in the zoo, and as a rule it is dozing or hiding, but Disneyland tells us that faked nature corresponds much more to our daydream demands. When, in the space of twenty-four hours, you go (as I did deliberately) from the fake New Orleans of Disneyland to the real one, and from the wild river of Adventureland to a trip on the Mississippi, where the captain of the paddle-wheel steamer says it is possible to see alligators on the banks of the river, and then you don't see any, you risk feeling homesick for Disneyland where the wild animals don't have to be coaxed. Disneyland tells us that technology can give us more reality than nature can.[58]

In short, hyperrealities meet guests' expectations better than their real-life models.

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[54] Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986), 1-58.
[55] Ibid., 20.
[56] Ibid., 44.
[57] Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations*, ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), 3-4
[58] Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality*, 44.

Complementing the hyperreal is Jean Baudrillard's concept of simulacra, which he defines as "models of a real without origin or reality."[59] In other words, simulacra are copies of things that never existed. Baudrillard reveals how this phenomenon is possible by identifying the ways in which copies reflect reality to varying degrees. For example, Baudrillard would call a portrait "a profound reflection of reality" if it faithfully replicates the appearance of an individual. A caricature, on the other hand, "masks and denatures" reality through exaggeration yet retains a resemblance to the individual in question. Some copies, however, such as Disneyland's Main Street, "have no relation to any reality whatsoever" and are therefore simulacra.[60] Despite a commonly held belief, Main Street does not reconstruct Walt Disney's childhood hometown of Marceline, Missouri, at the turn of the twentieth century, which of course lacked a cinema dedicated to anachronistically showing Disney's first Mickey Mouse cartoons from the 1920s and 30s. Rather, Main Street is based on what Baudrillard would call a "system of signs"—cobblestone streets, horse-drawn carriages, barbershop quartets, Victorian architecture—that includes widely accepted images of turn-of-the-century American small towns.[61] Thus, simulacra such as Main Street synthesize well-known signs to construct their own realities.

Adding to the consumerist appeal of hyperrealities and simulacra is the phenomenon of Disneyland's piped-in ambient music. Today, background music is ubiquitous in restaurants, supermarkets, shopping malls, offices, airports, hotels, fairs, and, of course, theme parks. While such music now gushes forth from streaming services, initially such ambient music was marketed as Muzak and was intended to create a calming atmosphere, boost worker productivity,

[59] Jean Baudrillard, *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994), 1.
[60] Ibid., 6.
[61] Ibid., 2.

and influence consumer behavior by encouraging longer in-store visits and increased spending.[62] As Joseph Lanza observes, since its inception in 1934, Muzak has often been criticized as vapid or cheesy and considered "less than good or (worse) less than art."[63] In his review of the 1939 New York World's Fair, Elliott Carter disparaged the ever-present loudspeakers that emitted selections ranging from schmaltzy Strauss waltzes to excerpts from *Scheherazade* and the *L'Arlésienne* suite.[64] He also railed against ambient music and Disney in one blow: he believed it forced an "expression of jollity and merriment" on fair attendees, as if some "huge Walt Disney monster [were] pouring out his weepy soul in a slightly inarticulate voice."[65] Although Carter would have undoubtedly found Disneyland's own canned music more sappy and saccharine than what he heard in New York, park guests tend to be more generous and play along with music's vital role in theming the various lands and attractions.

Disney Music Scholarship

Whereas scholarship pertaining to the Walt Disney Company has flourished for decades, only recently have studies on its musical output emerged.[66] In 2015, the American Musicological Society's national meeting included its first-ever panel on Disney music. In 2017, two books dedicated entirely to the topic were published, one on the music of Disney's animated features from 1928-1967, and the other a collection of essays on Disney musicals on stage and screen.[67]

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[62] Joseph Lanza, *Elevator Music: A Surreal History of Muzak, Easy-Listening, and Other Mood Song* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004).
[63] Ibid., 3.
[64] Carol A. Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 82; Elliott Carter, "Forecast and Review: O Fair World of Music!" *Modern Music* 16, no. 4 (1939): 238-43.
[65] Carter, "Forecast and Review," 243, 238.
[66] For critiques of the Disney company, see Dorfman and Mattelart, *How to Read Donald Duck*; Eric Smoodin, ed., *Disney Discourse: Producing the Magic Kingdom* (New York: Routledge, 1994).
[67] Bohn, *Music in Disney's Animated Features*; George Rodosthenous, ed., *The Disney Musical on Stage and Screen* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2017).

Since then, Disney has continued to receive attention in musicological circles. The 2018 meeting of the Society for American Music featured Disney papers, and *American Music* published a special issue on Disney in 2021.[68] All reflect the vertiginous changes that have taken place in musicology as a whole in recent decades, including shifts in scope, theoretical models, sources, and research topics.

In general, scholars have taken Disney music seriously. As James Bohn observes, Disney composers "provide as much motion as any animator, as much suspense as any effects animator, and as much color as ink and painters."[69] Accordingly, scholars have examined the social and cultural contexts of music in Disney films. Yet only a handful have done so with the music in Disney parks, which attract millions of visitors annually and offer a completely different experience than that gleaned from films.[70] One such scholar is Charles Carson, mentioned above, who focuses on the ways in which music is used as a cultural signifier in EPCOT's World Showcase in Florida's Disney World. World Showcase features world's-fair-style pavilions that represent individual nations from across the globe. Carson contends that the pavilions rely on musical "snapshots" that "fit into guests' often limited knowledge of the countries represented."[71] For example, he argues that a mariachi band, "perceived by many as an 'authentic' icon of Mexican culture," anchors "Disney's representation of Mexico to collective *knowledge* [emphasis original]."[72] Here, as is often the case with other Disney products, the question of authenticity is raised. However, Carson offers no musical analysis to determine

[68] Daniel Batchelder, "Guest Editor's Introduction," *American Music* 39, no. 2 (2021), 137.
[69] Bohn, *Music in Disney's Animated Features*, 3.
[70] Lisa Scoggin, "The Foreign and the Other in the Music of *Mulan* (1998)," *American Music* 39, no. 2 (Summer 2021): 196-211; Jacqueline Avila, "Memorias de oro," 1-23; Daniel Goldmark and Utz McKnight, "Locating America: Revisiting Disney's *Lady and the Tramp*," *Social Identities* 14, no. 1 (January 2008): 101-120; Carol A. Hess, "Walt Disney's *Saludos Amigos*: Hollywood and the Propaganda of Authenticity," in *The Tide Always High: The Music of Latin America in Los Angeles*, ed. Josh Kun (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017), 105-123.
[71] Carson, "Whole New Worlds," 230.
[72] Ibid., 231.

whether the band is an "authentic" mariachi ensemble or merely a simulacrum, nor does he compare the public's perception of mariachi music with its actual history and stylistic traits. Other scholars address cultural issues inherent in music directly. Laudan Nooshin explores cultural representation and global harmony in the Sherman Brothers' song "It's a Small World" from the eponymous attraction.[73] Calling attention to the song's march-like chorus and diatonic harmonies that emphasize the tonic and dominant, she concludes that the ride's images and musical elements display the dominance of Euro-American values over other cultures.[74] The result is surely a smaller "world" than its creators intended.

Gregory Camp, on the other hand, explores the ways in which music in Disney parks mirrors film music. He argues that the Imagineers, Disney's portmanteau term for the parks' designers, employ film-scoring methods to "create a wide variety of narrative musical spaces" and "to give guests the impression that they become protagonists as they navigate their way through these carefully staged narratives."[75] He notes that many attractions incorporate what the film-music theorist Frank Lehman calls a chromatically modulating cadential resolution (CMCR), a type of deceptive cadence that shifts a tonal center to a new area.[76] While Camp doesn't offer any film-music examples, he does examine several CMCRs in park attractions. For instance, Camp points out that Jerry Goldsmith's score for Soarin', a flight simulation ride at EPCOT and California Adventure in Anaheim, features a CMCR nearly every time the scene changes, enhancing transitions between breathtaking aerial views of world-famous landmarks projected onto a giant concave screen. However, Camp omits score analysis from his discussion,

[73] Laudan Nooshin, "Circumnavigation with a Difference? Music, Representation and the Disney Experience: *It's a Small, Small World*," *Ethnomusicology Forum* 13, no. 2 (November 2004): 236-251.
[74] Ibid., 244.
[75] Camp, "Mickey Mouse Muzak," 54.
[76] Ibid., 66; Frank Lehman, "Hollywood Cadences: Music and the Structure of Cinematic Expectation," *Music Theory Online* 19, no. 4 (December 2013), https://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.13.19.4/mto.13.19.4.lehman.html.

leaving the reader without specifics as to how these harmonic progressions function in relation to the visual elements.

Only one scholar deals explicitly with musical nostalgia in Disneyland. Elizabeth Randell Upton examines retrofuturism in Jean-Jacques Perrey and Gershon Kingsley's 1967 piece "Baroque Hoedown," featured in the Main Street Electrical Parade. This nighttime celebration on Main Street, which debuted in 1972, showcases floats covered in thousands of colored light bulbs, clearly a twentieth-century conceit, one in keeping with the nature of the parade itself. The music, however, combines Baroque and electronic instruments. As Upton writes, "'Baroque Hoedown' suggests a humorous contrast between the elegance of eighteenth-century Europe" via a harpsichord with "the futuristic sounds of the synthesizer."[77] Why would Disney use music that is incongruous to Main Street's temporal setting? Upton argues that the harpsichord "signals a sense of the past" that is "generically old-fashioned." At the same time, continues Upton, "[u]sing sounds that would read as futuristic in 1972 conveys the initial excitement of electricity to an audience for whom nighttime light was commonplace."[78] Thus, as Upton observes, historical accuracy in Disney music is often subservient to emotional impact.[79]

Building on Upton, this dissertation examines musical nostalgia from a variety of theoretical standpoints. I draw on Eco, Baudrillard, Boym, Davis, Rosaldo, and Guffey to argue that Disneyland's themed hyperrealities consist of Disneyfied musical simulacra that evoke nostalgia for idealized versions of the past and visions of the future that never came to fruition. Throughout, I base many of my arguments on musical analysis, an essential part of this study, one that Camp and Carson, among others, do not employ. Analysis can reveal, for example, how

[77] Elizabeth Randell Upton, "Nostalgia for a Past Futurism: The Main Street Electrical Parade," *American Music* 39, no. 2 (2021): 170.
[78] Ibid., 178.
[79] Ibid., 169.

far Disneyland's reconstructions of historical places and eras stray from historical fact. In doing so, I place four attractions, detailed below, and the music they feature in their respective historical and cultural contexts. I also examine some of the ways these attractions and their music have evolved over the years. My research is informed by the twenty-one trips I took to Disneyland between 2018 and 2025, during which I adopted an ethnomusicological approach and made field recordings of the music I analyze below. In addition, I interviewed past and present Disneyland performers and composers, and scoured countless fan blogs and websites to better understand the park's music and its effects on guests' psyches.

Chapter Overview

As this introductory chapter makes clear, my focus is the original Disney park in California. It is the only one whose entire design Walt Disney oversaw. (I will henceforth refer to him as "Walt" to distinguish the man from the company as a whole, common practice in Disney scholarship.) As a result, "[o]ne can sense [Walt's] presence [in Disneyland] more strongly than any of its descendants," writes Disneyland scholar Richard Snow.[80] The four attractions explored in this dissertation—The Dapper Dans (Main Street), Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room (Adventureland), The Indiana Jones Adventure (Adventureland), and Space Mountain (Tomorrowland)—not only bear Walt's creative stamp but reflect his personal nostalgia. The first two were conceived by Walt himself, whereas the latter two were built after his death in 1966 but still embody his ideals.

Chapter two considers restorative nostalgia in the Dapper Dans, a barbershop quartet, who complement Main Street's hyperreal reconstruction of a turn-of-the-twentieth-century

[80] Snow, *Disney's Land*, 373. Today, there are six Disney resort locations around the world: California, Florida, Tokyo, Paris, Shanghai, and Hong Kong, each of which boasts at least one theme park for a total of twelve.

American small town. Through musical analysis, I argue that the Dans, however, offer a simulacrum of barbershop c. 1900. Whether singing barbershop classics or more recent music in the barbershop style, the Dans favor an approach codified in the mid 1920s through the 30s, one that differs significantly from that practiced at the turn of the century. In doing so, they perform a *neo*-Victorian mode of white masculinity that emphasizes closeness, thus aligning with 1950s American ideals and Walt's vision for the park as an antidote to Cold War-era suspicion and uncertainty.

The next two chapters focus on Adventureland attractions. Chapter three explores collective nostalgia in Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room, a Disneyfied fifteen-minute Polynesian-themed musical revue. I examine some of the musical elements Disney's composers borrowed from exotica and indigenous Polynesian forms of popular music to celebrate South Seas myths and memories of the Pacific theater, where so many soldiers were stationed during World War II. Again, I discuss the extent to which inauthenticity pervades the music, with borrowings from non-Polynesian sources. In chapter four, I argue that the music in the Indiana Jones Adventure (Indy), a thrill ride set in 1930s India, evokes imperialist nostalgia, immersing guests in a Disneyfied archaeological adventure. Since the Imagineers designed Indy like a large-scale, interactive video game in which guests assume the role of treasure hunters, I examine its music through a ludomusicological lens.

In chapter five, I propose that music enhances Tomorrowland's retrofuturism. Despite Walt's claim that Tomorrowland is a "step into the future," many of its attractions reveal a romantic longing for the past.[81] I argue that the effect of Space Mountain, a space-themed indoor

[81] Quoted in Robson, "The Future is Truly in the Past: The Regressive Nostalgia of Tomorrowland," in *Performance and the Disney Theme Park Experience: The Tourist as Actor*, eds. Jennifer A. Kokai and Tom Robson (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2019), 33.

roller coaster that opened in 1977, is to remind guests of mid-twentieth-century space exploration in its depiction of rocket ships and the promise of space. This retrofuturistic vision was further enhanced by the coaster's first soundtrack, added in 1996, which fuses 1950s sci-fi film music with 1960s instrumental surf music.

The final chapter reflects on some of the musical changes these four attractions have undergone since they opened at Disneyland. These changes reflect the impact nostalgia has on guests and Disney's response to evolving sensibilities.

Chapter 2: The Dapper Dans, White Masculinity, and Musical Simulacra During the Age of Anxiety

The 1950s have been dubbed "The Age of Anxiety" thanks to W.H. Auden's eponymous book-length poem from 1947.[82] During those years, many Americans feared a nuclear war with the Soviet Union. Schoolchildren practiced weekly duck-and-cover drills and some families built bomb shelters, stocking them with non-perishables that they thought could outlast a nuclear holocaust. McCarthyism, the reckless anti-communist campaign led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, raised suspicion among friends, families, and colleagues. Anyone accused of being a communist or sympathizer might well have been blacklisted, especially in the entertainment industry, as the case of the infamous "Hollywood Ten" shows.[83] Additionally, racial tensions increased as the civil rights movement gained momentum and challenged conventional social and economic hierarchies.

That beleaguered entertainment world responded in several ways. One way it assuaged these fears and upheavals was to look back at the turn of the twentieth century, considering it an Age of Innocence that was predictable and wholesome.[84] Although those years were far from idyllic, with the economic downturn of 1893 and other excesses of the Gilded Age, many midcentury Broadway and Hollywood musicals romanticize the era, which historians would label "late-Victorian" in reference to the British queen, who reigned from 1837 to 1901.[85] For

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[82] The *Oxford English Dictionary* credits W.H. Auden's poem, the full title of which is *The Age of Anxiety: A Baroque Eclogue* and set during World War II, for popularizing the phrase. The *OED* is careful to state that the phrase can be applied to any era characterized by a fear of what will happen soon but is often used in reference to the mid-to-late twentieth century. "The Age of Anxiety," *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed November 9, 2023. Auden's poem inspired Leonard Bernstein's Second Symphony, subtitled *The Age of Anxiety* (1949). For an analysis of this piece and how it relates to McCarthyism, see Philip Gentry, "Leonard Bernstein's *The Age of Anxiety*: A Great American Symphony during McCarthyism," *American Music* 29, no. 3 (Fall 2011): 308-331.

[83] Among these blacklisted actors, directors, and writers were Dalton Trumbo, Lester Cole, John Howard Lawson, and Edward Dmytryk. See Bernard F. Dick, *Radical Innocence: A Critical Study of the Hollywood Ten* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989).

[84] Virginia A. Salamone and Frank A. Salamone, "Images of Main Street: Disney World and the American Adventure," *Journal of American Culture* 22, (1999): 85.

[85] Daniel Walker Howe, "American Victorianism as a Culture," *American Quarterly* 27, no. 5 (1975): 507-508.

example, in "The Trolley Song" from the film *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), set in 1904, the young female lead (Judy Garland) sings about a "jolly hour on the trolley" that turns into an idealized romantic encounter in which she loses her "heart instead" of merely taking a ride. In the stage musical *Hello, Dolly!* (1964), "Put on Your Sunday Clothes" evokes the American *fin de siècle* with the line "Get out your brilliantine and dime cigars," new products c. 1900 that showcased ease and refinement. Throughout the song, two young male shop clerks sing about their plan to visit "a world outside of Yonkers" and declare, "We won't come home until we've kissed a girl." Both musicals suggest that young people in late-Victorian America had ample time to run around in their "Sunday clothes," take joy rides on trolleys, and that love was ready at hand. These same musicals were also immensely popular among their respective nostalgia-hungry publics.

At the same time, Cold War-era literature, science-fiction films, and television shows explored fear and its potential to disrupt predictability and security.[86] In Arthur Miller's play, *The Crucible* (1953), a fictionalized account of the Salem Witch Trials, the protagonist John Proctor is wrongfully accused of witchcraft but is offered the chance to sign a false confession that implicates others—an offer he refuses at the expense of his own life. In a 1960 episode of the television series *The Twilight Zone*, "The Monsters are Due on Maple Street," citizens in a small American town conclude that random power outages were caused by a meteor-like object that passes through the night sky and accuse their neighbors of being part of an alien threat. These allegories for McCarthyism and Cold War paranoia comment on ongoing fear and the frantic search for a scapegoat.

[86] Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 131.

How did Walt respond to this social climate? Using barbershop music as a focus, this chapter explores a focal point of Disneyland, namely, the "land" known as Main Street. Conceived to recreate the Age of Innocence, Main Street invites guests to escape from their anxiety-ridden lives. One of its musical highlights is the Dapper Dans, a barbershop quartet that since 1959 has entertained guests with classic barbershop fare, including "Sweet Adeline," "I Want a Girl (Just Like the Girl That Married Dear Old Dad)," "Goodbye, My Coney Island Baby," and barbershop arrangements of songs from Disney films. Since the initial Age of Anxiety, the Dans have served this therapeutic purpose, articulated in a 2023 Disney-sponsored blog on National Barbershop Quartet Day (April 11): "[O]ur harmonies soar to help you say bye-bye to those blues as you walk into the park and enter the world of yesterday."[87] As noted in chapter 1, several scholars have grappled with fabricated worlds rooted in nostalgia. Especially relevant here is the theoretical work of Jean Baudrillard and Umberto Eco, along with the musical scholarship of Gage Averill, Richard Mook, and Clifton Boyd. I will argue that the Dapper Dans's optimistic vision in fact rests on *in*authenticity: a Disneyfied version of barbershop.

Walt and the Age of Anxiety

Walt was not immune to Cold-War anxieties, especially those related to Communism. In January of 1941, many of his animators went on strike for nearly four months, mainly over pay inequity.[88] On October 24, 1947, Walt was called before the House Un-American Activities

[87] The Dapper Dans, "A Harmonious History of the Delightful Dapper Dans of Disney Parks," Disney Parks Blog, accessed September 25, 2023, https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2023/04/a-harmonious-history-of-the-delightful-dapper-dans-of-disney-parks/.
[88] Michael Barrier, *The Animated Man: A Life of Walt Disney* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 1-8.

Committee (HUAC) as a witness to the communist infiltration of the movie industry.[89] During his testimony, Walt alleged that Communism played a major role in the 1941 strike, asserting, "I definitely felt it was a Communist group trying to take over my artists," adding, "and they did take them over."[90] Walt even went on to name names, targeting, for example, the layout artist Dave Hilberman, whom Walt called the "real brains" behind the strike.[91] When asked about his opinion of the Communist Party in general, Walt told the HUAC:

> The thing that I resent most is that they are able to get into these unions, take them over, and represent to the world that a group of people that are in my plant, that I know are good, 100-percent Americans, are trapped by this group, and they are represented to the world as supporting all those ideologies, and it is not so, and I feel that they really ought to be smoked out and shown up for what they are, so that all of the good, free causes in this country, all the liberalisms that really are American, can go without the taint of communism.[92]

Yet Walt was not one to hunt communists. Ultimately, an employee's politics were of no concern to him unless that employee was disrupting the workplace.[93] Nevertheless, the strike left a bitter taste in Walt's mouth. It also informed his conception of Disneyland.

Indeed, Walt built the theme park as an answer to the Age of Anxiety, to restore faith in a safe and prosperous future.[94] On opening day, July 17, 1955, he declared:

> To all who come to this happy place, welcome. Disneyland is your land. Here age relives fond memories of the past, and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future. Disneyland is dedicated to the ideals, the dreams, and the hard facts which have created America—with the hope that it will be a source of joy and inspiration to all the world.[95]

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[89] Ibid., 201.
[90] House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry*, 80th Congress, 1st sess., 1947, 282.
[91] For a definitive study on the Hollywood blacklist, see Victor S. Navasky, *Naming Names* (New York: Viking Press,1980).
[92] HUAC, *Hearings*, 285.
[93] Barrier, *The Animated Man*, 200.
[94] Richard Snow, *Disney's Land: Walt Disney and the Invention of the Amusement Park That Changed the World* (New York: Scribner, 2019), 4-5.
[95] Walt's dedication speech printed in Snow, *Disney's Land*, 264.

As in a real civic ceremony, Walt delivered this speech at Main Street's Town Square, long idealized in the popular imagination as a locus of free expression and civic engagement. Given his feelings about Communism, however, it's ironic that in commenting "Disneyland is your land," he effectively echoes "This Land is Your Land," composed by the famous lefty, Woody Guthrie. Irritated by Irving Berlin's omnipresent "God Bless America," in 1940 Guthrie wrote "This Land is Your Land," including some scathing verses about the ills of private property and the presence of relief offices for the many Americans who didn't feel so "blessed" as they struggled through the Great Depression.[96] (The song's sanitized version, which suppresses these verses, continues to be sung today.) Disneyland could provide a reprieve for a new generation.

When Disneyland opened, the concept of a Main Street that runs through any small American town was nothing new. Neither was its status as a wholesome place, which critics of U.S. life might attack. In his best-selling novel *Main Street* of 1920, Sinclair Lewis offers a damning picture of a late-Victorian Main Street as seen through the eyes of an outsider:

> When Carol had walked for thirty-two minutes she had completely covered the town, east and west, north and south; and she stood at the corner of Main Street and Washington Avenue and despaired.
>
> Main Street with its two-story brick shops, its story-and-a-half wooden residences, its muddy expanse from concrete walk to walk, its huddle of Fords and lumber-wagons, was too small to absorb her. The broad, straight, unenticing gashes of the streets let in the grasping prairie on every side. She realized the vastness and the emptiness of the land.[97]

Despite Lewis's depiction of a complacent, provincial space dwarfed by nature itself ("the land"), Main Street came to assume mythic stature in the American imagination. By the 1940s, major corporations often drew on Main Street imagery to humanize themselves and appeal to American values. An ad for the United States Rubber Company from 1944 showcases a perfect

[96] Mark Allen Jackson, "Is This Song Your Song Anymore?: Revisioning Woody Guthrie's 'This Land Is Your Land,'" *American Music* 20, no. 3 (2002): 249-276.
[97] Sinclair Lewis, *Main Street* (Auckland, New Zealand: The Floating Press, 1920), 64.

small town, with Main Street a conduit for emergency vehicles (Figure 2.1). The ad affirms this holistic vision of the town's main thoroughfare, declaring, "It's hard to imagine the town without its firetrucks, without the trucks that haul farm products to market, and the rubber tired tractors that help the farmer grow those products."[98]

[98] Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 350.



Figure 2.1: United States Rubber Company ad, 1944.[99]

[99] Ibid.

Walt, troubled by his own brush with Communism and yet mindful of "all the good, free causes" in the United States, offered his own conception of Main Street. As noted in chapter 1, Main Street exemplifies Boym's notion of restorative nostalgia, manifested here in Walt's attempt to reconstruct a lost time and place. Eco, however, would describe Main Street as hyperreal. Just as those who behold the wax Venus de Milo "admire the perfection of the fake," Disneyland guests marvel over the flawlessness of Main Street.[100] It's an idealized version of a turn-of-the-twentieth century American small town loosely inspired by Walt's childhood hometown of Marceline, Missouri. Whereas real Main Streets were often dusty or muddy, depending on the weather, Walt's in Disneyland is always clean. Also, quaint streetlamps and pruned trees line Main Street (Figure 2.2). Concrete sidewalks run along both sides of a paved road. There are few or no spaces between buildings, which are all approximately the same height (built to five-eighths scale).[101] Many of the facades represent institutions from late-Victorian American life, including a penny arcade and an emporium. Given the realities outside the park, it isn't surprising that many guests find comfort in hyperreality, here in the ambience of Walt's Main Street.

[100] Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality*, trans. William Weaver (San Diego: Harcourt, 1986), 44.
[101] Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited*, 156



Figure 2.2: Disneyland's Main Street USA.[102]

Music on Main Street

Music is a central part of Main Street's hyperreality. A pianist plays Scott Joplin classics such as "Maple Leaf Rag" on a honky-tonk piano. The Straw Hatters play early jazz standards and classic Disney songs in the Dixieland style, and other groups similarly perform period-evoking music. Additionally, hidden speakers emit a looped playlist that features ragtime and songs from a handful of stage and film musicals that depict the era, such as *Meet Me in St. Louis*, *The Music Man*, and *Hello, Dolly!*, among others. All are instrumental arrangements, yet many guests would surely be familiar with the lyrics. "The Surrey with the Fringe on Top" from the Broadway musical *Oklahoma!* (1943) evokes the early twentieth century in its description of the finest carriage ride money could buy, with its "genuine leather" and the technological innovation

[102] Image taken from "Main Street, U.S.A.," Disneyland Resort, accessed January 31, 2024, https://disneyland.disney.go.com/destinations/disneyland/main-street-usa/.

of "isinglass curtains" (clear window material) that "can roll right down in case there's a change in the weather," confirming the "ideals [and] dreams" that, as Walt noted, "have created America." Like underscoring in a film, the music works its way into the guests' subconscious. The fact that the song is from *Oklahoma!*—a musical that celebrates progress, the American can-do spirit, and community—only enhances Main Street's turn-of-the-twentieth-century scene. These values continue to fascinate today's audiences, as frequent reimaginings of *Oklahoma!* amply demonstrate.[103]

Of all the music on Main Street, the Dapper Dans's ringing barbershop harmonies most aptly capture the spirit of late-Victorian America. But the Dans are far from authentic. To borrow Baudrillard's term for a copy of something that never existed, the Dans offer a simulacrum of barbershop c. 1900. Whether singing barbershop classics or more recent music in the barbershop style, the Dans favor an approach codified in the mid 1920s through the 30s, which differs significantly from that practiced earlier. In doing so, they perform a neo-Victorian mode of white masculinity that emphasizes camaraderie.

Overview of Barbershop

Here, a general definition and brief history of barbershop singing in America is in order. Barbershop is typically defined as four-part, a cappella, close-harmony singing. It features flexible tempos, a plethora of dominant seventh-type chords, chromaticism, just intonation that produces "ringing chords" or "bell tones," and standard arranging devices such as swipes, chord changes that result from one or more singers changing their note while the others remain

[103] See Carol A. Hess, "Heitor Villa-Lobos's *Magdalena:* Classical Music, the Broadway Stage, and the Challenges of Reimagining," *Comparative Cultural Studies: European and Latin American Perspectives* 17 (2023): 80.

constant.[104] A typical barbershop quartet is made up of men and consists of two tenors, a baritone, and a bass. The Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America (SPEBSQSA)—established in 1938 and renamed the Barbershop Harmony Society (BHS) in 2004 (the legal name remains SPEBSQSA)—is careful to note that barbershop is not a genre of music: it's a style of arranging vocal music that can be applied to songs from numerous genres.[105]

Many have debated the racial origins of barbershop music. Early SPEBSQSA documents propagated the myth that the style was established in Elizabethan England and performed by white amateur male singers in small-town barbershops.[106] In the 1920s, however, the African American author, songwriter, and civil-rights activist James Weldon Johnson countered this narrative by arguing for the African American origins of barbershop. Johnson relied on personal memories of the South in the 1880s. "In the days when such [a] thing as a white barber was unknown in the South," he wrote, "every barbershop had its quartet and the young men spent their leisure time 'harmonizing.'"[107] Following Johnson's lead, decades later, Lynn Abbott identified the close relationship between African American quartets and barbershops by examining African American literature.[108] He cites a column published on December 8, 1900, in the *Indianapolis Freeman*, an African American paper, as the first written use of the term

[104] Gage Averill, *Four Parts, No Waiting: A Social History of American Barbershop Harmony* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003), 3, 12; Clifton Boyd, "Keep It Barbershop: Stylistic Preservation and Whiteness in the Barbershop Harmony Society" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2022), 4-5; Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in American* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1979), 278, 294, 296.
[105] "What is Barbershop Music?" Barbershop Harmony Society, accessed September 25, 2023, https://www.barbershop.org/music/about-our-music.
[106] Joe Stern, "History of Barbershop Harmony," *The Harmonizer* 3, no. 4 (1944): 14; C.T. "Deac" Martin, *Keep American Singing* (1948: reprint, Kenosha, WI: SPEBSQSA, 1970), 21-22; Percy A. Scholes, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1938), 77.
[107] James Weldon Johnson, "The Origin of the 'Barber Chord,'" *The Mentor* 17 (February 1929): 53.
[108] Lynn Abbott, "'Play That Barber Shop Chord': A Case for the African American Origin of Barbershop Harmony," *American Music* 10, no. 3 (Autumn 1992): 289-325.

"barber shop," suggesting that the style was a product of African American music making.[109] Abbott concluded that barbershop was an authentic African American experience that whites appropriated. James Earl Henry, who later accepted Abbott's claim, compares stylistic features in detailed transcriptions of African American and white quartet recordings from the 1890s to the 1940s.[110] Henry asserts that barbershop's call-and-response patterns, flexible rhythms, and use of dominant-seventh chords are rooted in African American music, including barbershop, and influenced white quartets. Unfortunately, as he admits, he was unable to arrange the recordings to which he had access in chronological order, thereby rendering the question of influence moot.

A new point of view arose in 2003, when Gage Averill challenged both Abbott and Henry. He argued that they had overlooked the various forms of white close-harmony singing that permeated much nineteenth-century music, including German traditions derived from the Singverein and the influence of touring musical families such as the Hutchinsons and Rainers.[111] Close-harmony singing was in fact widespread: blackface minstrels adopted it and African American minstrels quickly followed suit. The popularity of close-harmony singing in minstrelsy influenced white and African American recreational and concert groups, including the Fisk Jubilee Singers.[112] In sum, a variety of performing forces and genres (harmonized spirituals, plantation ballads, parlor songs, work songs, and novelty songs) influenced what would eventually become known as barbershop.[113] As for the style's racial origins, Averill concludes that like many musical idioms associated with the United States, the cultural origins of

[109] Ibid., 308.
[110] James Earl Henry, "The Origins of Barbershop Harmony: A Study of Barbershop's Musical Links to Other African American Musics as Evidenced through Recordings and Arrangements of Early Black and White Quartets" (PhD diss., Washington University, 2000).
[111] Averill, *Four Parts*, 3-48.
[112] Ibid., 46-47; Sandra Jean Graham, *Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 17-47.
[113] Averill, *Four Parts*, 47.

barbershop is a "complex interaction of black and white forms, performers, aesthetics, styles, and sounds."[114]

Despite the influence of African American music on barbershop, the SPEBSQSA denied African Americans the right to participate in its events. For over two decades the SPEBSQSA's membership and participation rules were deliberately vague or simply unwritten to minimize the threat of civil rights activists, many of whom accused the organization of racism.[115] One instance of racial exclusion occurred during a 1941 SPEBSQSA contest when the Grand Central Red Caps, an African American quartet, was denied the right to compete.[116] In 1958, just four years after the landmark Brown v. Board of Education ruling by the Supreme Court of the United States declared segregation in schools unconstitutional, the SPEBSQSA added a rule to its by-laws that allowed the Board of Directors to remove members "for any reason."[117] As Society board minutes show, however, this rule was invoked only to remove African Americans.[118] Even in 1963, the year of Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous "I Have a Dream" speech, did the Society confer on individual chapters the right to decide on whether to admit nonwhites.[119] This decision echoes the long-vaunted practice of states' rights, long favored by segregationists. Finally, in 2017, the BHS leadership launched its new strategic vision, "Everyone in Harmony," declaring to their all-male and mostly white membership that "[f]irst and foremost, we must unequivocally turn away from any cultural vestiges of exclusion."[120] The following year, the BHS welcomed

[114] Ibid., 48.
[115] Clifton Boyd, "Barbershop Harmony, Racial Dissonance: The Case of 'Project N'" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, online, November 11-21, 2021), 2.
[116] Ibid., 9.
[117] See Henry, "The Origins of Barbershop Harmony," 298.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Averill, *Four Parts,* 133.
[120] Barbershop Harmony Society, "2017 Strategic Vision," July 3, 2017, https://files.barbershop.org/PDFs/EiH/BHS_StratPlan_VisionDocument_AsApprovedUpdated_170703.pdf.

women and people of all gender identities, removing all identity-based membership restrictions.[121]

Just as race played a major role in barbershop's development, so did gender. Barbershop's golden age (1890-1920) coincided with a late-nineteenth century crisis in masculinity. Manhood in the United States had long revolved around resisting the influence of women. It was believed that women intended to rein in men's primal energies, molding them into respectable sons, workers, husbands, and fathers.[122] As the women's movement gained steam at the end of the nineteenth century and women increasingly infiltrated male spheres of leisure and work, many middle-class white men worried about the feminization of America.[123] In *The Bostonians*, Henry James's Basil Ransome expressed such woes:

> The whole generation is womanized; the masculine tone is passing out of the world; it's a feminine, nervous, hysterical, chattering, canting age, an age of hollow phrases and false delicacy and exaggerated solicitudes and coddled sensibilities, which, if we don't soon look out, will usher in the reign of mediocrity, of the feeblest and flattest and most pretentious that has ever been. The masculine character, the ability to dare and endure, to know and yet not fear reality, to look the world in the face and take it for what it is…that is what I want to preserve, or rather…recover.[124]

Furthermore, the "new woman," who came onto the scene around World War I, threatened many men with her upward mobility and her knack for combining independence with femininity.[125] As if this ascent of female power were not enough, another threat to traditional manhood lurked at every turn: nonwhite immigrants, who were viewed as displacing American male workers. As

[121] Clifton Boyd, "Music Theory, Race, and the Barbershop Harmony Society," in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Music Theory*, ed. J. Daniel Jenkins, August 18, 2022, https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197551554.001.0001.
[122] Michael S. Kimmel, *The History of Men: Essays in the History of American and British Masculinities* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 19.
[123] Mook, "White Masculinity in Barbershop," 457; Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 19-35, 63.
[124] James cited in Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 20; Henry James, *The Bostonians* (1886; reis., New York: Modern Library), 293.
[125] Kimmel, *The History of Men*, 63.

early as 1870, four out of nine people living in New York were foreign-born, a fact that then, as now, alarmed defenders of the status quo.[126]

Men responded to these threats by taking up hobbies and organizing fraternal groups in which they could assert their masculinity. They were able to do so, in part, thanks to labor reform in America. By the 1890s, industrial employers decreased working hours and increased holidays and vacation days. In their newfound leisure time, many middle-class white men saw the importance of hobbies. In this pursuit, they were encouraged by the latest medical science. In 1905, the nationally recognized physician William Osler summed up this new spirit: "No man is really happy or safe without a hobby, and it makes precious little difference what the outside interest may be—botany, beetles or butterflies, roses, tulips or irises; fishing, mountaineering or antiquities—anything will do so long as he straddles a hobby and rides it hard."[127] Even activities that might well be considered feminine—butterfly collecting and flower cultivation—were masculinized by the metaphor of riding a horse hard.[128] Some hobbies men could pursue alone but others had social value. Contests, male bonding in the public sphere, and close contact with other men all arose and helped develop male character.[129]

Barbershop was thus an ideal hobby, one that enabled men to perform masculinity while engaging in an edifying activity. The style's close harmonies reflect the sense of camaraderie felt among male singers; indeed, "close harmony" refers not only to barbershop's distinct arranging style but also to the way barbershoppers often stood shoulder-to-shoulder when they performed. Countless quartets yearned for the perfect woman, singing of idealized courtship ("A Bicycle

[126] Ibid.
[127] Osler quoted in Robert A. Stebbins, *The Barbershop Singer: Inside the Social World of Male Musical Hobby* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 61.
[128] Averill, *Four Parts*, 197 n. 4.
[129] Mook, "White Masculinity in Barbershop," 456.

Built for Two") but also male fraternity ("Wedding Bells Are Breaking Up that Gang of Mine"), which bemoans the lack of male companionship "down on the corner" as members of the "gang" marry, one by one. Another favorite topic, not surprisingly, was small-town life, as in the song "A Little Street Where Old Friends Meet." Yet not all barbershoppers were wholesome types. Some sang in vaudeville and burlesque theaters where they earned a reputation as drunken pals who sang out of tune.[130] Between songs, many of these quartets performed bawdy routines that subverted Victorian respectability.[131] As the arranger George Botsford said, "No vaudeville program was complete without a barbershop quartet."[132] Apart from vaudeville, quartets also sang on actual street corners, along with bars, barbershops, and other male-dominated arenas.[133]

Some quartets ventured into the burgeoning recording industry. In 1904, the incongruously named Haydn Quartet recorded on the Victor label, "Sweet Adeline," composed in 1896 by Henry Armstrong and Richard H. Gerard and known as "the national anthem of barbershoppers." (The quartet named itself in honor of composer Franz Joseph Haydn.[134]) Certainly, the song encapsulates the perspective of the longing male, who "pines" in "all [his] dreams" for "the flower of [his] heart." The ensemble showcases the performance practices of many quartets from around the turn of the century: instrumental accompaniments (rather than strictly a cappella singing) and solos (as opposed to continuous four-part harmony).[135] On the Victor recording, a brass-heavy orchestra plays an introduction that quotes the melody. Then, all four voices alternate lines of the verse with the second tenor, also known as the lead. Next, the lead, accompanied by the orchestra, sings the first chorus. When the chorus is repeated, the

[130] Gage Averill, "Bell Tones and Ringing Chords: Sense and Sensation in Barbershop Harmony," *The World of Music* 41, no. 1 (1999): 39; Averill, *Four Parts*, 102.
[131] Averill, *Four Parts*, 56-57.
[132] Joe Stern, "History of Barbershop Harmony," *Harmonizer* 3, no. 4 (1944): 14.
[133] Averill, "Bell Tones and Ringing Chords," 40.
[134] Averill, *Four Parts*, 69.
[135] Ibid., 77.

orchestra drops out and the other three voices join the lead. The orchestra wraps up the selection with a coda.

In the years following World War I, barbershop singing declined as the growing popularity of jazz and dance band music led young men into new directions.[136] Yet the groundwork for a barbershop revival was being laid. Those responsible did not refer to their efforts as a revival. Averill, however, uses the term, as I do here, to explicate the intent to recreate some past vision of barbershop in the present, in other words, to underscore the fact that the movement was rooted in nostalgia.[137] Such a vision was especially attractive in the 1920s. Urbanization, immigration, women's suffrage, labor unions, Black civil rights, socialism, Communism, and, later, the Great Depression all threatened many middle-class white males. In response, Victorian values garnered renewed interest. Revivalists resuscitated especially those that emphasized all the features just described: the pursuit of hobbies, camaraderie, and closeness, both physical and emotional. Such values, which Averill dubs "neo-Victorian," emerge in the musical aspects of the barbershop revival style, the style performed at Disneyland.[138]

The Barbershop Revival: An Invented Tradition

The revival style is thus an invented tradition, a set of practices that appear to be old but in fact are of recent origin.[139] Like the seemingly "ancient" rituals that govern the British monarchy's ceremonies, which historian Eric Hobsbawm reveals are actually products of the late

[136] Boyd, "Keep It Barbershop," 12.
[137] Averill, *Four Parts*, 12-13.
[138] Ibid., 88-91.
[139] Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the barbershop revival established standardization instead of returning to past practices.[140] Several books containing musical arrangements for barbershop quartets published between 1925 and 1932 helped codify this style, but none more so than *Barbershop Ballads* by the musicologist Sigmund Spaeth, thanks to its extensive musical examples, including whole pieces.[141] Spaeth and his contemporaries insisted that the lead sing the melody, harmonized above and below by the tenor and bass, respectively, while the baritone fills in the chord.[142] They voiced chords within an octave and a half or less to preserve closeness. Such voicings were common but until the revival were just one of many used.[143] Revivalists expanded the options for chromatic voice leading beyond strings of secondary dominant chords (circle-of-fifth progressions). For example, they added neighboring chords without dominant function that move freely back and forth (e.g., C7-B7-C7).[144] Unlike their golden-age counterparts, revivalists preferred a cappella singing and disavowed accompaniment, except the piano during rehearsal. They also eschewed the solo verses that were ubiquitous among late-Victorian quartets in favor of continuous four-part harmony.[145]

In addition, revivalists sought to clean up barbershop's sometimes dubious image. An August 1940 issue of *Time* magazine claimed that although "[m]any a U.S. citizen finds it difficult to dissociate barbershop singing from barroom," the SPEBSQSA rarely mixes liquor with song and is proud of its "propriety of songs."[146] A Detroit newspaper article from 1943

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[140] Ibid.
[141] Sigmund Spaeth, ed., *Barbershop Ballads: A Book of Close Harmony* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1925); George Shackley, *Close Harmony: Male Quartets, Ballads, and Funnies with Barber Shop Chords* (New York: Pioneer Music, 1925); Claude Trimble "Deac" Martin, *A Handbook for Adeline Addicts: A Starter for Cold Voices and a Survey of American Balladry* (Cleveland: Schonberg Press, 1932).
[142] Spaeth, *Barbershop Ballads*, 16-17.
[143] Averill, *Four Parts,* 159.
[144] Hamm, *Yesterdays*, 294; Frédéric Döhl, "From Harmonic Style to Genre: The Early History (1890s-1940s) of the Uniquely American Musical Term Barbershop," *American Music* 32, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 126.
[145] Averill, *Four Parts*, 159.
[146] "Flat Feet v. Barflies," *Time*, August 5, 1940, 46.

similarly reveals comparable efforts, noting that "[i]n recent times burlesque renditions of 'Sweet Adeline' have had a repressive influence" thanks to its unsavory connotations. Indeed, "Men who might sometimes have sung a song have turned on the radio rather than resemble an inebriated fellow in a top hat hanging to a lamppost." Yet, the journalist adds in an optimistic tone, "[The SPEBSQSA] has set out to plow under the burlesque version, and it is succeeding."[147] SPEBSQSA members likely sought the wholesomeness depicted in Norman Rockwell's cover piece for a 1936 issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* (Figure 2.3).

[147] "Musical Review," *Detroit Plain Dealer and Daily Leader*, June 30, 1943.



Figure 2.3: Norman Rockwell's *Barbershop Quartet* for the *Saturday Evening Post*, September 26, 1936.[148]

[148] Image taken from Jeff Nilsson, "Rockwell Files: Barbershop Quartet," The Saturday Evening Post, accessed December 22, 2023, https://www.saturdayeveningpost.com/2021/03/rockwell-files-barbershop-quartet/.

Rockwell's "Barbershop Quartet" established the revival's look for generations. The late-Victorian vests, armbands, and shirts with stiff, detachable collars all point to an era considered innocent and pure. Yet Rockwell slips in a bit of naughtiness, perhaps reminding viewers of barbershop's previous association with impropriety in burlesque and vaudeville. The rightmost singer holds a copy of *The National Police Gazette*, a popular late-Victorian "gentlemen's" magazine that sensationalized both murders and women of ill repute.[149] The viewer can almost hear the singers' bell-tone voices as they harmonize ringing chords. One can imagine the rightmost singer, slightly removed from the others, as the lead, holding onto a note in the melody. The other three men listen closely to each other as they move on to other colorful chords that include the lead's note, creating swipes. A sentimental mood prevails: the leftmost singer, with his head cocked slightly and his upward gaze, is conceivably dreaming of his sweet Adeline. One unmistakable feature is male camaraderie. To be sure, such homosocial camaraderie was not thought to be a marker of homosexuality. As Richard Mook notes, "a man could be close with and even have sex with another man without being feminized or labeled 'gay' so long as he performed a dominant, masculine role."[150]

Walt and Barbershop

Around 1951, fifteen years after Rockwell evoked a barbershop quartet, Walt attempted to create his own, albeit out of mechanical miniatures. Walt's long-time passion for building and collecting miniatures, especially train sets, led to his idea for Disneylandia, an exhibit that would travel by rail and showcase historical dioramas devoted to small-town America, with some

[149] Ibid.
[150] Mook, "White Masculinity," 457; See also George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 36-46.

equally wholesome variants.[151] In November 1952, the *Los Angeles Times* described one of the dioramas to be included in the show: "an eight-foot-long replica of a Midwest pioneer farm home, handicrafted [*sic*] by Disney in every minute detail of structure."[152] Among these dioramas Walt dreamed up was a barbershop quartet performance.[153] The mouths of four mechanical singers were to be synchronized with recorded voices. However, only two of the mechanical barbershoppers were completed when Walt was forced to stop the construction of Disneylandia due to logistical problems associated with railroad schedules.[154] Although Disneylandia never became a fully-fledged reality, it was a precursor to Disneyland. Furthermore, it reveals Walt's interest in barbershop and its role in American life.

In 1957, two years after Disneyland opened, Walt and his team decided to enhance Main Street with a male quartet.[155] The park's talent supervisor, Charles "Chuck" Corson, was a former stage manager for Fred Waring's Pennsylvanians, a big band in which the instrumentalists were also strong vocalists and which promoted a patriotic, clean-cut vision of America.[156] Corson contacted some of the Pennsylvanians and invited them to perform as The Main Street Quartet.[157] They were not trained barbershoppers. But Earl Moon, an esteemed arranger and member of the SPEBSQSA, coached The Main Street Quartet to produce a more classic—that is, revivalist—barbershop sound and by 1959 the group was officially known as the

[151] Barrier, *The Animated Man*, 231; Averill, *Four Parts*, 144.
[152] "Disney to Unveil Feature at California Living Fete," *Los Angeles Times,* November 28, 1952, 25.
[153] Randy Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1987), 17; Jack E. Janzen and Leon J. Lanzen, "An Interview with Harper Goff," *The "E" Ticket* 14 (Winter 1992-93): 5.
[154] Barrier, *The Animated Man*, 231.
[155] Chad Bennett, interview by author, March 28, 2023.
[156] Nico Schüler, "Waring, Fred(erick Malcolm)," *New Grove Online,* accessed December 24, 2023.
[157] A 2023 Dapper Dans blog post on the Disney Parks website states that the first ensemble was called Four Guys and a Girl. However, I have found no evidence of such a group, especially one including a woman. See The Dapper Dans, "A Harmonious History of the Delightful Dapper Dans of Disney Parks," *Disney Parks Blog*, accessed September 25, 2023, https://disneyparks.disney.go.com/blog/2023/04/a-harmonious-history-of-the-delightful-dapper-dans-of-disney-parks/.

Dapper Dans.[158] Figure 2.4 depicts the founding members from left to right: John Borneman (tenor), Roger Axworthy (lead), T.J. Marker (bass), and Ted Nichols (baritone). It was Marker who renamed the group, borrowing a turn-of-the-twentieth-century term for a well-dressed and groomed man.[159] (Ironically, given barbershop's history of past racial discrimination, Dapper Dan is also the nickname of the Black entrepreneur and fashion designer Daniel Day, who founded and operated the Harlem-based black clothing store Dapper Dan's Boutique between 1982 and 1992.[160])



Figure 2.4: The Dapper Dans of Disneyland c. 1959. Photo courtesy of Chad Bennett.

One song the Dans have performed since their Disneyland debut is "Meet Me Down on Main Street," with music by Oliver Wallace and lyrics by Tom Adair. The song was originally titled "Crazy Over Daisy" and appeared in a 1950 Donald Duck animated short of the same name, but with different lyrics.[161] Its melodic structure, consisting of a descending outline of the

[158] Jack E. Janzen and Leon J. Janzen, "Dapper Dans of Disneyland," *The"E" Ticket* 27 (Summer 1997): 5.
[159] Ibid.; Bennett, interview; Jim Korkis, "Walt Disney World Chronicles: The Dapper Dans," All Ears, accessed November 20, 2023, https://allears.net/walt-disney-world-chronicles-the-dapper-dans/.
[160] Barry Michael Cooper, "The Tailor of 125th Street: After Gucci's 'homage,'" *New York Times*, June 4, 2017.
[161] Korkis, "WDW Chronicles: The Music of Main Street."

tonic triad, is reminiscent of the Gay-Nineties waltz "Daisy Bell (Bicycle Built for Two)," a clever allusion given the name of Donald's female counterpart.[162] In 1957, new lyrics were added, and the Mellomen Barbershop Quartet recorded it as "Meet Me Down on Main Street" for a Disneyland Records album dedicated to Disneyland's Main Street.[163] Like many barbershop chestnuts, the song addresses courtship rituals with lines like "We'll take a ride on an old horsecar/ I'll buy you a chocolate bar."

Another song the Dans have often crooned over the years is Leigh Harline and Ned Washington's "When You Wish Upon a Star" from Disney's animated feature *Pinocchio* (1940), confirming the BHS's insistence that barbershop is not a genre but a style, one that can be applied to numerous kinds of songs. The song, much like Walt's Disneyland opening-day speech, is about dreams coming true for all. The first verse is full of such optimism: "When you wish upon a star/ Makes no difference who you are/ Anything your heart desires/ Will come to you." The typical guest was likely familiar with this song thanks to *Pinocchio*. In the 1950s, moreover, it accompanied the opening credits for *Disneyland*, the earliest version of the weekly television series that highlighted various aspects of the park and all things Disney more generally and which endured for decades since its 1954 launch. Given this long-standing association, "When You Wish Upon a Star" is widely considered the Walt Disney Company's theme song, making it a fitting choice for the Dans to sing as guests enter the park.

[162] "Crazy Over Daisy" is not the only composition that alludes to "Bicycle Built for Two." One of Milton Babbitt's first totally synthesized works, *Ensembles for Synthesizer* of 1964, hews closely to the popular tune. See Carol A. Hess, *Aaron Copland in Latin America: Music and Cultural Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2023), 232.
[163] Korkis, "WDW Chronicles: The Music of Main Street."

The Dapper Dans, *The Music Man*, and the Revivalist Style

While the Dapper Dans introduced millions of mid-century Disneyland guests to barbershop, the style lingered in the public imagination on an even larger scale thanks to Meredith Willson's Broadway hit of 1957, *The Music Man*. Set in 1912, the celebrated musical depicts the fictitious Midwestern town, River City. An unscrupulous traveling salesman, Professor Harold Hill (the title is bogus), makes his living by selling instruments and uniforms for boys' bands. Despite his lack of credentials, he promises to teach the boys how to play music and absconds with the money he collects in advance. In River City (Iowa), he incites fear among the gullible townspeople by claiming that the local pool hall is "trouble" and will corrupt their sons. A brass band, however, will help turn young people away from the path of sin—a path he eventually decides to follow himself. Throughout the musical, barbershop plays an important role. A quartet, whose members are played by the 1950 SPEBSQSA international contest-winning Buffalo Bills, intervenes at critical moments. Cast as four squabbling school-board members, the quartet tries to prove Hill is a fraud. Yet the conman coaxes them into singing together and takes off unnoticed as they continue to harmonize. Thanks to their gullibility and the camaraderie barbershop fosters, the men become inseparable. At one point they sing of romantic love, one factor in Hill's ultimate capitulation to virtuous behavior. In the end, the townspeople forgive Hill—now happily coupled with the town librarian—for selling them a bill of goods: the boys' band, however ineptly they play, has nonetheless instilled pride in the community and brought unlikely people together.

The SPEBSQSA was so enthusiastic about *The Music Man* that it helped publicize the 1962 film version. Besides its artistic virtues, the musical's setting of a conservative white

community resonated with the nostalgic ideals of SPEBSQSA members.[164] The Society joined Warner Brothers in sponsoring a "Music Man Quartet Contest." Several hundred chapters organized contests in which they sang tunes from the musical. Winning quartets were awarded prizes by Willson himself and got to perform at the film's premiere at local theaters. Theatergoers previously unaware of barbershop now had the sound in their ear. Many would visit Disneyland.

One peak moment in *The Music Man* is the barbershop number "Lida Rose," the sentimental love song mentioned above. Accordingly, it became the Dapper Dans's most requested song.[165] Willson composed the tune, but as is customary in musical theater, someone else likely wrote the final arrangement. Given the intricacies of barbershop arranging, perhaps it was the veteran SPEBSQSA member Floyd Connett, who was directly involved with *The Music Man*, coaching the Buffalo Bills.[166] Furthermore, Connett published an arrangement of "Lida Rose" in 1958, which the Dapper Dans sing.[167] Only the addition of an eight-bar introduction, pulled from the last two lines, distinguishes this version from the one in the musical.

As shown in Musical Example 2.1, the arrangement is a prime example of the revival style. First is the spacing between voices.[168] The chorus's opening chord in m. 9 spans only an octave and is reduced to a minor sixth on beat four. Subsequent sonorities comprise a major sixth until m. 12 on the word "sky," where the voices span a major tenth, still within the typical

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[164] Leanne Wood, "'Persuasive Americanism'? The Reactionary Promotion and Reception of Warner Bros.' *The Music Man* (1962), *American Music* 31, no. 4 (2013): 481.
[165] Bennett, interview.
[166] Tom Pearce, "Floyd Connett—Polecat Arranger," Tee-idle-dum-dum, accessed December 28, 2023, https://teeidledumdum.wordpress.com/2014/12/08/floyd-connett-polecat-arranger/.
[167] Bennett, interview.
[168] My transcription reflects the same harmonies Connett wrote but differs in the "Lightly Swung" indication and in a few rhythms I heard the Dans employ on May 1, 2022.

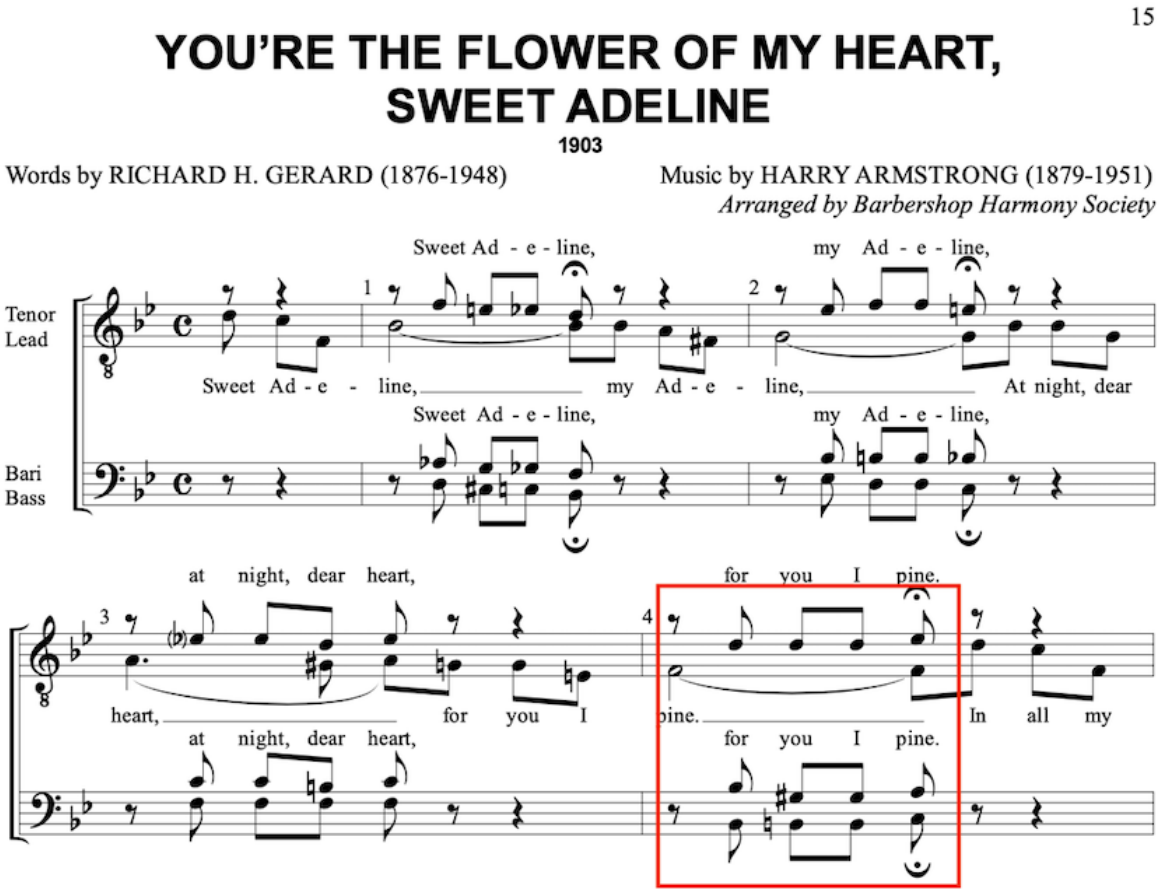
octave-and-a-half range found in revivalist arrangements. This move echoes the expansiveness of the sun-filled sky, exemplified by the absent Lida Rose herself:



Musical Example 2.1: Meredith Willson's "Lida Rose," mm. 9-12, as performed by the Dapper Dans on May 1, 2022. Transcribed by the author.

A second feature is chromatic harmony and voice leading. Chromatic passing motion in m. 10 links the tonic chord (F major) in m. 9 to the dominant chord (C7) in m. 11. The linking chord is a raised submediant diminished seventh (D-sharp dim 7) and first occurs on the word "home." Having strayed far from F major, the listener's ear longs to return to the tonic just as the song's narrator longs to return home. Since the D-sharp dim 7 is in first inversion, the bass can ascend smoothly from F to G by half step. While the lead (tenor 2) and baritone hold common tones—A and C, respectively—between the first two chords, the first tenor descends by whole step from F to D-sharp when the D-sharp is read enharmonically as E-flat. Between mm. 10 and 11 the bass and first tenor move to the dominant by half step while the baritone falls by a whole step. The lead's leap from A to D in mm. 10-11 is an appoggiatura that resolves to C. Thus,

common tones and smooth voice leading allow the Dans to move elegantly to and from the chromatic chord. Though this progression may seem peculiar to some, it was common in revivalist barbershop, including in m. 4 of the perennial favorite, "Sweet Adeline" (Musical Example 2.2).



Musical Example 2.2: SPEBSQSA arrangement of "Sweet Adeline" from 1973.

Another instance of chromaticism in "Lida Rose" occurs on the third beat of m. 11, where a B7 is surrounded by two C7 chords. Here, the melody's B-natural is the chromatic lower neighbor to the lead's main note in the phrase, C. The other three voices harmonize the B by falling a half step, allowing the Dans to ring parallel dominant seventh chords. The B7 doesn't function as the dominant of E; instead, it functions as a chromatic passing chord that decorates

the true dominant seventh of the tune, C7. Throughout the rest of the arrangement, chromaticism arises as a result of the secondary dominants so distinctive of barbershop.

In short, the close harmonies of "Lida Rose" reflect closeness among the male singers, which is reinforced by their rhythmic unison. The lyrics, however, evoke an idealized courtship yet one beset by distance, uncertainty, and longing. The narrator, a wandering bachelor announces his return home:

> Lida Rose, I'm home again, Rose
> To get the sun back in the sky.
> Lida Rose, I'm home again, Rose
> About a thousand kisses shy.
> Ding, dong, ding!
> I can hear the chapel bell chime.
> Ding, dong, ding!
> At the least suggestion I'll pop the question.
>
> Lida Rose, I'm home again, Rose
> Without a sweetheart to my name.
> Lida Rose, how everyone knows
> That I am hoping you're the same.
> So here is my love song,
> Not fancy or fine.
> Lida Rose, oh, won't you be mine?

As in "Sweet Adeline," the narrator "pines" for a woman. Tellingly, he admits his "love song" is "Not fancy or fine," perhaps revealing his status as an amateur, pursuing his hobby of barbershop singing.

The Dapper Dans and *The Music Man* are often promoted as wholesome tributes to small-town American life. The Dans's "scintillating selection of Americana" is "an act the whole family will love," according to the Disneyland website.[169] Willson himself described *The Music Man* as a "rosy-colored look over his shoulder at the people and places of his small-town

[169] "The Dapper Dans," Disneyland, accessed January 19, 2024, https://disneyland.disney.go.com/entertainment/disneyland/dapper-dans/.

childhood."[170] However, some have read it as quite the opposite. Theater director Scott Miller calls the musical, with its crook of a hero, "savage satire" that "takes gleefully wicked potshots at most of what Americans hold dear—small town generosity, family values, representative government, education, [and] the Fourth of July."[171] Furthermore, Hill's spreading fear can be interpreted as a metaphor for McCarthyism that mocks the town's susceptibility to the conman.[172] Were Disneyland guests mindful of these sinister hints as they took in Main Street and the Dapper Dans singing "Meet Me Down on Main Street," "When You Wish Upon a Star," or "Lida Rose" during the Age of Anxiety? Did they care that the Dans's performance style is not historically informed? Probably not. They were likely taken by the very same thing that Professor Hill sold the people of River City: fantasy, albeit one rooted in restorative nostalgia.

[170] Meredith Willson, "The Sounds of Boyhood," *Dallas Times Herald*, August 5, 1962.
[171] Scott Miller, *Deconstructing Harold Hill: An Insider's Guide to Musical Theater* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000), 73.
[172] On *The Music Man* and the Cold War, see Wood, "Persuasive Americanism," 475-500; Carol Oja, "*West Side Story* and *The Music Man*: whiteness, immigration, and race in the US during the late 1950s," *Studies in Musical Theater* 3, no. 1 (2009): 13-30; Miller, *Deconstructing Harold Hill*,73-94.

Chapter 3: Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room: A Swingin' South Seas Simulacrum

When guests reach the hub at the end of Disneyland's Main Street, the path to their immediate left leads to Adventureland, a "land" dedicated to locales that many midcentury white middle-class Americans deemed exotic: Asia, Polynesia, Central and South America, and Africa. On the left side of the Adventureland entrance, totem poles decorated with primitivist face carvings hold up a sign that reads "Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room." The Tiki Room itself is a large, thatched hut that, since opening on June 23, 1963, has presented on the half hour a nostalgic Polynesian-themed musical revue celebrating tiki culture.

Polynesia is a triangular region in the Pacific Ocean that is both multicultural and multilingual, stretching from Hawaii in the north to New Zealand in the southwest and to Easter Island in the southeast.[173] In Polynesian mythology, which subsumes these island cultures and societies into one oversimplified moniker, Tiki is considered the first man.[174] Over time, this Polynesian Adam evolved into a demigod that native peoples worshipped. Eventually, "tiki" came to refer to representations of man, especially via wooden carvings. In American English, the term has also come to suggest a culture, presumably Polynesian, that embraces beverages (tiki punch), sources of illumination (tiki torches), and venues (tiki bars and restaurants). This phenomenon surged in the first half of the twentieth century, as American bachelors, housewives, and suburbanites increasingly sought relief from the doldrums of daily life. Tiki-themed spaces, especially bars, did a brisk business while many people held luaus in their suburban backyards, complete with tiki torches, as their guests sported aloha wear and consumed

[173] Robert D. Craig, *Handbook of Polynesian Mythology* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 2.
[174] For definitions and histories of tiki see Sven A. Kirsten, *The Book of Tiki: The Cult of Polynesian Pop in Fifties America* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2000); Sven A. Kirsten, *Tiki Pop: America Imagines Its Own Polynesian Paradise* (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2015); Francesco Adinolfi, *Mondo Exotica: Sounds, Visions, Obsessions of the Cocktail Generation* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008).

plenty of alcohol. The craze ended in the late 1960s, as many baby boomers rejected their parents' cultural symbols, including tiki, and sought more authentic cultural experiences.[175] Thus, Disneyland's Tiki Room remains a lasting vestige of tiki culture, one, moreover, that raises some significant questions about music's role in this alluring fad.

The Tiki Room evokes what Fred Davis calls "collective nostalgia," a condition in which well-known symbols simultaneously trigger nostalgia in a group of people.[176] As Davis asserts, people need not have experienced something firsthand to feel nostalgic for it. For example, in reference to Main Street's 1900 setting, he writes that Disney is so successful at "celebrating and memorializing this 'age of innocence'" that, "even though we may not have lived then, we feel—because of the movies we have seen, the stories we have read, the radio serials we've listened to—'as if we had.'"[177] Similarly, the Tiki Room draws on symbols of tiki culture that evoke collective memories of Polynesia, shaped by literature, film, music, tiki bars, restaurants, and for many, recollections of the Pacific theater during World War II. The Tiki Room is therefore a simulacrum—an artificial construct—built from nostalgia and commercialized exoticism rather than an authentic representation of Polynesian culture.

Of course, Disney's presentation of tiki differs from that found in midcentury bars. Those venues, where mai tais flowed freely and sexual fantasies seemed within reach, were designed for adults. The Imagineers therefore were obliged to Disneyfy tiki to make it family-friendly entertainment—not by erasing its adult themes but by cleverly coding them. This transformation relied on Disney's technological innovations, all enhanced by music.

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[175] Jason Henderson and Adam Foshko, *California Tiki: A History of Polynesian Idols, Pineapple Cocktails and Coconut Palm Trees* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2018), 87-92; Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 343-358.
[176] Davis, *Yearning for Yesterday*, 122.
[177] Ibid., 121.

Drawing on Davis's conception of collective nostalgia, this chapter explores the ways in which the Tiki Room and its music reflect tiki's social and aesthetic values. I begin with a survey of tiki's development and the music that accompanied it, highlighting the sources that inspired the Disney composers' contributions to the Tiki Room. Then I analyze their borrowings. All, I argue, evoke collective nostalgia for tiki culture and Disneyfy myths and memories of the South Seas on a broad cultural level.

Fetishization of the South Seas

In the mid-eighteenth century, the British empire and its rival, France, set their sights on global conquest. Tasked with finding a supposed continent in the South Pacific, the Royal Navy Captain Samuel Wallis discovered Tahiti in 1767.[178] A year later, the French explorer Louis Antoine de Bougainville became the second European to reach the island.[179] The environment, characterized by lush vegetation, idyllic beaches, and bare-breasted indigenous women, seemed like heaven on Earth to Wallis and Bougainville. These explorers, along with the scientists who accompanied them, published expedition travelogues filled with descriptions of Edenic island life, especially emphasizing the Polynesians' comparatively liberal sexual mores. Bougainville's botanist, Philibert Commerson, wrote in his "Postscript: On the Island of New Cythera or Tahiti" of 1769 that for the Polynesian man, "the entire island is his temple, every woman his altar, and every man his celebrant." Commerson then addresses his readers more pointedly: "And women

[178] D.W. Waters, "The Cook Bicentenary: Reflexions [*sic*] upon Some of the Effects of the Three Voyages of Captain James Cook to the Pacific between 1768 and 1780," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 4, no. 2 (December 1968): 161.
[179] Jacqueline Dutton, "Imperial Eyes on the Pacific Prize: French Visions of a Perfect Penal Colony on the South Seas," in *Discovery and Empire: The French in the South Seas*, ed. John West-Sooby (Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2013), 245-46.

of what kind I hear you ask? The rivals of Georgians [women in Southern Russia] in beauty…there neither shame nor modesty exercise their tyranny at all."[180]

By the nineteenth century, as the indelible impact of industrialization had made itself felt in some European countries, these travelogues created quite a stir. Indeed, some artists and writers set out to chase the fantasies they read about. Perhaps the most celebrated champion of South Seas life was the French painter Paul Gauguin, who left his wife and children in 1891 to settle in Tahiti.[181] Gauguin had the courage—some would say the lack of responsibility—to challenge the arbitrary strictures of bourgeois life and give up everything for his art. His paintings from this period, which often feature nude, dark-skinned women, capture a romanticized version of Tahitian life, one full of vivid colors and exotic sensuality.[182]

But Gauguin was part of a decades-long fascination with Polynesia. In 1846, Herman Melville detailed his stay in the Marquesas Islands in *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*:

> The Marquesas! What strange visions of outlandish things does the very name spirit up! Naked houris [beautiful young women]—cannibal banquets—groves of cocoa-nut—coral reefs—tattooed chiefs—and bamboo temples; sunny valleys planted with breadfruit-trees—carved canoes dancing on the flashing blue waters—savage woodlands guarded by horrible idols—heathenish rites and human sacrifices.[183]

In response to the public's hunger for more stories about Polynesians, Melville expanded his adventures into a trilogy with *Omoo* (1847) and *Mardi* (1849), both of which are informed by his experience as a sailor free from societal constraints.

South Sea tales became a popular literary genre thanks to authors such as Robert Louis Stevenson and Jack London. In 1888, Stevenson sailed the South Pacific in search of a warm

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[180] Philibert Commerson, "Postscript: On the Island of New Cythera or Tahiti," in *Strangers in the South Seas: The Idea of the Pacific in Western Thought*, ed. Richard Lansdown (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 82.
[181] Robert Anderson, *Artists in Their Time: Paul Gauguin* (London: Franklin Watts, 2003), 30.
[182] Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Paul Gauguin: An Erotic Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 168-189.
[183] Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1968), 5.

climate that might alleviate his chronic respiratory disease and was inspired to write *Island Nights' Entertainments* (1893), *In the South Seas* (1896), and *The Ebb-Tide* (1894), to name a few.[184] These stories feature sea-voyage adventures and examine the impact of colonialism on Polynesia through characters who exploit the islands' natural resources or impose Christianity on indigenous people. The American Jack London detailed his 1907 voyage of the South Pacific in *The Cruise of the Snark* (1911), also publishing the collection *South Sea Tales* the same year. Young people were titillated. One who was especially impressed was the ornithologist, naturalist, and oceanographer William Beebe, who recalled devouring these tales in his youth. Along with his friends, he "dreamed of Far Isles of Romance and Earthly Paradises slightly diluted with Cannibals."[185] In other words, Beebe and his companions experienced collective nostalgia for an idyllic yet adventurous place they had read about but never visited.

Film followed suit.[186] In the early days of the medium, love and sex were often at the center of South Seas films, particularly relationships between white men and indigenous women.[187] In D.W. Griffith's *The Idol Dancer* (1920), two white American men fall in love with a native girl known as "White Almond Flower." Similarly, *Mutiny on the Bounty* (1935) highlights the relationships between HMS Bounty mutineers and Tahitian women, with advertisements for the film depicting the protagonist, the painter Fletcher Christian (Clark Gable), looking longingly into the eyes of a Tahitian woman (Mamo Clark) wrapped tightly in his arms. In contrast, *The Hurricane* (1937) revolves around a native couple—portrayed,

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[184] A.E. Guttmacher, J.R. Callahan, "Did Robert Louis Stevenson have hereditary hemorrhagic telangiectasia?" *American Journal of Medical Genetics* 91, no. 1 (March 2000): 62-65.
[185] William Beebe, "Introduction," in *The Pacific World: Its Vast Distances, Its Lands and the Life Upon Them, And its Peoples*, ed. Fairfield Osborn (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1944), 1-2.
[186] Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon, *Hollywood's South Seas and the Pacific War: Searching for Dorothy Lamour* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[187] Susan Courtney, *Hollywood Fantasies of Miscegenation: Spectacular Narratives of Gender and Race, 1903-1967* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 129.

nonetheless, by white actors Dorothy Lamour and John Hall.[188] Critics played up the film's raciness, long associated with the islands. On November 5, 1937, *Variety* reported that Lamour's "pagan love scenes with Hall are played in a frankly ardent note, and she wears the abbreviated sarong most alluringly."[189]

It's perhaps not surprising that these cultural expressions—whether novels, paintings, or films—ultimately gave rise to tiki-themed bars, nightclubs, and restaurants, all of which promised nostalgic escapism. In fact, Clark Gable and his stunt double, Art LaShelle, subsequently turned the *Mutiny on the Bounty* film set into a Polynesian bar in Balboa, California, and named it Christian's Hut after Gable's movie character. "Hurricane" bars inspired by sets from the eponymous film also opened in major cities across the United States.[190] Similar restaurants soon sprang up. Two of the most famous were Don the Beachcomber and Trader Vic's, both of which expanded into national franchises. They served Chinese and Hawaiian-inspired dishes and cocktails that featured Caribbean rums. All these tropical hideaways—filled with tiki torches, totem poles, leis, bamboo, rattan furniture, palm trees, artificial waterfalls, bright colored fabrics, and carved tikis—marketed an aesthetic that exploited an amalgamation of Polynesian, Chinese, and Caribbean iconography.[191]

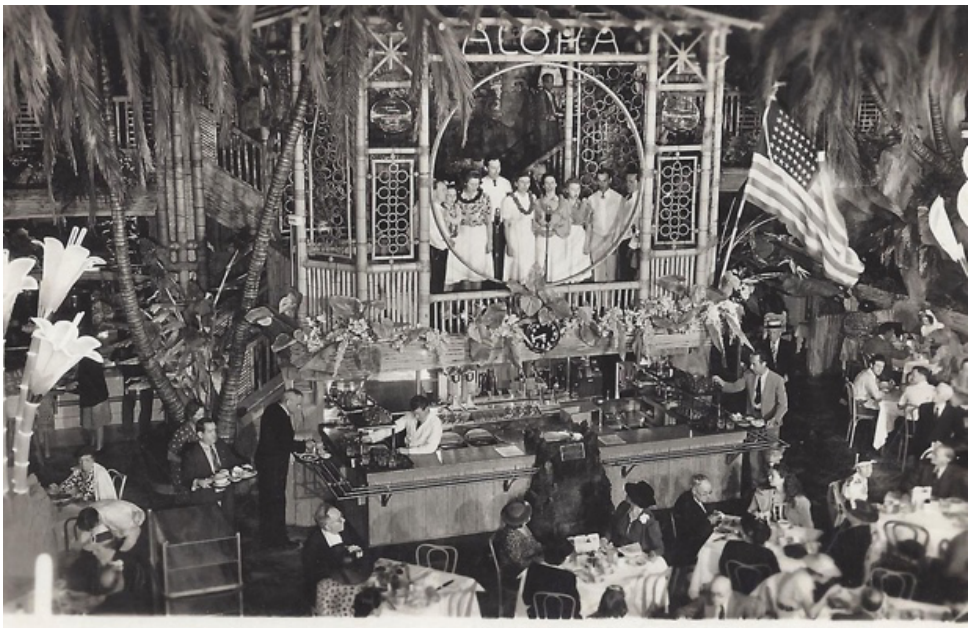
Walt Disney frequented some of these restaurants, including Clifton's Pacific Seas Cafeteria in downtown Los Angeles (Figure 3.1).[192] Like the bars mentioned above, Clifton's interior resembled a movie set. *Life* magazine, celebrated for its photojournalism, reported:

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[188] Sean Brawley and Chris Dixon, "Pardon My Sarong: The Arrival of Dorothy Lamour," in *The South Seas: A Reception History from Daniel Defoe to Dorothy Lamour* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 237-254.
[189] *Variety*, November 5, 1937.
[190] Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 62-68.
[191] Andrew Pilsch, "Polynesian Paralysis: Tiki Culture and the Aesthetics of American Empire," in *The Shaken and the Stirred*, ed. Stephen Schneider and Craig N. Owens (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2020), 224.
[192] Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 76; Kirsten, *The Book of Tiki,* 191-192; Roger Vincent, "Happy trays: A renovated Clifton's cafeteria is set to reopen after nearly four years," *Los Angeles Times,* August, 15, 2015, https://www.latimes.com/business/la-fi-cliftons-redo-20150816-story.html.

> For 30¢, and even less, a customer at Clifton's Pacific Seas in Los Angeles can sit in a dining room furnished with man-made waterfalls and rainstorms, aviaries and aquariums, thatched huts and huge neon-lighted flowers. He can hear an organ playing and birds singing. He can also get a pretty substantial meal of meat, vegetables, dessert and beverage.[193]

While an organ accompanying tropical birds is surely an odd combination, the atmosphere nonetheless appealed to Walt. The extravagant restaurant was eventually razed, yet Clifton's Pacific Seas lived on in Walt's memory to the point that it informed his conception of the Tiki Room. In fact, Walt originally envisioned the Tiki Room as a dining experience. Once he realized guests would stop eating to watch the show and then feel rushed to finish their meals before the next scheduled round of guests, however, he scrapped the idea.[194]



[193] "Life Visits Clifton's Cafeteria," *Life*, November 27, 1944, 102.
[194] Stacia Martin, *The Sounds of Disneyland* (Italy: The Walt Disney Company, 2005), 15; Sophie Jo, "A Feathered Family: Creating The Birds of *Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room*," *The Walt Disney Family Museum*, accessed April 17, 2023, https://www.waltdisney.org/blog/feathered-family-creating-birds-walt-disneys-enchanted-tiki-room.



Figure 3.1: Interior (top) and exterior (bottom) of Clifton's Pacific Seas c. 1944.[195]

This romanticized conception of the South Pacific and tiki culture more generally changed dramatically after December 7, 1941, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Many men who knew the South Pacific only from restaurants, nightclubs, books, and movies now found themselves on remote islands conspicuously bereft of free-flowing rum and attentive, dark-skinned women draped in sarongs. Although the lucky few stationed away from the action got to enjoy the beautiful scenery, most island experiences were far from idyllic. Sandy beaches quickly became littered with the wounded and dead and machine gun bullets filled the air. By the end of the war, nearly 100,000 men had been killed in the so-called "South Seas paradise."[196]

Yet media and corporations refused to give up the South Seas myths that had been popular for almost two centuries, even as the war transformed the Pacific into a battleground. A

[195] Images taken from "Clifton's Pacific Seas (Original)—on Olive Street—Los Angeles," mytiki.life, accessed February 10, 2023, https://mytiki.life/tiki-bars/cliftons-pacific-seas.
[196] Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 127-28.

1944 Cannon towel ad exemplifies this trend (Figure 3.2). It depicts soldiers frolicking on a beach in varying states of nudity with thatched huts as a backdrop while curious natives look on, assuring consumers that American GIs are having a good time in the Pacific. The ad notes that "[m]illions of Cannon towels are now going to the Armed Forces," resulting in a smaller selection in stores. To compensate, it offers consumers tips on how to make their towels "stay durable for the duration" of the war. Much in the same spirit that motivated Victory Gardens, the ad framed conservation as a patriotic duty to ensure troops had adequate supplies. By wrapping patriotism in tiki imagery, the ad also helped lay the groundwork for a postwar tiki boom, which repackaged wartime fantasies as escapist leisure.



Figure 3.2: Cannon Towels ad, 1944.[197]

[197] Image taken from Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 132.

At war's end, as shell-shocked GIs returned from the Pacific theater, many repressed their traumatic memories and selectively embellished their adventures.[198] Hardly anyone wanted to hear stories about men blown to pieces and veterans rarely wanted to discuss them. Those who did recount their experiences typically focused on frivolity and romance: drinking and gambling with fellow soldiers, singing, chasing nurses and native women, and other activities that men occupied themselves with as they waited for action.[199] Accordingly, a plethora of books, films, and television shows about such soldiers stationed in the region arose. In 1947, James Michener published *Tales of the South Pacific*, a collection of stories about American soldiers serving in the Solomon Islands.[200] In his review of the collection for the *New York Times*, David Dempsey writes that Michener "captured the phase of war that most GI's [*sic*] in the Pacific will want to remember—the faming [*sic*] sunsets, the quiet, pellucid lagoons of some forgotten atoll, jungles that breathed mystery as well as malaria."[201] Two years later, the redoubtable Broadway team of composer Richard Rodgers and lyricist Oscar Hammerstein II turned Michener's stories into the hit musical *South Pacific*. A successful film adaptation followed in 1958. Just as *South Pacific* drew attention to the contrast between the exotic island culture and the world of the U.S. military, critics emphasized the region's overall appeal. No less than Bosley Crowther of the *New York Times* reported on March 23, 1958, that the film "could almost be a documentary of the lighter side of war" with its "rainbow colors" that wash over the "participants on a Pacific island beach."[202] Musical selections such as "Bali Ha'i" further enhance the film's dreamy

[198] Ron Langer, "Combat Trauma, Memory, and the World War II Veteran," *War, Literature, and the Arts* 23, no. 1 (2011), https://www.goldenarrowresearch.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Combat-Trauma-Memory-and-the-WWII-Veteran.pdf; Michael C.C. Adams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015), 120-124, 130-147.
[199] Henderson, *California Tiki*, 25-26.
[200] Michener also published other books that take place in the region, including the best-seller *Hawaii* (1959).
[201] David Dempsey, "Atolls of the Sun," *New York Times*, February 2, 1947, BR5.
[202] Bosley Crowther, "'South Pacific': Musical Show Is Given Vivid Color On Screen," *New York Times,* March 23, 1958, XI.

atmosphere, transporting viewers to an enchanting and mysterious island. In addition, the sitcom *McHale's Navy*, launched in 1962, took up the "lighter side" of the Pacific War. Set on the fictional island base of Taratupa, the show is about Lieutenant Commander McHale (Ernest Borgnine) and his crew of misfits whose activities consist mainly of attracting women and living a life of leisure. Thus, despite Guadalcanal, Coral Sea, and other bitter struggles—that many would remember all too clearly—the islands were still portrayed as an escape.

Some authors and filmmakers examined the darker side of postwar life, however. Sloan Wilson's *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* of 1955, adapted for film the following year, explores the alienation of a middle-class man, Tom Rath (Gregory Peck), ten years after he served as a captain in World War II.[203] Rath, along with his attractive wife and three children, live in a suburb in Connecticut. Bereft of adventure, camaraderie, and struggling to find a sense of purpose, Rath also realizes he's strapped for cash to support his family. The solution? To join the corporate rat race in New York. At the end of the novel, he wrestles with his suburban ennui:

> I really don't know what I was looking for when I got back from the war but it seemed as though all I could see was a lot of bright young men in gray flannel suits rushing around New York in a frantic parade to nowhere. They seemed to me to be pursuing neither ideals nor happiness—they were pursuing a routine. For a long while I thought I was on the sidelines watching that parade, and it was quite a shock to glance down and see that I too was wearing a gray flannel suit.[204]

Tiki culture offered men like Tom an escape from their monotonous nine-to-five jobs and humdrum suburban lives, ironically, the very lives suddenly available to many World War II veterans through GI Bill benefits and projects such as Levittown, the prototype for mass-produced housing developments.

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[203] For a study on postwar blues, alienation, and the effects of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), see Bessel van der Kolk, *The Body Keeps the Score: Brain, Mind, and Body in the Healing of Trauma* (New York: Penguin Books, 2015). See also Edward Tick, *War and the Soul: Healing Our Nation's Veterans from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder* (Wheaton, Illinois: Quest Books, 2005).
[204] Sloan Wilson, *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 2002), 272.

In sum, by the mid-twentieth century, collective nostalgia for tiki had been well established through travelogues, books, films, musicals, bars, restaurants, ads, and memories of the Pacific theater.

Music and Tiki Culture

Composers also responded to tiki and the need it ostensibly filled. In 1952, Leonard Bernstein wrote *Trouble in Tahiti*, a jazz-inspired one-act opera that satirizes postwar consumerism and seemingly perfect middle-class marriages. During the prelude, a trio, which Bernstein calls "a Greek chorus born of the radio commercial," sings about the virtues of suburbia: "It's a wonderful life!...Two-door sedan and convertible coupe, and a little white house in Elkins Park."[205] Yet the couple in the opera have a miserable marriage plagued by infidelity and an inability to communicate. At one point, the wife, Dinah, escapes to see a new film musical, *Trouble in Tahiti.* Her aria, "What a Movie!", outlines the film's plot with verses and refrains that alternate between two styles: syncopated 1920s popular music and laid-back, pentatonic "island" music. During some of the refrains, Dinah sings with a generic South Pacific accent and nonstandard grammar—an approach common in South Seas films and hardly flattering by present-day standards (e.g., the lyric, "If a princess marry white man and rain fall that day…"). In addition, several of what Elizabeth L. Keathley calls "exotic interjections" contain rhythmic groupings of 3+3+2 that she argues suggest a South Asian rhythm cycle.[206] The interjections also feature more pentatonicsm and temple blocks that represent tribal drums. Overall, the aria is full of musical exoticisms common in the 1950s.

[205] Elizabeth L. Keathley, "Postwar Modernity and the Wife's Subjectivity: Bernstein's *Trouble in Tahiti*," *American Music* 23, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 225.
[206] Ibid., 226-236.

By far, however, it was popular music that attracted Americans to tiki culture—at least as powerfully as did sex and booze. This craze had long been in the making. In 1915, Hawaiian music erupted at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco.[207] The song that started it all was G.H. Stover and Henry Kailimai's "On the Beach at Waikiki."[208] The lyrics detail a white man's encounter with a flirtatious Hawaiian girl: "'Honi kaua, wikiwiki,'/ She was surely teasing me,/ So I caught that maid and kissed her/ On the beach at Waikiki." Songs that combine Hawaiian and English lyrics were part of a genre known as hapa haole ("half foreign").[209] Hapa haole songs also fused traditional Hawaiian music aesthetics with popular mainland styles such as ragtime, jazz, and the blues. For example, Rene Dietrich and Horace Wright's 1916 recording of "On the Beach at Waikiki" features a ukulele and Hawaiian steel guitar. The latter, typically played horizontally across the lap, gets its name from the steel bar that a player glides across the strings, which are suspended high above the fretboard, producing expressive portamento.[210] As the Hawaiian guitar historian John Troutman observes, such sweeping gestures resemble the sound of waves rising and falling.[211]

One notable figure in hapa haole's development was the Hawaiian composer, arranger, and percussionist Johnny Noble.[212] A handful of his tunes became Hawaiian music standards, such as "My Little Grass Shack" and "Hula Blues." One of the most popular was "Hawaiian War Chant," discussed in detail below. Thanks to Noble's U.S. tours in the mid 1920s, the popularity of hapa haole and Hawaiian music in general skyrocketed. Record companies and radio stations

[207] Amy Ku'Uleialoha Stillman, "Textualizing Hawaiian Music," *American Music* 23, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 74.
[208] John Williams Troutman, *Kīkā Kila: How the Hawaiian Steel Guitar Changed the Sound of Modern Music* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 93.
[209] Timothy J. Cooley, *Surfing About Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 31-32.
[210] Troutman, *Kīkā Kila*, 5.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Ibid., 148.

were quick to satisfy the public's demands: one fourth of all records produced in America featured Hawaiian tunes, a trend that lasted through the 1930s.[213]

Disney too capitalized on the popularity of Hawaiian music. Buena Vista Records, a division of the Walt Disney Company, released Annette Funicello's *Hawaiianette* in 1960, one year after Hawaii achieved statehood. The album features "Pineapple Princess" by Richard and Robert Sherman, which proved a hit for the well-proportioned Disney starlet. After a brief introduction featuring steel-guitar portamento, Funicello sings about a boy who "plays his ukulele on the hill above the bay" and calls her his "pineapple princess." Romance is never far—albeit romance rooted in respectability; indeed, the boy claims they'll "settle down in a bamboo hut," presumably as husband and wife. Along with a steel guitar, Funicello is accompanied by a bass, marimba, tambourine, and congas. As this roster of instruments suggests, authenticity was hardly a goal: marimba and congas, two instruments widely associated with Latin America, commonly appeared in "Hawaiian" pieces.

In fact, by midcentury, a generic "island" sound emerged in popular music and was ubiquitous in tiki bars, often, as noted, full of people escaping suburban ennui. Record companies dubbed this new strand of easy listening "exotica." Its composers and arrangers combined jazz and big band with these now-familiar musical signifiers to denote the Other even more explicitly: ostinati, birdcalls, modal melodies, and passages in parallel fourths and fifths.[214] Exotica also relied on non-Western instruments that came to represent the islands no matter their provenance: bamboo flutes, congas, bongos, gongs, marimbas, log drums, and conch shells. The latter two relate to the discussion below. Throughout Polynesia, the conch-shell trumpet is often

[213] Kirsten, *Tiki Pop*, 21-32.
[214] Phil Ford, "Taboo: Time and Belief in Exotica," *Representations* 103, no. 1 (2008): 108.

blown to signal important community events.[215] Log drums, percussion instruments made from hollowed-out pieces of wood, are also used to signal and accompany Polynesian dances.[216] To be sure, both instruments figure in indigenous music of the Americas and modern re-creations, such as *Sinfonía India* by the Mexican composer Carlos Chávez. And certainly, their traditional roles are stripped away in exotica. But, as the musicologist Phil Ford points out, to argue that "exotica is inauthentic, is to miss the point."[217] Exotica merely suggests distant places to which listeners can mentally escape.

Take, for example, Les Baxter's 1951 album *Ritual of the Savage.* The track titles refer to nonspecific locales, with an emphasis on jungles: "Busy Port," "Jungle River Boat," "Jungle Flower," "Quiet Village," and "Jungle Jalopy." Even the liner notes refrain from naming particular places and peoples:

> Do the mysteries of native rituals intrigue you…does the haunting beat of savage drums fascinate you?...The original and exotic music by Les Baxter was conceived by blending his creative ideas with the ritualistic melodies and seductive rhythms of the natives of distant jungles and tropical ports to capture all the color and fervor so expressive of the emotions of these people.[218]

On the album's first track, "Busy Port," flutes futter like birds and play lightly syncopated riffs with the brass based on the Mixolydian mode. The rhythm section—comprised of piano, bass, drum set, marimba, and congas—alternates between two ostinati. Together, these elements depict a humid tropical dock bustling with foreign trade.[219] Baxter's "Quiet Village," on the

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[215] Edwin G. Burrows, "Polynesian Music and Dancing," *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 49, no. 3 (September 1940): 334.
[216] Helen Reeves Lawrence, "Is the 'Tahitian' Drum Dance Really Tahitian? Re-Evaluating the Evidence for the Origins of Contemporary Polynesian Drum Dance," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 24 (1992): 128; Richard Moyle, "Samoan Musical Instruments," *Ethnomusicology* 18, no. 1 (January 1974): 58.
[217] Ford, "Taboo," 123.
[218] Liner notes to *Ritual of the Savage*, Les Baxter, Capitol Records, 772225, LP, 1951.
[219] Ibid.

other hand, features lush strings that might serenade wary jungle adventurers as they rest in a village.

Still, while Baxter's music ushered in an exotica craze, it was Martin Denny who gave the genre one of its signature sounds, the bird call. Members of Denny's band imitated different birds by manipulating their mouths, throats, tongues, fingers, and voices. These calls were meant to sound like actual birds rather than musically represent them à la Messiaen.[220] One example is Denny's arrangement of "Quiet Village" from his debut album, *Exotica* (1957). In his version, a piano carries the melody. Yet the most striking difference is the addition of dozens of bird calls and other animal noises that enhance the tune's jungle environment.

Another genre suggestive of island life is calypso, which originated in Trinidadian Carnival celebrations during the seventeenth century.[221] Mainly, however, it developed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most calypsos are in duple meter and have four short verses that alternate with four-line refrains (choruses) in which group participation is encouraged. The lyrics are witty and peppered with double entendres, with singers often engaging in picong—verbal battles in which they praise themselves and disparage their rivals.[222] Calypsonians traditionally sang in French Creole; however, by 1899, calypsos were increasingly sung in English due to the influence of British colonialism.[223]

As calypso became known internationally, the recording industry also shaped its musical language, resulting in a set of common stylistic traits. For example, most modern calypsos are in a major key, with syncopated melodies that mirror common ragtime rhythms (Musical Example

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[220] Rebecca Leydon, "The Exotic Music of Les Baxter and Yma Sumac," in *Widening the Horizon: Exoticism in Post-War Popular Music*, ed. Philip Hayward (Sydney: John Libbey, 1999), 78.
[221] Ernest D. Brown, "Carnival, Calypso, and Steelband in Trinidad," *The Black Perspective in Music* 18, no. 1 (1990): 91-100.
[222] Keith Q. Warner, *Kaiso! The Trinidad Calypso: A Study of the Calypso as Oral Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1982), 13-14.
[223] Brown, "Carnival, Calypso, and Steelband in Trinidad," 88.

3.1) and are supported by simple harmonic progressions. Another influence was jazz: whereas singers were typically accompanied by string bands during the early twentieth century, jazz bands came to serve this purpose in the 1920s. Also, the picong once central to calypso performances were rarely recorded as the genre became more commercialized and catered to international audiences.[224]



Musical Example 3.1: Common calypso rhythms.[225]

Perhaps more than any other artist, the Caribbean-American singer Harry Belafonte helped popularize calypso in the United States in the late 1950s.[226] His album, *Calypso* (1956), became the first LP to sell over a million copies in a year.[227] Two songs from the album stand out as prime examples of the genre: "The Jack-Ass Song" and "Will His Love Be Like His Rum?" In the former, Belafonte refers to a humorous encounter with a donkey; in the latter, he wonders whether his love will be as intoxicating as his alcohol. Both songs are in verse-chorus form, alternating between a soloist on the verses and a group of men on the choruses, thanks to Belafonte's invitation for "everybody" to join him. Throughout, a flutist improvises sinuous eighth-note lines around the vocalists and above the rhythm section.

It was all this music that was surely in the ears of Disneyland guests when they entered the Tiki Room.

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[224] Warner, *Kaiso!*, 13-14.
[225] Calypso rhythms transcribed by O. Lewin in Jan Fairley, "Calypso," *Grove Music Online*, accessed March 6, 2024.
[226] Michael Eldridge and Harry Belafonte, "Remains of the Day-O: A Conversation with Harry Belafonte," *Transition* 92 (2002): 110-137. See also Karen Beavers, "Lean Man Holler: Harry Belafonte and the Culture Industry" (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2008).
[227] Joe Taysom, "The first album to sell one million copies in a year," *Far Out Magazine*, accessed April 19, 2023, https://faroutmagazine.co.uk/first-album-to-sell-one-million-copies-in-a-year/.

The Advent of Audio-Animatronics and the Tiki Room's Preshow

Disneyland took advantage of the tiki craze at its zenith. In 1962, the Tahitian Terrace Restaurant opened in the park. Unlike the elegant Red Wagon Inn, one of the park's many eateries, with its refined ambiance enhanced by crystal chandeliers, the Terrace offered a lively dinner show. While patrons sampled Americanized Pan-Asian dishes (e.g., barbecued pineapple ribs, Cantonese rice, shrimp tempura), they could watch hula dancers and a walk-on-fire display, among other things.[228] But far more conceptually intriguing was the Tiki Room, which opened a year later, as noted. Instead of live performers, the Tiki Room was the first attraction to feature the then-new technology dubbed Audio-Animatronics: lifelike robots programmed to talk, sing, and move.

Here, technology plays a role in tiki's Disneyfication. To get the Tiki Room's 225 Audio-Animatronic birds, tiki gods, totem poles, and various flowers to talk and sing, the Imagineers looked to the magnetic tape technology that had guided the 1960 Polaris missile, the United States Navy's first submarine-launched ballistic missile.[229] Through a deal with the government, Disney acquired a fourteen-channel tape recorder that used one-inch magnetic tape.[230] The tape sent out impulses that controlled the Audio-Animatronics' movements, as well as the Tiki Room's lighting and music, automating the show and removing the unpredictability of live performance. As the *New York Times* reported in a bit of advance publicity, song and speech are "synchronized perfectly with the beak of a bird, or a mouth of a carved totem pole."[231] The *Los*

[228] Strodder, *The Disneyland Encyclopedia*, 407; Mittermeier, *A Cultural History of the Disneyland Theme Parks*, 28.
[229] Martin, *The Sounds of Disneyland*, 15; Murray Schumach, "DISNEY ANIMATION USES POLARIS TAPE: New Synchronizing Device Makes Totem Poles Talk," *The New York Times,* June 20, 1963, 30.
[230] Kyle Mizokami, "The Disney Attraction Powered by Nuclear Weapons Tech," *Popular Mechanics*, accessed July 17, 2023, https://www.popularmechanics.com/military/weapons/a25922218/the-disney-attaction-powered-by-nuclear-weapons-tech/.
[231] Schumach, "DISNEY ANIMATION USES POLARIS TAPE," 30.

Angeles Times also commented on the attraction's opening, writing that the tikis, the heads on the totem poles, have "lifelike mouth[s] and tongue[s], eyes that wink, roll and close."[232] Thus, Audio-Animatronics are simulacra that create a hyperreal experience, blurring the line between reality and fantasy.

Guests first encounter Audio-Animatronics in the Enchanted Tiki Garden, the attraction's waiting area located just outside the thatched hut. The sounds of sliding steel guitars fill the air as cheery instrumental Hawaiian music plays from hidden speakers, complementing the garden's lush green foliage, tropical flowers, and eight Audio-Animatronic tiki gods like the one shown in Figure 3.3.[233]



Figure 3.3: The Polynesian god Tangaroa. Photographed by the author on April 29, 2023.

[232] "Enchanted Tiki Room Opens at Disneyland," *Los Angeles Times*, June 20, 1963, A12.
[233] Jeff Marck, "The First-Order Anthropomorphic Gods of Polynesia," *The Journal of Polynesian Society* 105, no. 2 (June 1996): 217-258.

As showtime approaches, conch-shell trumpet calls and log drumming interrupt the canned music to announce the start of a preshow, a crowd-management device that introduces an attraction's theme and entertains guests as they wait for a main event. Variations on non-Western drum patterns play from speakers next to each of the tikis, drawing guests' attention to them one at a time. For example, Tangaroa, the father of all gods and goddesses, is introduced by a lightly swung variant of the cáscara rhythm, an Afro-Cuban pattern typically played on the sides (shells) of the timbales (Musical Example 3.2).[234]



Musical Example 3.2: Cáscara rhythm.

Next comes the moment for the tikis to speak.[235] First up is Maui: "My name is Maui. Natives call me the Mighty One. I tamed the playful sun and gave my people time. Now they set their clocks by mine, for I am Tropic Standard Time."[236] A woodblock mimics the sound of a ticking clock as Maui speaks, reinforcing his relationship with time. The other tikis have similar dialogue (often in broken English and in a generic islander accent reminiscent of those in South Seas films), puns, and music or sounds to entertain and educate, albeit at a superficial level. After the last tiki speaks, more log drumming precedes a final conch-shell blow and a Chinese gong crash bizarrely out of place, surely meant to evoke the exotic writ large. A recorded announcement that begins in Hawaiian and quickly switches to English invites guests to enter a

[234] Arranger unknown. My thanks to the percussionist Chris Froh of the University of California, Davis, for identifying these drumming patterns.
[235] Imagineers Collin Campbell and Rolly Crump researched Pacific Island myths as they designed and sculpted the talking tikis; Marty Sklar wrote the script. Jim Fanning, "The Tiki Room Celebrates 50 Years," D23, accessed June 7, 2023, https://d23.com/tiki-room-50th-anniversary-archives/.
[236] The gods featured, in order of performance, include Maui (Ernie Tavares), Koro (Tavares), Rongo (Tavares), Pele (Ginny Tyler), Ngendei (Tavares), Tanagaroa-Ru (Tyler), Hina Kaluua (Anne Essex), and Tangaroa (Thurl Ravenscroft). Fanning, "The Tiki Room Celebrates 50 Years."

"world of joyous songs and wondrous miracles—Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room." In short, the preshow meets guests' expectations of tiki long established in films, books, music, and restaurants.

Now guests, up to 200 of them, can enter the Tiki Room and take a seat on one of the many cushioned bamboo benches that surround a central fountain (Figure 3.4). Above their heads hang Audio-Animatronic simulacra of orchids, birds of paradise, and other faux tropical plant life; Audio-Animatronic macaws, cockatoos, and toucans covered in vibrantly colored feathers sit on perches. Also, carved tiki drummers stand in alcoves near the ceiling and tiki totem poles adorn every corner.



Figure 3.4: Inside of the Tiki Room. Photographed by the author on April 29, 2023.

The show itself begins after its emcee, a macaw named José, rouses three other macaws to join him as co-hosts. According to the songwriter Richard Sherman, he and his brother Robert

told Walt that for the sake of believability the show ought to include a parrot given its ability to mimic the human voice.[237] This would help smooth the transition from reality into a world in which birds, flowers, and tikis croon. The macaw was a logical choice since it is the common name for a long-tailed parrot native to tropical America.[238] In a departure from "island" culture, however, Walt suggested that there should be four macaws from different ethnic backgrounds, all with accents.[239] And so, the parrots José (Mexican), Pierre (French), Fritz (German), and Michael (Irish) were born. Their plumage corresponds to the colors of their respective national flags: José is red and green; Michael is white and green; Fritz is orange and white; and Pierre is red, white, and blue.[240] A macaw of Polynesian descent is curiously absent.

The cosmopolitan macaws reflect Walt's penchant for portraying what Daniel Batchelder calls a "pageant of nations," an attitude Disney had sustained for decades prior to the Tiki Room. Batchelder made this observation apropos the ethnically marked Dutch, French, and Russian marionettes that each perform a dance routine in Disney's animated film *Pinocchio* of 1940, five years before the United Nations was optimistically founded to guard against future world conflicts.[241] As the United States continued to flex its global influence, *Pinocchio* and the Tiki Room were but precursors to It's A Small World—the Disneyland attraction Walt originally built for the 1964 New York World's Fair—with its hundreds of Audio-Animatronic dolls that represent children from all over the world singing, in unison, the hopeful lyrics of the Sherman

[237] Daps Magic, "13. Tiki Room—Richard Sherman & Alan Menken D23 Expo Disney Songbook Concert," YouTube video, August 12, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p_NzP2aQbZU.
[238] "macaw," *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed March 3, 2024.
[239] Robert B. Sherman and Richard M. Sherman, *Walt's Time: From Before to Beyond* (Santa Clarita, CA: Camphor Tree Publishers, 1998), 32.
[240] The birds' plumage originally corresponded to the colors of their respective national flags, but there were a few changes over the years. Today, the colors reflect the initial concept. Fanning, "The Tiki Room Celebrates 50 Years."
[241] Daniel Lev Batchelder, "American Magic: Song, Animation, and Drama in Disney's Golden Age Musicals (1928-1942)" (Phd diss., Case Western Reserve University, 2018), 182-187.

Brothers' verse-chorus song "It's a Small World." However, much of its harmonic language smacks of Western Europe, as noted above.

While constructing the Tiki Room, Walt came to realize that the attraction would benefit from a theme song. Likely thanks to the Sherman Brothers' island-inspired hit "Pineapple Princess," Walt called on the pair to write it.[242] Once they saw the attraction was a tropical-themed room, the brothers suggested a calypso, despite its Caribbean origins.[243] Previously, the Shermans had evoked a tropical atmosphere with their "Swiss Family Robinson Calypso"; now they simply made minor tweaks to its melody, penned new lyrics, and retitled it "The Tiki Tiki Tiki Room" ("The Tiki Room").[244] The final product became the attraction's opening number.

"The Tiki Room" demonstrates the Shermans' familiarity with calypso's essential traits. Like many calypsos, "The Tiki Room" is in verse-chorus form and begins with the chorus, which highlights the word "tiki":

> [All birds]
> In the Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Room
> In the Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Room
> [José]
> All the Birds sing words
> [Michael]
> And the flowers croon
> [All birds]
> In the Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Tiki Room

Much like Belafonte does in "The Jack-Ass Song" and "Will His Love Be Like His Rum?", Audio-Animatronic birds and flowers invite guests to sing along during later choruses. The tune is well constructed for amateur group singing. The melody spans only an octave, contains many

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[242] Fanning, "The Tiki Room Celebrates 50 Years."
[243] Sherman and Sherman, *Walt's Time*, 32.
[244] The original song accompanied behind-the-scenes footage of the making of Disney's *Swiss Family Robinson* in a 1960 episode of Disney's weekly television series titled "Escape to Paradise/Water Birds." See "ABC Airs the *Walt Disney Presents* TV Show 'Escape to Paradise,'" D23, accessed June 9, 2023, https://d23.com/this-day/abc-airs-the-walt-disney-presents-tv-show-escape-to-paradise/; Jim Korkis, "The Sherman Brothers' Computer Song," Mouse Planet, accessed March 6, 2024, https://www.mouseplanet.com/9963/The_Sherman_Brothers_Computer_Song.

repeated notes, and features mostly stepwise motion (Musical Example 3.3). Eighth notes predominate, although one syncopated gesture occurs four times, an important feature of calypso.



Musical Example 3.3: Richard and Robert Sherman's "The Tiki Tiki Tiki Room" chorus as heard in Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room. Transcribed by the author.

Two other calypso elements offset the monotonous melody and repetitive lyrics. The first is a flute solo. (Unlike the birds, flowers, and tikis, the various orchestral instruments are not paired with Audio-Animatronics; their sounds come from speakers placed throughout the room.) During the first two choruses, a flute improvises long eighth-note lines, like the flutist on "The Jack-Ass Song" and "Will His Love Be Like His Rum?" The second element is a dialogue during an instrumental interlude resembling picong. After the second chorus, Michael haughtily claims, "I sing so beautiful I should sing solo." José is quick to offer a biting pun: "Sí, so low we can't hear you." After several more exchanges, José finally ends the repartee: "Mi amigos, stop the clucking. You sound like a bunch of old hens. There's a lot of birds waiting to go on." Why incorporate picong? Perhaps the Shermans or one of the Imagineers had researched calypso at some point and thought to include the regional tradition. If not, the macaws' banter is at the very least a moment of good, clean fun.

"The Tiki Room" contains non-calypso elements as well. The most glaring, animal impressions, borrows from exotica's soundscape. All kinds of bird squawks nearly drown out the

tune's jazzy four-bar introduction. These sounds were voiced by Clarence "Ducky" Nash (Donald Duck's original voice), Maurice "Muzzy" Marcelino, Marion Darlington (who made bird sounds for *Snow White*), Beverly Ford, Dorothy Lloyd, and A. Purvis Pullen.[245] Pullen performed many bird calls during his tenure with Spike Jones's band, earning him the stage name Dr. Horatio Q. Birdbath. He also performed some of the bird calls on Martin Denny's "Quiet Village," mentioned above.[246] Later, in "The Tiki Room," a whistler uses flutter tongue likely to imitate the call of a New Zealand tit. Another voice talent imitates the whooping of a gibbon, a small tree-dwelling ape native to Southeast Asia. In short, "The Tiki Room," combines elements from calypso and exotica to create a Disneyfied island-music romp that is far from resembling anything Polynesian.

More Birds: Exotica in "Barcarolle" and Eroticism in "Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing"

The next two selections rely on exotica-like animal sounds and the sexualization of exotic birds, respectively. When the Tiki Room opened in 1963, the second musical number was Disney staff composer George Bruns's arrangement of "Elfenchor" from Jacques Offenbach's unsuccessful opera *Die Rheinnixen* of 1864 (see chapter 6). Offenbach repurposed the tune in 1881 for the aria "Belle nuit, o nuit d'amour" for his more popular *Les Contes d'Hoffman.* Many refer to this aria by its alternate, colloquial title, "Barcarolle," a piece that suggests or imitates the music performed by Venetian gondoliers. Indeed, the lilting melody gradually ascends and descends in predominately stepwise motion, mirroring the ebb and flow of a gondolier rowing a boat.

[245] Martin, *The Sounds of Disneyland*, 17; Fanning, "The Tiki Room Celebrates 50 Years."
[246] "'Doc Birdbath' is a one-man menagerie," *Corpus Christi Caller-Times*, September 23, 1977, 61.

Like many classical works, "Barcarolle" was featured in an animated short. In Disney's *Birds of a Feather* of 1931, scored by Bert Lewis, swans propel themselves gracefully across a lake like gondoliers as peacocks preen in the water's reflection, all in sync with the "Barcarolle."[247] The music encapsulates the peaceful serenity of the birds and the lake. Similarly, Bruns's "Barcarolle" features the Tiki Room's now-tranquil birds whistling, offering guests a calm respite after the show's splashy opening number.[248] Maurice Marcelino whistles the famous melody with exaggerated vibrato, mimicking a bird's warbles, as his fellow avian impersonators twitter and tweet (Musical Example 3.4). Various other animal noises, including more whooping gibbons, persist throughout the arrangement as well, reminding listeners that even though they are listening to a classical tune, they are still in an exotic space.



Musical Example 3.4: "Barcarolle" as whistled by Maurice Marcelino. Transcribed by the author.

The next number—Bruns's take on Robert Hargreaves, Stanley Damerell, Tolchard Evans, and Henry Tilsley's "Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing" of 1932—strays far from evoking island music save for the continuation of exotica-inspired bird sounds. It does, however, offer Disneyfied eroticism. During the lushly orchestrated introduction, a "bird mobile" featuring white female cockatoos descends from the ceiling. Even though cockatoos (parrots with erectile crests) are native to Australasia, eastern Indonesia, and other Pacific islands, the Tiki Room cockatoos are coded as French in that Pierre presents the birds—Fifi, Mimi, Gigi, Colette,

[247] This short was a *Silly Symphonies* cartoon.
[248] Despite being listed as "Elfenchor" on the album *Walt Disney's The Enchanted Tiki Room: The Original Soundtrack of the Tiki Room and The Adventurous Jungle Cruise* (1968), most people refer to it as "the Barcarolle" on Disney related fan websites.

Suzette, and Josephine—as "the lovely ladies of the ensemble" and compares them to the "Folies Bergère with all the feathers."[249] By the late nineteenth century, the celebrated Parisian music hall was known as a space devoted to offering sexual fantasies to males, just like many of the tiki-themed bars and nightclubs that popped up in the U.S. half a century later.[250] Having achieved fame with high-kicking can-can dancers swishing their skirts back and forth, the Folies Bergère even began to feature nude showgirls in 1918.[251] Under the direction of Paul Derval, many dancers wore ostrich headdresses or hardly covered themselves with feather fans. Pierre's introduction therefore alludes to Derval's costuming by suggesting that the cockatoos' plumage just barely conceals their nude bodies. Thus, as Craig Svonkin observes, the Audio-Animatronic cockatoos are "presented as eroticized fetish objects of desire" like the Polynesian women Commerson wrote about and the Tahitian women Gauguin painted.[252]

"Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing" is a novelty song in triple meter with innocent lyrics that mimic the sounds of birds (e.g., "Let's all sing like the birdies sing/ Tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet, tweet.") Yet in Bruns's hands, the song gestures to the sexual offerings of Parisian cabarets. During the final chorus, the arrangement shifts from a moderate triple meter to a lively cut-time cancan rendition of the song, inviting guests to envision a line of women performing scandalous high kicks on the Folies Bergère stage. Furthermore, José invites the guests to whistle the melody along with the birds, an innocent enough gesture but one that can be read as a collective catcall. In other words, by watching the performance, the guests have unwittingly

[249] "cockatoo," *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed December 11, 2024.
[250] Andrew Israel Ross, "Serving Sex: Playing with Prostitution in the 'Brasseries à femmes' of Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 24, no. 2 (May 2015): 306.
[251] Maurice Chevalier, preface to *The Folies Bergère*, by Paul Derval, trans. Lucienne Hill (London: Methuen & Co. LTD, 1955), vii.
[252] Craig Svonkin, "A Southern California boyhood in the Simu-Southland shadows of Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room," in *Disneyland and Culture: Essays on the Parks and Their Influence*, eds. K.M. Jackson and M.I. West (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2011), 111.

likened themselves to male gazers that whistle in approval of their desired object. The raciness of the number complicates the general idea that Disneyfication promotes wholesome family entertainment. Here, Disney sanitizes but does not completely erase the mature themes associated with Parisian cabarets, allowing adult guests to enjoy the risqué sexual moment that probably goes unnoticed by children.

"Hawaiian War Chant"

The finale, Bruns's arrangement of "Hawaiian War Chant," is a return to the imitation of island music. It is based on the song "Kaua I Ka Huahua'i" ("We Two in the Spray"), written in the 1860s by the Hawaiian Prince Leleiohoku and which tells of a clandestine encounter between two lovers.[253] In 1936, Johnny Noble borrowed Leleiohoku's melody and copyrighted his version as "Hawaiian War Chant," to which Ralph Freed penned English lyrics. Bruns was likely influenced by the handful of big bands, including those led by Tommy Dorsey and Spike Jones, that popularized Noble's tune with their instrumental arrangements.

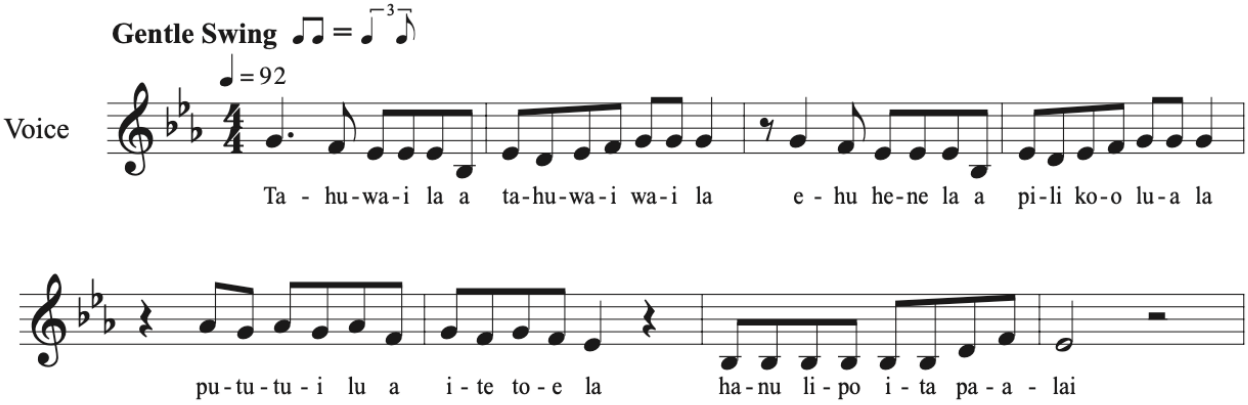
For example, a Dorsey rendition of "Hawaiian War Chant" is featured in the 1942 film musical *Ship Ahoy*. Starring Eleanor Powell and Red Skelton, the film is about a dancer on an ocean liner. At a dance, Dorsey's band, surrounded by towering tiki masks, plays the tune at a break-neck tempo. The trumpet section rips through a syncopated version of the melody as Buddy Rich plays a driving "jungle" beat on the tom-toms. The performance culminates in a swinging frenzy: each section of the band plays different riffs based on the tune as a troupe of dancers dressed in hula skirts and leis perform a mix of swing and hula steps in front of the bandstand. Another well-known version of "Hawaiian War Chant" was recorded by Spike Jones

[253] "William Pitt Leleiohoku," *Hawaiian Music Hall of Fame*, accessed September 7, 2023, https://www.hawaiimusicmuseum.org/honorees/patrons/leleiohoku.html.

and his Wacky Wakakians for the Victor label in 1946. After a slow introduction, a small male chorus, accompanied by tom-toms, chants in a guttural manner, making the words sound more like gibberish than Hawaiian.[254] The men then sing Noble's melody with Leleiohoku's original lyrics at a brisk tempo. The recording comes to a rousing finish with a chorus of collective improvisation—featuring a trumpet, trombone, and clarinet—based on the melody.

Bruns's "Hawaiian War Chant" combines elements from the Leleiohoku, Noble, Dorsey, and Jones versions and exotica. It unfolds in two parts. The first is a gently swaying setting in which female voices, coming from the flowers and birds, sing Noble's melody with Leleiohoku's lyrics (Musical Example 3.5) as clarinets, strings, a harp, and celesta provide soft backgrounds. Halfway through this section, male voices enter singing the melody in double time while the female voices continue singing a slower moving line. The accompanying instruments, which now include brass and a drum set, become more active as well. At one point, a bird imitator whistles a descant above the male voices. Despite the tempo change and fuller orchestration, the music remains light and peaceful. A punctuation by muted brass concludes the first section and a downward harp glissando marks the transition into the second part.

[254] Jordan R. Young, *Spike Jones Off the Record: The Man Who Murdered Music* (Beverly Hills: Past Times Publishing Co., 1994), 155.



Musical Example 3.5: "Hawaiian War Chant" as heard in the Tiki Room. Transcribed by the author.[255]

The gentleness that dominated the first half of the number is abandoned for musical primitivism in the latter half. The Audio-Animatronic tikis in the alcoves near the ceiling come to life and start pounding away repetitive rhythms on their drums like those in the Dorsey and Jones recordings. The soprano Norma Zimmer of Lawrence Welk fame sings—à la the exotica singer Yma Sumac, famous for her wide tessitura—an ascending line on neutral syllables that climbs into the heights of her range, announcing the start of some imagined tribal ritual. Tiki totem poles enter next, chanting like the men in Jones's recording. After a gong crescendo, orchids and birds of paradise enter with more chanting, bringing the song to a frenzy that continues to build, much in the style of the Dorsey and Jones endings. The squawking, chirping, and whistling of the non-chanting birds gets louder as the tempo increases. At the height of the chaos, a crash of thunder resonates throughout the room. The lights go out and through the

[255] Lyrics posted on "Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room (Disneyland)," Disney Park Scripts, accessed February 25, 2005, https://www.disneyparkscripts.com/walt-disneys-enchanted-tiki-room-disneyland/#google_vignette. The song is performed in an older Hawaiian accent in which words were pronounced and written with the letter "t" instead of the letter "k," the opposite of what modern listeners and readers would expect. See Robert Blust, "*t to *k*: An Austronesian Sound Change Revisited," Oceanic Linguistics 43, no. 2 (December 2004): 365-410.

windows guests see flashes of lightning followed by rain trickling down the glass via special effects. Michael explains that the gods, angered by all the celebrating, caused the storm.

A brief encore, "Closing Bow/Drums," reminds guests of all the wonderful things they saw and heard in the Tiki Room. A chorus sings the following:

> The birdies had their fling
> You've heard the flowers sing
> Tikis played the drums
> Hear them do the chant
> Farewell and Aloha to you!

These lyrics reinforce Stephen Fjellman's assertion that Disney offers guests something special and "produces, packages, and sells experiences and memories as commodities."[256] Indeed, the Tiki Room neatly packages South Seas myths, memories of the Pacific theater during World War II, a cosmopolitan display, and sexual fantasies into a fifteen-minute show that blends popular music of the recent past, classical music, and musical primitivism, all performed by Audio-Animatronics. In short, the Tiki Room preserves a Disneyfied version of tiki culture, evoking an imagined Polynesia that never existed yet lingers in our collective nostalgia.

[256] Stephen M. Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves: Walt Disney World and America* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992), 11.

Chapter 4: "You Call This Archaeology?": Imperialist Nostalgia in the Indiana Jones Adventure

In the film *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), the third installment in the franchise, the titular swashbuckling archaeologist (Harrison Ford) and his father, Henry Jones Sr. (Sean Connery), traverse the globe in 1938 to retrieve the Holy Grail before the Nazis can do so. At one point during their adventure, Jones Sr. is captured by the Nazis and held in a military tank. His son comes to the rescue astride a noble steed. After jumping from his horse to the tank and engaging in fisticuffs with several Nazis, Jones opens the hatch and calls for his father. Jones Sr. narrowly fends off several of his captors in the tank himself, peeks out of the hatch, and quips, "You call this archaeology?" This cheeky line acknowledges that the scene, and the entire franchise for that matter, has little to do with real archaeological work.

Clearly, the Indiana Jones films present Hollywood's version of archaeology: an action-packed race spanning several continents in which good and evil vie for an ancient relic capable of changing the fate of the world. A passionate love story is of course thrown in for good measure. Comparisons with Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen* aside, the films bypass the reality of archaeological drudgery. Scholars often toil at one site for many years sifting through artifacts as ordinary as pottery fragments. As Bryant Wood, an archaeologist with Associates for Biblical Research notes, he and his colleagues typically spend more time processing their finds and writing reports than they do digging.[257] The Indiana Jones films therefore offer viewers a hyperreal version of archaeology.

In addition, the films of the original trilogy—*Raiders of the Lost* Ark (1981)*, The Temple of* Doom (1984), and *The Last Crusade*—evoke nostalgia on several fronts. They are a throwback to the 1930s and 40s jungle adventure serials and B-movies that fascinated producer

[257] Bryant Wood quoted in David Germain, "Action Hero but No Archeologist," *Los Angeles Times*, May 23, 2008.

George Lucas when he watched them as a child in the 50s.[258] In fact, many scenes quote their source material outright. For example, the scene in *Raiders* in which an indigenous tribe chases Jones through a South American jungle is taken from *Too Hot to Handle* (1938), set in the Amazon and starring Clark Gable and Myrna Loy, who play a newsreel reporter and a female aviator, respectively.[259] Moreover, the Indiana Jones films are set in the mid-to-late 1930s and "somehow managed to give the Second World War a golden glow," as Adam Gopnik of *The New Yorker* puts it.[260] Good always triumphs over evil and the rugged hero always gets the girl. Even John Williams's scores are drenched in 1930s nostalgia. At a time when soundtracks favored popular music and electronic instruments (e.g., Vangelis's use of synthesizers in 1981's *Chariots of Fire*), Williams returned to the classic Hollywood style codified by Max Steiner and his contemporaries. Like Steiner, Williams wrote for a large symphonic orchestra with late-Romantic harmonic language that relies heavily on leitmotivs. Another feature is Mickey Mousing—the precise synchronization of music and action.

Inspired by the films, on March 3, 1995, Disneyland launched a new attraction, the Indiana Jones Adventure: Temple of the Forbidden Eye, known familiarly as Indy, in Adventureland. Indy combines elements from the trilogy to create an original narrative, though most of the attraction's theming harkens back to *Temple of Doom* and the opening scene of *Raiders*. Its setting is a hyperreal jungle in the fictional region of India's Lost Delta. The year is 1936, and Jones has arranged tours through an ancient temple. According to legend, the temple houses Mara, a male god who grants tourists one of three gifts: earthly riches, eternal youth, or

[258] Pauline Kale, "Whipped," *The New Yorker*, June 15, 1981, 132.
[259] Emilio Audissino, *John Williams's Film Music:* Jaws, Star Wars, Raiders of the Lost Ark*, and the Return of the Classical Hollywood Music Style* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2014), 147-48.
[260] Adam Gopnik, "The Forty-Year Itch," *The New Yorker*, April 16, 2012, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/04/23/the-forty-year-itch.

visions of the future. However, tourists must not look into the eyes of the "double-crossing deity lest they take a detour to doom," as a newsreel projected in the queue warns. Of course, some tourists do, and an Audio-Animatronic Jones comes to their aid to help them escape from Mara's fireballs, lava pits, skeletal warriors, and other deadly traps.

Indy's narrative, like the films and arguably archaeology, is steeped in imperialist ideology. As defined by Edward Said, imperialism is the practice of a strong country exercising control over a weaker territory through either land acquisition, economic means, or "soft power," including diplomacy or cultural influence.[261] Put simply, imperialism means controlling something one does not possess. And taking objects is one way to manifest imperialism, as Tatiana Prorokova argues in her discussion of Indiana Jones.[262] Twice Jones states in *The Last Crusade* that he goes after historical artifacts because they "belong in a museum." This belief has a long history. A prime example is the Elgin Marbles, a collection of ancient Greek sculptures that was moved from the Parthenon to England at the beginning of the nineteenth century and which currently resides in the British Museum.[263] Such anthropological imperialism, argues Prorokova, helps to destroy the culture from which an object came.[264] In addition, the acquired object loses its meaning and function. If we take as a point of departure Matthew Arnold's oft-cited definition of culture as "the best which has been thought and said in the world," we might rightly wonder why economic and military power should be adequate to determine what "the best" consists of on a global scale.[265]

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[261] Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1994), 9; see also Joseph S. Nye, Jr. "Soft Power and American Foreign Policy," *Political Science Quarterly* 119, no. 2 (2004): 255-70.
[262] Tatiana Prorokova, "Translocations, Cultural Geography and Anthropological Imperialism in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, in *Excavating Indiana Jones: Essays on the Films and Franchise*, ed. Randy Laist (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020), 53.
[263] "The Parthenon Sculpture," The British Museum, accessed November 4, 2024, https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/contested-objects-collection/parthenon-sculptures.
[264] Prorokova, "Translocations, Cultural Geography and Anthropological Imperialism," 53.
[265] Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 5.

These destructive behaviors are related to imperialist nostalgia, a perspective the anthropologist Renato Rosaldo has defined as a longing for a culture or environment one has destroyed.[266] Rosaldo explains that this form of nostalgia makes imperialism "appear innocent and pure."[267] As noted in chapter 1, these very sentiments are the essence of Disneyfication: simplification, romanticization—all innocent and pure—and which, moreover, hold out the promise of family fun. Indeed, Indy offers guests a romanticized version of a 1930s archaeological expedition in India, complete with the opportunity to witness destruction. The attraction's jungle, passageways, caves, and temple are all seemingly inhospitable and "fundamentally represent the forbidden and therefore the 'site of danger,'" as Hernández-Pérez and Ferreras Rodrígeuz describe the phenomenon.[268] Of course, guests never experience any real danger. There are no tigers in the jungle nor bats in the caves. Mara's fireballs and the skeletal warriors' darts never strike guests. Instead, Indy simulates fear.

Whereas the Indiana Jones trilogy brought a nostalgic adventure fantasy to the silver screen, Indy places guests directly in that world and invites them to play in it. There was no shortage of advance publicity. On December 3, 1994, three months before the attraction opened, the *Los Angeles Times* heralded an important feature of Indy, reporting that the Imagineers designed it to "woo the hands-on, participation-oriented video-game generation."[269] To that end, they Disneyfied Indiana Jones by making the attraction like a video game, one in which guests assume the role of intrepid treasure-hunting tourists.

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[266] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations*, no. 26 (Spring 1989): 107.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Manuel Hernández-Pérez and José Gabriel Ferreras Rodríguez, "Serial Narrative, Intertextuality and the Role of Audiences in the Creation of a Franchise: An Analysis of the Indiana Jones Sage from a Cross Media Perspective," *Mass Communication and Society* 17 (2014): 32.
[269] Randy Lewis, "Disneyland Journeys Into New Territory," *Los Angeles Times*, December 3, 1994, OCF1.

As in actual video games, music is of paramount importance. Fundamental here is the relatively new subdiscipline, ludomusicology. Broadly speaking, ludomusicologists study the relationship between music and play. In practice, however, ludomusicology concentrates mainly on video-game music. Many ludomusicologists, including Karen Collins, have focused on interactivity: how a player's actions affect their game's music in real time.[270] Other scholars, such as Tim Summers and William Cheng, have examined music's role in creating virtual worlds.[271] Summers has also considered the ways pre-existing music is used in games, especially when games are based on films.

This chapter examines Disneyfication through a ludomusicological lens to reveal how music evokes imperialist nostalgia in Indy. The music discussed below includes preexisting swing recordings, newsreel fanfares, and excerpts from Disney composer Richard Bellis's score for Indy, primarily a pastiche of themes John Williams composed for the Indiana Jones films, with the exception of some original material. I was fortunate to correspond with Bellis via a series of emails in which he graciously recounted his process for scoring Indy. He was kind enough to send me his timing charts, score sketches, and other documents related to his work on Indy, which afforded me an illuminating glimpse of the creative process for his novel achievement.

Imperialism, Nostalgia, and Indiana Jones

Before delving into Indy's music, nostalgia's relationship with imperialism warrants further discussion. The fact that colonialists often wax nostalgic for a colonized culture as it was

[270] Karen Collins, *Game Sound: An Introduction to the History, Theory, and Practice of Video Game Music and Sound Design* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008).
[271] Tim Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music* (Cambridge University Press, 2016); William Cheng, *Sound Play: Video Games and the Musical Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

before they altered or destroyed it may seem counterintuitive. Yet it hovers over the imperialist enterprise. Rosaldo, for example, emphasizes its paradoxical nature: "a person kills somebody and then mourns his or her victim." Further, "in more attenuated form, someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to his or her intervention. At one more remove, people destroy their environment and then worship nature."[272] Rosaldo recognized this phenomenon in 1969 while researching the Ilongots on the island of Luzon in the Philippines. During this period, he interviewed an evangelical missionary who reminisced about her arrival a decade earlier. In addition to withstanding threats on her life from men she described as "headhunters," she reveled in the folk songs the indigenous people sang; not only that, but nowhere in the community did she find a single store-bought shirt.[273] In fact, the missionary herself had ensured that these old ways would disappear, such that baptized Ilongots gave up their songs and un-Christian activities such as headhunting ceased. As for the store-bought shirts, many had been donated by the missionary herself. Yet she failed to recognize her own role in this transformation of Ilongot society. Rosaldo thus concludes that imperialist nostalgia uses "innocent yearning" to mask its complicity with domination and destruction.[274] It is this mixture of innocence—and ignorance—in the service of destruction that come to the fore in Indy.

Not surprisingly, imperialist nostalgia is associated with "the white man's burden," the notion that white colonizers are duty-bound to civilize so-called savage peoples by imposing their Western values upon them. The phrase comes from Rudyard Kipling's eponymous poem,

[272] Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," 107-108.
[273] Ibid., 115.
[274] Ibid.

first published in the London *Times* on February 4, 1899. The opening stanza exhorts readers to tackle the task at hand, framing the project as an act of sacrifice and loyalty to a higher cause:

> Take up the White Man's burden—
> Send forth the best ye breed—
> Go bind your sons to exile
> To serve your captives' need;
> To wait in heavy harness
> On fluttered folk and wild—
> Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
> Half devil and half child.[275]

The Indiana Jones franchise sustains this motif. Jones intends to "serve his captives' need" by taking non-Western artifacts to Western museums so that they can be preserved. In other words, Jones himself and museums are better suited to take care of cultural treasures than "sullen peoples." Yet at no point in the trilogy do any of the artifacts Jones obtains actually come to rest in a museum. In *Temple of Doom*, for example, he returns the magical Sankara Stones to the Indian village from which they were stolen instead of selling them to a museum for his own "fortune and glory." Jones's benevolence saves the village, and he's celebrated as a hero.

Thus, whether Jones ultimately takes up the white man's burden is debatable. But he is clearly driven by the desire to ensure that the artifacts he seeks don't fall into the wrong hands. Motivation therefore differentiates what Mark Moss calls "good imperialism" from "bad imperialism."[276] How could imperialism possibly be good? In *Raiders*, Jones races to recover the Ark of the Covenant before the Nazis do. It is believed that the Ark's supernatural powers, including its ability to level entire cities, will make the Nazis invincible. Jones is a good

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[275] Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" reprinted in Christopher Hitchens, "Burdens and Songs: The Anglo-American Rudyard Kipling," *Grand Street* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1990): 204-5.
[276] Mark Moss, "*Indiana Jones* and the Museums of Imperialism," *Pop Culture Review* 12, no. 2 (2001), 116. Tatiana Prorokova similarly calls Jones a "good colonizer" in "Translocations, Cultural Geography and Anthropological Imperialism," 59. See also Deborah Montgomerie, "Beyond the Search for Good Imperialism: The Challenge of Comparative Ethnohistory," *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997): 153-68.

imperialist because he aims to save the Ark from being used for evil by the Nazis, the bad imperialists.[277] In the end, Jones defeats the Nazis and good imperialism triumphs.

Despite their many parallels, the film franchise and Indy take different approaches to imperialism. Unlike the films, in Indy there is no bad imperialist that serves as Jones's foil. This lacuna brings into question Jones's status as a good imperialist. If he's not after the temple's treasures to protect them from some group like the Nazis, then he's after them because he believes they belong in a museum or for his own gain. However, Mara turns into a villain whom Jones and guests must outwit to escape the temple alive. The second difference is the way in which indigenous people are represented. Relevant to this discussion is the depiction of Indians. In *Temple of Doom*, the Indian villagers, whose lives were upended when their Sankara Stones were stolen, are depicted as helpless, submissive, and in need of a white savior. In Indy, no Indians are present at all. Why they are completely absent from the attraction is unknown. The effect of this instance of Disneyfication is twofold. On the one hand, guests aren't subjected to seeing native Indians as inferior to Jones. On the other, Indians have no voice in the narrative whatsoever.

Video Games, Immersion, and Disneyfication

As the *Los Angeles Times* article, mentioned above, reported, Indy "is, in essence, a large-scale, interactive video game," distinguishing itself from all other Disneyland attractions that came before it.[278] This novel design was a response to guests' changing tastes. The video game industry exploded in the 1970s thanks to the success of *PONG* (1972), a table tennis game, and by the 1990s a generation of young adults had grown up as gamers. Tony Baxter, the vice

[277] Moss, "*Indiana Jones* and the Museums of Imperialism," 116.
[278] Lewis, "Disneyland Journeys Into New Territory," OCF1.

president of Walt Disney Imagineering when Indy was under development, sized up this age group: "They're used to taking control, pushing the buttons and being part of the action."[279] Many players like their games to be more than merely interactive, however. They want to be so absorbed by a game that they lose track of their surroundings, a requirement that music helps fulfill.[280] As game scholar Gordon Calleja observes, games can immediately arouse emotions for those suffering from boredom caused by a lack of engagement in meaningful activities, social isolation, or mundane routines, among other things. Conversely, games can be a form of relaxation for those whose work or personal lives are hectic or overcommitted.[281] In either case, players value games that provide them with a strong sense of engagement in a virtual world.[282] Similarly, "a perfectly [I]magineered attraction," writes anthropologist Noel B. Salazar, "makes you feel like you are on a journey that transports you to a different place or time and completely engulfs you in a new world."[283] Thus, Indy, like a video game, is an immersive experience. (To be sure, some video games draw on violent imagery. It remains an open question as to whether they have the power to goad players to actual violence, a hotly debated topic in the 1990s led by the late Senator Joseph Lieberman.[284])

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[279] Ibid.
[280] Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music*, 58.
[281] Gordon Calleja, *In-Game: From Immersion to Incorporation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011): 135-137.
[282] Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music*, 58.
[283] Noel B. Salazar, "Imagineering Cultural Heritage for Local-to-Global Audiences," in *The Heritage Theatre: Globalisation and Cultural Heritage*, eds. Marlite Halbertsma, Alex van Stipriaan, and Patricia van Ulzen (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 49.
[284] Edmund L. Andrews, "Industry Set to Issue Video Game Ratings as Complaints Rise," *New York Times*, December 9, 1993; John Burgess, "Video Game Firms Yield on Ratings: Sega Rejects Calls to Tone Down Content," *The Washington Post*, December 10, 1993; Faltin Karlsen, "Analyzing Game Controversies: A Historical Approach to Moral Panics and Digital Games," in *The Dark Side of Game Play: Controversial Issues in Playful Environments*, eds. Torill Elvira Mortensen, Jonas Linderoth, and Ashely ML Brown (New York: Routledge, 2015), 22.

Game scholars have defined immersion as the process in which a player's awareness of their surroundings diminishes gradually as their involvement in a virtual world increases.[285] Immersion can take the form of absorption (participation in a game) and transportation (the feeling of re-location).[286] Indy corresponds perfectly to these criteria, absorbing guests into its narrative while transporting them to an imaginary 1930s India. Indy also resembles an extension of this ongoing quest for immersion, namely, role-playing video games or RPGs. In RPGs, players assume the role of characters in an imagined world, simultaneously becoming a story's authors and audience. Typically, the stories are episodic, and players must follow a set of rules that determine how their characters can navigate the game world.[287] Similarly, Indy's guests take on the role of treasure-seeking tourists and venture through a series of sections (episodes) with a handful of interactive features that the Imagineers designed to control the guests' experience.

Of course, music plays an important role in video-game immersion.[288] It complements what players see on-screen and relays information about events, characters, and other things that are not visible. In addition, players often participate directly in the immersion process in that they are given agency to alter a game's music in real time. Accordingly, Indy's guests prompt various musical selections with their actions. Sometimes the sense of agency is false, however, and guests only have the impression of autonomy.

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[285] Lennart E. Nacke and Mark Grimshaw, "Player-Game Interaction through Affective Sound," in *Game Sound Technology and Player Interaction: Concepts and Developments*, ed. Mark Grimshaw (Hershey, NY: Information Science Reference, 2011), 270.
[286] Calleja, *In-Game*, 26-32.
[287] Daniel Mackay, *The Fantasy Role-Playing Game: A New Performance Art* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company), 5.
[288] Rod Munday, "Music in Video Games," in *Music, Sound and Multimedia: From the Live to the Virtual*, ed. Jamie Sexton (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 56.

Starting Off: Queue Music

In Indy's preshow, the queue begins in the jungle and winds through an abandoned archaeologists' camp that abuts a temple. The camp and temple might well make it difficult for guests to situate themselves historically via the visuals alone—unless of course, they know of the film franchise (Figure 4.1). Certainly, no guest expects a real temple. But as it turns out, it's a clever simulacrum, one that combines elements from Egyptian, Mayan, Aztec, Cambodian, and Hindu architectures. For example, its stepped-pyramid design closely resembles that of the Tamil Nadu Hindu temples of Mahabalipuram and Vardaraja at Kanchipuram.[289] The temple thus conveys an air of some distant, ancient world utterly lacking in geographical or chronological moorings but gratifying to the guest playing at being an imperialist.



Figure 4.1: Indy's temple and queue. Photographed by the author on May 28, 2021.

[289] Jamiee K. Comstock-Skipp, "From the World's Fair to Disneyland: Pavilions as Temples," *Open Arts Journal* 2 (Winter 2013-14): 7.

One object in the camp offers guests a clue as to the temporal setting, however. Inside a large tent, a radio broadcasts news about the temple's discovery, in English, along with quintessential big band recordings such as Glenn Miller's "In the Mood" and "Moonlight Serenade." It's as though a Jones-led team of American archaeologists left the radio on while they ventured deep into the temple's bowels. Notably, the recordings' function resembles an important aspect of video games, musical texturing. Summers defines this practice as a means of adding depth to a game's fictional construct through music, that is, beyond what is visible to a player.[290] "In the Mood," especially, with its memorable syncopated theme based on repeated arpeggios and tenor sax battle during the solo section, is an easily recognizable selection from the swing era, namely, the 1930s; indeed, it is practically an anthem of that period.[291] In fact, the Glenn Miller recordings are from 1939 and thus postdate the attraction's setting in 1936. Surely, no guest would have complained about such chronological imprecision, however. They also wouldn't have been aware of the exact year of the adventure they were about to experience until they came across a collection of letters posted on a bulletin board in a makeshift office located deep in the temple. The most recent among them, stating that Jones has gone missing, is dated July 5, 1936. It appears the Imagineers were similarly unconcerned with strict historical accuracy, seeking mainly to immerse guests in the 1930s more generally.

These big band classics signify more than just the 1930s, however. They sonically represent the inroads made by the American archaeologists in the jungle, serving as a metaphor for America's global primacy in the field, which peaked during the interwar years.[292] At that

[290] Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music*, 57-84
[291] Spragg, Dennis M. *Glenn Miller Declassified* (Lincoln: Potomac Books, 2017).
[292] Andrew W. Bell, "Situating Indy: American Archaeologists, Global Ambitions and the Interwar Years," in *Excavating Indiana Jones: Essays on the Films and Franchise*, ed. Randy Laist (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2020), 14.

time, Americans led and financed expeditions to Egypt, Turkey, and dozens of other countries. Their efforts culminated in 1931 when the American School of Classical Studies, established fifty years earlier in Athens, was granted the right to excavate the agora of ancient Athens alongside a Greek team. An American served as the field director for this expedition, which was dubbed "The World's Greatest Archeological Project."[293] Markedly contrasting with ancient Athens was the booming popularity of swing, with its driving rhythms and catchy melodies, which reached across the globe during the 1930s. Its presence in Indy reflects the United States' growing influence worldwide, despite the Great Depression and the threat of a European war.

As guests near the end of the queue they enter a large chamber where three 1930s-style newsreels, created for a fictitious news segment titled "Eye on the Globe," are projected on a wall, one revealing that Indy has been missing for an entire week. The newsreels, a bygone form of news media, function as yet another source of nostalgia. Launched in the 1910s, they all but disappeared by the early 1970s and were certainly obsolete by the time Disneyland launched Indy in 1995. Normally, they played in cinemas before feature films or in dedicated news cinemas, keeping audiences abreast of current events and introducing them to foreign cultures and traditions. Despite their short lifespan, at least compared to other media outlets such as newspapers, newsreels were extremely popular. By the middle of the twentieth century, approximately one tenth of the global population would have seen a newsreel, according to the film historian and former news curator Luke McKernan.[294] Their inclusion in Indy, therefore, might well promote nostalgia for a time that seems increasingly remote in the twenty-first

[293] Ibid.,19-20; Stephen L. Dyson, *Ancient Marbles to American Shores: Classical Archaeology in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 179-181; "Marvels of the Agora Await American Spade," *New York Times*, January 1, 1928.
[294] Luke McKernan, "Newsreels and History," Luke McKernan, accessed October 24, 2024, https://lukemckernan.com/2017/02/12/newsreels-and-history/.

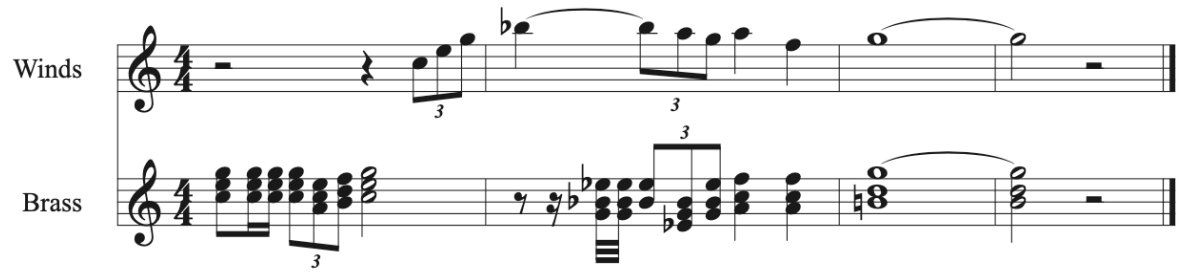
century, an era when large groups of people could gather in a theater, watch recorded footage of current events, and generally agree on what were and were not facts and what was or was not considered news.

The newsreels in Indy also offer another similarity to video games, the cutscene. A cutscene is a film within a video game that, among many things, provides backstory, serves as a pacing tool, and helps sustain immersion.[295] Indy's newsreels achieve all three of these goals. First, with their enticing titles—"Tourists Flock to Mysterious Temple," "Riddle of the Lost Tourists!" and "Temple Beckons Rich and Famous"—the newsreels explain that the guests, like any other imperialists, can take home some of the temple's treasures. Second, because guests must often wait in this chamber to pace the flow of traffic, the newsreels also entertain them as they wait. Third, they are a vehicle for music rich in the power of suggestion, specifically, a fanfare by Bellis. Composed to bookend the newsreels, the fanfare succeeds in maintaining immersion aurally. Here, Bellis drew on his own "vivid memories" of the Fox Movietone newsreels he heard so often as a child.[296] Prominently featured was John Stepan Zamecnik's snappy "World Events March," which served as the Fox Movietone theme beginning in the 1930s.[297] The fanfare with which Bellis regales guests at Indy was likely influenced by that work.

Like Zamecnik's march, Bellis's fanfare immediately grabs the viewer's attention. The winds' opening gesture resembles the beginning of Zamecnik's melody (Musical Examples 4.1 and 4.2). In both pieces, an ascending triplet figure leads up to the highest note in the phrase,

[295] Hugh Hancock, "Better Game Design Through Cutscenes," Gamasutra, last modified April 2, 2002, accessed June 1, 2020, https://www.gamasutra.com/view/feature/131410/better_game_design_through_.php; Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music*, 20-21.
[296] Richard Bellis, email to author, October 13, 2022.
[297] Daniel Goldmark, "Zamecnik, John Stepan," *New Grove Online*, accessed October 24, 2024.

which is held before falling back down. In Bellis's hands, this gesture triumphantly announces to Western tourists the spoils of archaeology, proposing that these individuals too can profit from Jones's discovery. For example, in "Tourists Flock to Mysterious Temple," the fanfare punctuates the narrator's closing line, at which point the smartly dressed tourists pictured in the newsreel are described as "greedy globetrotters…ready for a supernatural shopping spree." Here, one of Said's observations on the sheer acquisitiveness of imperialism is apt. As he notes, from the viewpoint of expanding Western empires, "profit and hope of further profit were obviously tremendously important, as the attractions of…tin, gold, and silver over centuries amply testify."[298] Indy's tourists, beckoned in part by the fanfare, continue this centuries-old desire to profit from the natural resources and artifacts of the Other.



Musical Example 4.1: Richard Bellis's "Fanfare." Score reduction by the author.[299]



Musical Example 4.2: First three bars of the melody to Zamecnik's "World Events March." Transcribed by the author.

[298] Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, 10.
[299] I've included my transcriptions of Bellis's cues because he asked me not to publish or distribute the materials he shared with me.

Ride Technology and Video-Game Music

Once guests reach the end of the queue they board jeep-like troop transports that whisk them away on a thrilling ride through the temple. The transports are yet another example of technology's role in Disneyfication. They are equipped with programmed hydraulic systems that jostle guests in their seats as they careen through a handful of elaborate show rooms based on scenes from the films: a collapsing bridge, a bug-filled room, an attacking snake, flying darts, and a giant rolling boulder. More important to our discussion, though, is the fact that Indy was Disneyland's first attraction to have music on-board its ride vehicles.[300] Every row is furnished with five speakers mounted in the dashboard. This new approach allowed Bellis to score the ride like a film and Mickey Mouse "every important bounce, bump, and bang."[301]

The transports pass over a series of mechanical devices that trigger specific musical cues, which Bellis wrote for each section of the ride. These cues can be classified using video-game music terms. Interactive music is that which responds to a player's actions, a principle evident in several instances in Indy.[302] For example, the music often changes when guests move from one scene to the next. These changes, based on locale, also resemble what game-music designers call decision points, that is, junctures at which musical changes can occur when real-time game conditions are either met or varied.[303]

Other musical considerations are practical. Due to Indy's dynamic nature, several cues have what Bellis calls "long tails," swelling figures or fermatas at the ends of phrases that can be held, if needed, to adapt to Indy's variable ride time.[304] These long tails are like adaptive music

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[300] Bellis, email to author.
[301] Richard Bellis, *The Emerging Film Composer: An introduction to the People, Problems, and Psychology of the Film Music Business* (BookSurge Publishing, 2006), 152.
[302] Collins, *Game Sound*, 4.
[303] Michael Land and Peter N. McConnell, "Method and Apparatus for Dynamically Composing Music and Sound Effects Using a Computer," *United States Patent Number 5,315,057* (May 24, 1994): 1.
[304] Bellis, *The Emerging Composer*, 152-53.

in video games, music that reacts to varying game states.[305] Not every journey through Indy's temple is equal in length, as the time it takes to load and unload guests is unpredictable. Some guests may be slow to load one transport, obliging the other transports throughout the attraction to stall so that they don't end up crashing into each other or crowding the loading zone. To avoid such complications, each transport has a computer that constantly exchanges information with the others and tells them when they can go forward or when they must wait.[306] The same computer system has a musical purpose in that it tells the transport when to hold a long tail and when to move on to the next cue. Thus, the well-integrated music assumes not only a psychological but a practical role.

Most of the cues feature at least one of the many themes John Williams wrote for the Indiana Jones trilogy. (Figure 4.2 details the film-music cue from which Bellis took themes to accompany each section of the ride.) This practice is common in video games based on films, as in Graeme Norgate and Grant Kirkhope's music for *GoldenEye 007* (1997), which is based on Éric Serra's score for the film *GoldenEye* (1995). In such instances, it is crucial for a game's music to sufficiently resemble its source material so that players experience the game world within the film's universe.[307] Put simply, familiarity is key to immersion. A player may be immersed in the game itself, but beyond the game lies the film, with its host of sensations, sounds, and especially, memories. Yet Bellis's arrangements, like Norgate and Kirkhope's, are similar but not identical to their respective film scores, just as Bellis imitates the spirit, if not the letter, of Zamecnik's "World Events March." Whereas themes and motives in films assert the presence of characters and other elements over an array of changing contexts, music arranged for

[305] Collins, *Game Sound*, 4.
[306] Ed Squair, "If Adventure Has a Place: Indiana Jones and the Temple of the Forbidden Eye," *The "E" Ticket* 46 (Summer 2009): 40-41.
[307] Summers, *Understanding Video Game Music*, 71.

a video-game adaptation asserts a "new incarnation" of the material, as Summers puts it.[308] Significantly, however, it is an incarnation in which a player participates. In arranging Williams's themes, Bellis situates guests in a new narrative, one that they themselves help to shape within the parameters of Indy and the films. That said, the average guest would not recognize the minute differences in tempo and orchestration between Williams's original themes and Bellis's arrangements of them. The important thing is that guests recognize them as belonging to the Indiana Jones universe.

Ride Scene/Room	Cue Name from film	Respective Film
Chamber of Destiny	"The Miracle of the Ark" (includes the Ark motive)	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Hall of Promise	"The Map Room: Dawn"	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Tunnel of Torment	"The Miracle of the Ark"	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Gates of Doom	"The Desert Chase" (includes the Indiana Jones theme)	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Main Show Room	"The Miracle of the Ark"	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Mummy Chamber	"Nocturnal Activities"	*Temple of Doom*
Bug Room	"In the Idol's Temple" and "The Well of Souls"	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
The Bridge	"The Miracle of the Ark"	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*
Snake Temple	"Slalom on Mt. Humol"	*Temple of Doom*
Mudslide	"Belly of the Beast"	*The Last Crusade*
Skull Room	"Slalom on Mt. Humol" and "The Mine Car Chase"	*Temple of Doom*

[308] Ibid.

Face Room	"Bug Tunnel and Death Trap" and "Slalom on Mt. Humol"	*Temple of Doom*
Dart Corridor	"Bug Tunnel and Death Trap"	*Temple of Doom*
Rolling Boulder	"The Basket Game" and "Fast Street of Shanghai" (includes the Indiana Jones theme)	*Raiders of the Lost Ark* and *Temple of Doom*, respectively
Finale	"Flight from Peru" (includes the Indiana Jones theme)	*Raiders of the Lost Ark*

Figure 4.2: John Williams cues Bellis arranged for Indy.

Ride Music in Indy

Indy's first interactive musical selection occurs when guests leave the loading area in a transport and enter a passageway called the Chamber of Destiny. There they confront three pairs of doors, leading to either the Fountain of Eternal Youth, the Chamber of Earthly Riches, or the Observatory of the Future. Accompanying their encounter is Bellis's arrangement of the Ark of the Covenant motive from *Raiders* (Musical Example 4.3). Some guests will recall from the film that this motive depicts the Ark as a beautiful, powerful, and priceless object, but also a treacherous one, capable of leveling cities. In Indy, the motive anticipates the mysteries and treasures that lie behind the three doors as well as the perils that guests will soon face. The motive's ominous sound stems from a tritone, with the harmony oscillating between G-sharp minor and D minor. The melodic line falls a perfect fifth from D-sharp to G-sharp, which offsets a leap down from D natural to G-sharp, further emphasizing the tritone. The motive is transformed several times during the ride, one of which is discussed below.



Musical Example 4.3: Richard Bellis's adaptation of John Williams's Ark motive from *Raiders of the Lost Ark.* Score reduction by the author.

Bellis has explained that the Imagineers designed the three sets of doors as interactive, three routes from which guests can choose one. These options, however, are but an illusion: the doors that open are selected by a computer program. Again, the reason is practical. The Imagineers could hardly accommodate the wishes of individual guests grouped into one transport. So, as Ed Squair suggests in his behind-the-scenes analysis of Indy, guests cannot be sure how Mara arrives at a decision. They likely assume that he chose the wish of either the majority of the guests in the transport, the strongest willed, or perhaps of the driver.[309]

As for the role of music in this so-called choice, one significant moment is the accompaniment to the Chamber of Earthly Riches. The doors open, and Mara says in a deep voice, "You seek the treasure of Mara? Glittering gold—it is yours." A yellow light illuminates wall carvings that depict Mara tossing gold coins into piles that stack up next to other valuable treasures as the transport drives up a sloped chamber. Significantly, Bellis departed here from Williams's score and wrote an original cue. Chimes play a chromatic descending line that approximates the tinkling sound of coins falling. An upward harp glissando follows, representing

[309] Squair, "If Adventure Has a Place," 51.

glittering gold piling high. This pattern is then repeated, now at a higher pitch, suggesting that the riches guests will accrue are endless.

Once the transport reaches the top of the chamber guests encounter a giant idol of Mara (Figure 4.3). Inevitably, at least one guest looks into Mara's eyes despite the many warnings not to do so. As Mara intones, "You looked into my eyes! Your path now leads to the Gates of Doom!" a gong crescendo transitions from the sounds of glittering gold to another version of the Ark motive, one in which high vocals on neutral syllables carry the tritone-based idea, producing an eerie effect that suggests evil spiritual forces are at play. Thus, the decision to look into the idol's eyes changed both the fate of the guests and the music.



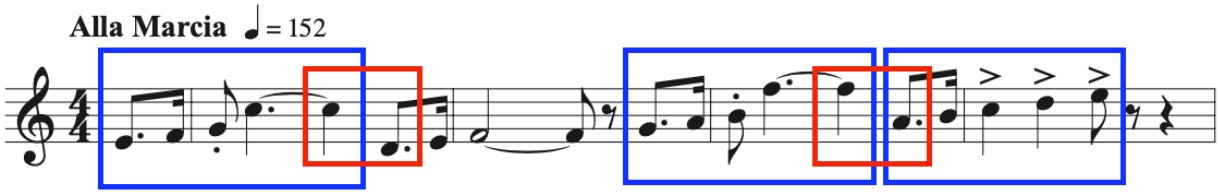
Figure 4.3: Idol of Mara.[310]

Just as Lot's wife turned into a pillar of salt when she looked back while fleeing Sodom, and just as Orpheus lost his wife Eurydice after looking back at her as they left the Underworld, guests to Indy suffer the consequences of the so-called looking taboo. After their transport passes

[310] Image taken from "Mara (Indiana Jones)," Disney Fandom, accessed April 9, 2025, https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Mara_(Indiana_Jones).

the idol, it makes a sharp left turn into the Tunnel of Torment, where Mara's wrath is unleashed. Thunder roars as lightning flashes through huge cracks in the walls, illuminating imposing statues of cobras, the temple's protectors. Complementing all this horror is Bellis's arrangement of the excerpt "The Miracle of the Ark" from *Raiders*. Guests may recall that it occurs at the film's climax, when the orchestra plays stabbing quarter notes as the siren-like angels who emerged from the Ark transform themselves into angry ghosts. Jarring tone clusters, reminiscent of Bernard Herrmann's music in the infamous shower scene from the 1960 film *Psycho*, accompany the ghosts as they attack and kill the Nazis, whose hunger for power led them to open the Ark. Fittingly, Bellis uses this music to underscore the ride's shift from a treasure hunt to a harrowing journey to escape Mara's destructive path. Never again will the temple be as it was prior to the guests' imperialist intervention.

Suddenly, Jones, thought to have disappeared, shows up in Audio-Animatronic form. He struggles to keep Mara's powers behind the towering Gates of Doom, scolds guests for looking into the idol's eyes, and instructs them to continue. As the transport surges ahead, the first four measures of the triumphant Indiana Jones theme, a march, blasts through the speakers (Musical Example 4.4). Its dotted rhythms and syncopations reinforce Jones's swagger and bravura. The melody's three main ascents (boxed in blue) and two dramatic plunges (boxed in red) can be thought to musically represent Jones's struggle to triumph over evil. It also represents his sheer grit, as Jones rises to the occasion each time he's knocked down. Guests familiar with the films know that Jones's tenacity is linked to his patriotism. In *Raiders*, for example, Jones eventually recovers the Ark for the American government despite the Nazi's many attempts to kill him during their race to recover the artifact.



Musical Example 4.4: The Indiana Jones theme as heard in Indy. Transcribed by the author.[311]

It is therefore entirely fitting that Williams wrote Jones's theme as a march. For Williams, the march is a nostalgic and patriotic form that belongs to the era and spirit of John Philip Sousa (1854-1932). Like many of his compatriots, Williams proposes that Sousa's marches "go to some place in the American soul and are part of what defines us as a nation."[312] This sense of identity emerges in Sousa's titles. His "The Stars and Stripes Forever" and "Semper Fidelis" are the official marches of the United States and the U.S. Marine Corps, respectively, thus affirming military power and collective confidence. Many Americans would find it hard to imagine an annual Fourth of July celebration without fireworks accompanied by a recording or rousing community band rendition of a Sousa march.

Furthermore, few genres so aptly convey imperialism as a march.[313] Especially relevant to Indy is the fact that various composers have drawn on the march to situate India in the imperialist mindset. For example, Léo Delibes's opera *Lakmé* of 1883, set in British-occupied India, contains the march "Allons, avant que midi sonne" ("Come before noon sounds") in its second act.[314] Sir Edward Elgar wrote several marches for his *Crown of India* suite of 1912 to celebrate King George V and Queen Mary's status as Emperor and Empress of India, one year

[311] Bellis indicated this metronome marking in his recording notes for Thursday, January 12, 1995.
[312] Williams quoted in Michael J. Colburn, "John Williams Returns to Bands Where He Began 50 Years Ago," *Instrumentalist* (June 2004): 13.
[313] See Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism in Music: Britain 1876-1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 411-449.
[314] Charles P.D. Cronin and Betje Black Klier, "Théodore Pavie's 'Les Babouches Du Brahmane' and the Story of Delibes's *Lakmé*," *The Opera Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1996): 22.

after George's coronation.[315] Similarly, the brass-dominated Indiana Jones theme celebrates the Western hero's arrival in the Indian temple and offers guests a glimmer of hope as they try to escape from the enemy's clutches themselves.

Just as many imperialist narratives have happy endings—for the invader—Indy's guests can take satisfaction in successfully eluding Mara's treachery. As guests disembark at the loading area, relieved to have left the Tunnel of Torment, the Gates of Doom, and a handful of other simulated death-defying dangers, the march is reprised, now celebrating a happy homecoming. Additionally, the march signals the victory of the guests—the good imperialists—over Mara and, by extension, their superiority over the Other. Their success comes at a price, however. Guests do not leave with any treasures and the temple is left in ruins.

In his analysis of the Indiana Jones trilogy, Mark Moss argues that the thrilling nature of the films masks the sad and violent truths of imperialism.[316] Indy operates similarly. Its many thrills, nostalgia for adventure, and interactive features distract guests from grappling with the complexities beneath its surface. The big band recordings, newsreel fanfare, and music Bellis borrowed from Williams heighten the guests' sense of excitement, nostalgia, and engagement. Therefore, it is surely rare the guest who reflects on imperialism and its price, or on the imperialist nostalgia all this music evokes, as they enjoy Indy. For if they do, they might very well miss the next thrill.

[315] Richards, *Imperialism in Music*, 65-67.
[316] Moss, "Museums of Imperialism," 111.

Chapter 5: Surfing Through Outer Space: Retrofuturism in Space Mountain

From May 1961 to May 1963, NASA's Project Mercury launched six astronauts on solo spaceflights, making them the first Americans in space. The project sparked enthusiasm among the U.S. public: when Alan Shepard, the first American to make a suborbital flight, blasted off from Cape Canaveral in 1961, a large crowd cheered, some with tears in their eyes, and schoolchildren got to miss their normally scheduled classes to watch the event on television. Later missions included an extensive thirty-four-hour flight that completed twenty-two orbits around Earth.[317] As a result, optimism over American technological prowess soared.

On May 27, 1977, fourteen years after the program ended, four of the original Mercury astronauts convened in Southern California for an entirely new mission. Captain Scott Carpenter, Colonel Gordon Cooper, Captain Walter Schirra, and Admiral Alan Shepard all boarded rockets that blasted them through star fields, spiraling nebulas, unexplored galaxies, and the dark vastness of outer space. Upon their safe return they held a public debriefing that was covered by the *Los Angeles Times*. Shepard reported that the trip was "spectacular" but "all too short," insisting he would go again. He was also impressed with the way his rocket "duplicate[d] the forces and vibrations of launch." Carpenter added, "The visual effects are gorgeous. I recommend [space flight] to one and all."[318] As it turns out, the astronauts' mission—lasting only three minutes—was to ride the indoor roller coaster Space Mountain, Disneyland's newest space-travel simulacrum in Tomorrowland.

When Space Mountain opened in 1977, its concept was simple yet innovative: a roller coaster in the dark. Roller coasters had enjoyed a long history in the United States, starting in

[317] Emily Carney and Bruce McCandless, "Project Mercury," in *Star Bound: A Beginner's Guide to the American Space Program, from Goddard's Rockets to Goldilocks Planets and Everything in Between* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2025), 65-73.
[318] Quoted in Bella Stumbo, "Astronauts at Disneyland," *Los Angeles Times*, May 28, 1977, B12.

1884 at Coney Island with wooden or metal carts.[319] Space Mountain, however, is housed in a futuristic conical dome measuring 200 feet in diameter and 118 feet tall, suggesting both a space port and a mountain (Figure 5.1). As a result, the coaster offers a cinematic experience unlike any of its traditional outdoor counterparts, which normally involve steep hills, sudden drops, and sharp turns, all in the open air.[320] Rather, Space Mountain tells a story in a hyperreal galactic environment, with projections of the space phenomena mentioned above displayed on the dome's interior walls. Now guests ride in fiberglass vehicles resembling open-cockpit rockets. Although the rockets' maximum speed is only twenty-eight miles per hour, the darkness enhances the sensation of speed by eliminating visual cues, such as the coaster's track, which would ordinarily help guests gauge how fast they are moving.[321] Despite these innovations, for its first nineteen years of operation, Space Mountain was without music; it remained in what the Imagineer and sound designer Eddie Sotto calls the "silent era" of roller coasters.[322] At that time, the sounds accompanying coasters were mostly limited to mechanical clanking and the guests' screams. Eventually—and with the help of well-chosen music—Space Mountain would defy these norms.

[319] Robert Coker, "100 Years of 100 Things: Roller Coasters," WNYC, accessed April 16, 2025, https://www.wnyc.org/story/100-years-of-100-things-roller-coasters/.
[320] Jack E. Janzen and Leon J. Janzen, "Disney's Space Mountain," *The "E" Ticket* 30 (Fall 1998): 36; Chris Strodder, *The Disneyland Encyclopedia: The Unofficial, Unauthorized, and Unprecedented History of Every Land, Attraction, Restaurant, Shop, and Event in the Original Magic Kingdom* (Santa Monica: Santa Monica Press, 2008), 396-87.
[321] Janzen and Janzen, "Disney's Space Mountain," 35.
[322] Eddie Sotto, "'Fear Minus Death Equals Fun': Eddie Sotto Talks Experiential Design and It's [sic] Subliminal Process," Sotto Studios, accessed October 9, 2024, http://www.sottostudios.com/blog/tag/space+mountain.



Figure 5.1: Disneyland's Space Mountain.[323]

In 1996, the Imagineers embarked on a mission of their own. Just as the Indiana Jones Adventure enhanced guests' experience with music that heightens the emotional impact of each section of the ride, the Imagineers determined that music would be a critical element of Space Mountain. To that end, they built new rockets with onboard sound systems. Sotto worked with the composer Aarin Richard, who had written music for other Disney Parks attractions (e.g., The Twilight Zone Tower of Terror in Disney World), to score the coaster as if he were scoring a film.[324] Sotto and Richard's soundtrack, which accompanied Space Mountain from 1996 to 2003, fuses an unusual combination of sounds. Whereas 1950s sci-fi film music might not seem such a surprising choice, the 1960s surf-music rendition of Camille Saint-Saëns's "Aquarium" from *Carnival of the Animals* is certainly unexpected. As argued below, all evoke retrofuturism.

[323] Image taken from SolarSurfer, "Space Mountain Top Platform," last modified January 4, 2009, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Space_Mountain_Top_Platform.JPG.
[324] Aarin Richard, interview by Matthew Krul, November 9, 2024, https://imaginationskyway.com/aarin-richard-disney-imagineer-space-mountain-music/.

The mere idea of retrofuturism may seem oxymoronic. Yet Elizabeth Guffey and Kate C. Lemay describe this phenomenon, discussed in greater detail below, as "an ambivalent fascination for a future that never came to pass."[325] Because retrofuturism involves looking back at past visions of the future, it is inherently nostalgic. If, as Svetlana Boym has explained, nostalgia is "a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed," clearly the yearning for an unattained future echoes the notion of a "lost home," but one that was never real in the first place.[326] Space Mountain therefore exemplifies retrofuturism by nostalgically presenting a vision of space travel that never came to fruition.

One such thwarted vision came from Walt himself, who had his sights set on space long before Space Mountain ever launched. In a 1955 episode of the weekly *Disneyland* television series titled "Man and the Moon," Walt enticed viewers, saying that Tomorrowland guests "may experience the thrills that space travelers of the future will encounter when rocket ships to the moon become a daily routine."[327] Although some institutions, such as Elon Musk's SpaceX and Jeff Bezos's Blue Origin, have recently brought us closer to Walt's prediction, space travel remains unavailable to the average person.[328] In the meantime, Space Mountain offers hyperreal space travel to Disneyland guests every day.

This chapter explores the ways in which Space Mountain evokes retrofuturism. In echoing the techniques of 1950s sci-fi film composers, Sotto and Richard strategically coordinated the music with the key moments of the ride. For example, the music that

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[325] Elizabeth Guffey and Kate C. Lemay, "Retrofuturism and Steampunk," in *The Oxford Dictionary of Science Fiction*, ed. Rob Latham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 434.
[326] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia,* xiii.
[327] *Disneyland*, season 2, episode 35, "Man and the Moon," directed by Ward Kimball, aired December 28, 1955, on ABC.
[328] Jacqui Goddard, "What's next for Nasa and space travel under Elon Musk's regime?" *The Times*, November 19, 2024, https://www.thetimes.com/world/us-world/article/nasa-elon-musk-space-x-mars-kq9xrr2w9?utm_source=chatgpt.com&region=global.

accompanies the rockets' ascent to the peak of the track, a suspense-filled moment in any roller coaster, depicts space as a dangerous and mysterious frontier awaiting exploration. On the other hand, the rockets' descent down the track, accompanied by a surf rendition of "Aquarium," turns this experience into a thrilling intergalactic adventure. As with any roller coaster, the descent is the moment of fulfillment. Thus, guests would find Disneyland's version of space travel not only accessible but gratifying.

Retrofuturism and Tomorrowland

Despite its association with the past, retrofuturism is a relatively recent neologism. The *Oxford English Dictionary* explains that "retro-futuristic" means "resembling a style or aesthetic considered futuristic in an earlier era."[329] It first appeared in 1983 in the *New York Times*, where an ad for the upscale department store Bloomingdale's described a Dior jewelry line as "silverized steel and sleek grey linked for a retro-futuristic look."[330] Rob Latham speculates that "retrofuturism" itself was coined by the writer, editor, and musician Lloyd Dunn, who in 1988 changed the name of his art magazine from *Futurism* to *Retrofuturism*.[331] Thus, the term originated in popular media before entering academic discourse.

Scholars began theorizing about retrofuturism in the early 2000s.[332] As Guffey observes, the concept builds on a popular view of the future shaped by late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century futurist novelists such as Jules Verne and H.G. Wells.[333] The spacecrafts, flying vehicles, and time machines in many of their works fostered a faith in progress and technological

[329] "retro-futuristic," *Oxford English Dictionary*, accessed January 28, 2025.
[330] Bloomingdales, advertisement, *New York Times*, October 27, 1983.
[331] Rob Latham, "Our Jaded Tomorrows," *Science Fiction Studies* 36, no. 2 (July 2009): 340.
[332] Elizabeth Guffey, *Retro: The Culture of Revival* (London: Reaktion, 2006).
[333] Elizabeth Guffey, "Crafting Yesterday's Tomorrows: Retro-Futurism, Steampunk, and the Problem of Making in the Twenty-First Century," *The Journal of Modern Craft* 7, no. 3 (November 2015): 252-54.

advancement. These views influenced major institutions and large-scale events, as evident in the 1939 World's Fair in New York, whose theme was "The World of Tomorrow." When the Fair opened in April of that year, guests could absorb its many displays that predicted new technologies and showcased their advantages. For example, the Westinghouse Electric Corporation's exhibit featured Elektro, a seven-foot tall metallic robot that could walk, talk, and smoke a cigarette, then considered a sign of sophistication.[334] Another notable exhibit, General Motors' Futurama, projected that within twenty years an intricate system of highways would connect expanding suburbs, a dream that was in fact realized in 1956 when President Eisenhower signed the Federal-Aid Highway Act.[335] Overall, the Fair's optimistic vision of the future sought to restore faith in progress, all on the heels of the Great Depression and amid the conflict in Europe that would explode in just a few months.[336]

America's progress took a beating, however, on October 4, 1957, when the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, the world's first satellite. News outlets fueled fears of a "space race," one that America was losing, moreover, to a communist superpower at the height of the Cold War. In an article titled "Rocket Race: How to Catch Up?" the *New York Times* reported that after Sputnik, critics demanded Washington explain how "the United States failed to keep up with Russia's scientific achievements."[337] In response, the Eisenhower administration dramatically increased funding for space programs, culminating in the creation of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in July of 1958.[338] In short, Sputnik fueled a new urgency to surpass the

[334] David Gelernter, *1939: The Lost World of the Fair* (New York: Avon Books, 1995), 270. See also, Edward Rothstein, "Yesterday's Tomorrows, Fully of Rosy Visions," *New York Times*, December 7, 2012, C25.
[335] Gelernter, *1939*, 35.
[336] Marco Duranti, "Utopia, Nostalgia and World War at the 1939-40 New York World's Fair," *Journal of Contemporary History* 41, no. 4 (October 2006): 663.
[337] "Rocket Race: How to Catch Up?" *New York Times*, October 20, 1957, E1.
[338] Yanek Mieczkowski, *Eisenhower's Sputnik Moment: The Race for Space and World Prestige* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 172-173.

Soviets, igniting American enthusiasm for space exploration and technological advancement—put simply, futurism.

As noted, popular authors had long promoted futurism. So too did popular media. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, pulp magazines such as *Amazing Stories*, *Future Science Fiction*, and *Science Wonder Stories* featured flying cars, meal-replacement pills, and other technologies promising to make life easier and more efficient. Comic books, magazines, radio programs, and films presented the futuristic sagas of the ray-gun-wielding space heroes Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon.[339] Television further shaped space-age fantasies well into the 1960s with shows such as *The Jetsons* (1962-63), *Lost in Space* (1965-68), and *Star Trek* (1966-69) presenting such fantasies from a variety of perspectives. The televised 1969 moon landing reinforced the idea that these dreams could become reality, as viewers worldwide sipped Tang (the powdered orange drink that astronauts imbibed in space) while they digested in the comfort of their homes the famous words of Neil Armstrong, the first man on the moon: "That's one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind."[340]

By the mid-1970s, however, these hopeful ideals waned in the face of an oil embargo, economic recession, and environmental disasters, including the 1979 partial meltdown at Three Mile Island, a nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania.[341] These crises sparked debates about technology and its alleged benefits. Even NASA came under fire, as critics questioned the cost-effectiveness of space travel and the space program in general.[342] On January 6, 1972, the *New York Times* reported that elected officials such as Senator William Proxmire of Wisconsin were

[339] William J. Fanning, Jr. "The Historical Death Ray and Science Fiction in the 1920s and 1930s," *Science Fiction Studies* 37, no. 2 (July 2010): 253-274.
[340] Quoted in John Uri, "55 Years Ago: Apollo 11's One Small Step, One Giant Leap," NASA, accessed February 27, 2025, https://www.nasa.gov/history/55-years-ago-apollo-11s-one-small-step-one-giant-leap/.
[341] Guffey, "Crafting Yesterday's Tomorrows," 254.
[342] Roger A. Pielke, *The Rise and Fall of the Space Shuttle* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007).

likely to oppose President Nixon's decision to fund an expensive space shuttle program "when so many down-to-earth social programs have to wait in line for a share of the Federal dollar."[343]

As the public's fascination with futurism faded, retrofuturism emerged to take its place. Futurism's sleek flying cars and silvery spacecraft were not forgotten but rather remembered with a mix of nostalgia and irony.[344] For example, George Lucas's film *Star Wars*, released in 1977, the same year Space Mountain opened, takes place "[a] long time ago in a galaxy, far, far away," borrowing the "once-upon-a-time" beginning of many a fairy tale. It also revives futuristic technology—spacecraft, laser guns, robots—featured in space sagas from the first half of the twentieth century and the 1939 Fair.[345] Indeed, the film's gold-plated droid C-3PO looks like an updated version of Westinghouse's Elektro, a former marvel of robotics that by 1977 appeared bulky and clumsy, especially compared to the modern Audio-Animatronics Disneyland was known for. In short, whereas futurism looks ahead, retrofuturism makes no predictions. Instead, it mirrors Boym's reflective nostalgia, dwelling in *algia*, the longing for a lost time and/or place.[346] Retrofuturism is therefore a "half-nostalgic, half-sentimental memorializing of popular futurism," as Elizabeth Guffey puts it.[347] Thus, it comes as no surprise that Disney, an expert in blending new technologies with nostalgia, ventures into retrofuturism.

As noted above, Disneyland itself is divided into "lands," each with their own theme. When the park opened in 1955, Tomorrowland was designed to depict the far-off year of 1986, when Halley's Comet was to streak across Earth's skies again (as it did).[348] Much along the lines of the 1939 World's Fair, Tomorrowland celebrated the cult of progress and technological

[343] John Noble Wilford, "Opposition in Congress to Space Shuttle Likely," *New York Times*, January 6, 1972, 14.
[344] Guffey and Lemay, "Retrofuturism and Steampunk," 436.
[345] Latham, "Our Jaded Tomorrows," 344.
[346] Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, 41.
[347] Guffey, "Crafting Yesterday's Tomorrows," 254.
[348] Mittermeier, *A Cultural History*, 47.

advancements but with a focus on space travel. For example, visitors in 1955 could behold a seventy-six-foot-tall red and white rocket that stood in front of an attraction called Rocket to the Moon, which simulated space travel before such a feat was possible even for astronauts. Guests sat in a cylindrical theater designed to resemble the interior of a rocket, with screens mounted on the floor and ceiling displaying views of its previous location and its approaching target, the moon.[349] All these details encapsulated Walt's hopeful Tomorrowland opening-day dedication speech, which is engraved on a plaque at the entrance to the "land":

> A vista into the world of wondrous ideas, signifying man's achievements…a step into the future, with predictions of constructive things to come. Tomorrow offers new frontiers in science, adventure, and ideals: the Atomic Age, the challenge of outer space, and a hope for a peaceful and unified world.[350]

In one sense, these words would seem to contradict Walt's concerns over the so-called Age of Anxiety and the atomic disasters it seemed to portend, discussed in chapter 2. Yet for Walt, as for many, space travel remained a source of optimism in uncertain times, a chance to take pride in American technology while bettering the lives of ordinary citizens. Walt also anticipated by five years John F. Kennedy's promotion of a "New Frontier," articulated in his acceptance speech as the Democratic party's presidential candidate in 1960. On that occasion, Kennedy declared that the "New Frontier is here…with its uncharted areas of science and space," likening it to the westward push of the previous century. He posed a question directly to Americans: did they have "the nerve and will" to win "a race for mastery of…the far side of space"?[351] Tomorrowland offered guests a glimpse of what such "mastery" could mean.

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[349] Strodder, *The Disneyland Encyclopedia*, 360-361.
[350] Quoted in "Tomorrowland: Walt's Vision for Today," The Walt Disney Family Museum, accessed February 5, 2025, https://www.waltdisney.org/exhibitions/tomorrowland-walts-vision-today#:~:text=When%20Disneyland%20opened%20on%20July,of%20constructive%20things%20to%20come.
[351] John F. Kennedy, "Acceptance of Democratic Nomination for President," John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum, accessed February 6, 2025, https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/acceptance-of-democratic-nomination-for-president. See also David L. Snead, *John F. Kennedy: The New Frontier President* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, Inc., 2012), 87-108.

Inevitably, however, Tomorrowland's depiction of the future became outdated. When the previously mentioned Rocket to the Moon debuted in 1955, space travel was still a dream. But by the 1960s, NASA's Mercury program, mentioned above, had made it a reality. In 1967, the first of two Tomorrowland overhauls attempted to address such issues. For example, Rocket to the Moon was updated with enhanced special effects, including a moment of weightlessness and a view of astronauts on the lunar surface, and renamed Flight to the Moon. Yet even these improvements soon lost their novelty, especially after the televised moon landing in 1969. Suddenly, weightlessness was no longer confined to the realm of fantasy.

The second Tomorrowland overhaul took place in 1998. In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times*, the Imagineer Tony Baxter explained how he and his colleagues approached the project. Tellingly, he sums up retrofuturism in doing so. "Dreams are the fuel of the future," Baxter declared, adding, "without them the next guy [who] comes along doesn't have anything to build on. So we set about to put some cultural past into our future."[352] One example of the "cultural past" is found at the Tomorrowland entrance. Guests are greeted by the Astro Orbitor, an aerial carousel in which they can ride Jules-Verne-inspired rockets that spin above the ground around a central tower adorned with intricate mechanical spheres resembling planets. The attraction reflects the Imagineers' vision of the new Tomorrowland "as a shrine to idealism—a retro-future combination of high-technology and nostalgia," as the *Los Angeles Times* reported.[353] Perhaps not surprisingly, Tomorrowland ensured that space travel would be Disneyfied, that is, simplified, sentimentalized, and commercialized. Here, music would play an important role, especially with regard to Space Mountain.

[352] Martin J. Smith, "No George Jetson Here: Urban-techno gets a dash of retro flavor at Disney's new Tomorrowland," *Los Angeles Times*, May 14, 1998, 8.
[353] Daryl Strickland, "Tomorrowland Aims to Dig up the Past," *Los Angeles Times*, March 26, 1998, A33.

Space Mountain's Musical Ingredients

Space Mountain was the first roller coaster to ever have an on-board synchronized soundtrack. When Sotto and Richard scored Space Mountain in the mid-1990s, they drew inspiration from midcentury sci-fi films and surf music, adding a retrofuturistic touch to the coaster ahead of the second Tomorrowland overhaul. They also evoked Hollywood's Golden Age of sci-fi, namely, the 1950s, when a plethora of movies was made.[354] This abundance was thanks to four factors: the threat of a nuclear holocaust, the Cold War, the start of aerospace research, and rumors of UFO crashes in Roswell, New Mexico.[355] Many of these films feature silvery flying saucers, chrome robots, and aliens, whose Otherness is enhanced by the eerie sounds of the theremin, invented in 1920 by the Russian physicist and cellist Leon Theremin.

The theremin looks like a radio receiver with its two antennae that generate an electromagnetic field (Figure 5.2).[356] A player waves their hands near the antennae to alter the field, generating a tone. The closer the player's right hand is to the tall, vertical antenna, the higher the pitch. Similarly, the closer the player's left hand is to the looped antenna, the quieter the sound. Special effects like vibrato, portamento, and tremolo are easy to produce with quick movements of the hand. The *New York Times* music critic Harold C. Schonberg famously described its sound as "a cello lost in a dense fog and crying because it does not know how to get home."[357] In contrast, Robert Moog, the electronic music pioneer and inventor of the Moog synthesizer, has said, "There is an ethereal, vibrating, alive sound that sets the theremin apart

[354] James Wierzbicki, "Weird Vibrations: How the Theremin Gave Musical Voice to Hollywood's Extraterrestrial 'Others,'" *Journal of Popular Film & Television* 30, no. 3 (Fall 2002): 127.
[355] Ibid.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Harold C. Schonberg, "Music: Leon Theremin: Inventor of Instrument Bearing His Name Is Interviewed in the Soviet Union," *New York Times*, April 26, 1967, 40.

from string instruments."[358] Indeed, the theremin is often likened to an altered human voice. James Wierzbicki writes that the theremin produces a "quasi-vocal timbre—similar to that of a male voice singing the long 'u' vowel in falsetto."[359] These peculiar sonic qualities attracted sci-fi filmmakers and composers.[360]

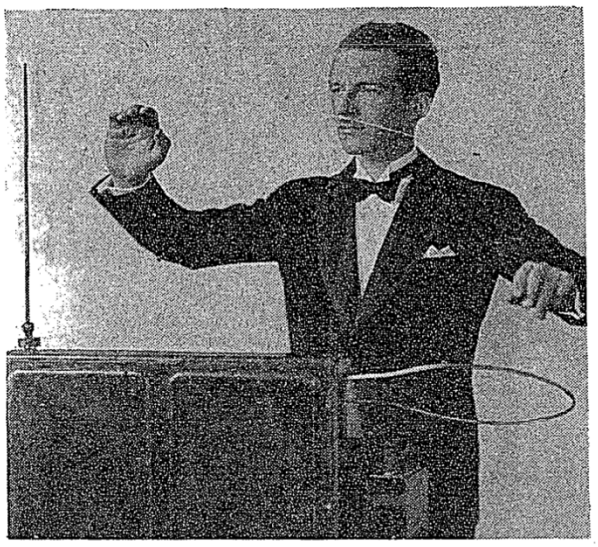


Figure 5.2: Leon Theremin demonstrating his invention at Carnegie Hall in 1928.[361]

The first sci-fi film to feature a theremin was *Rocketship X-M* of 1950, scored by Ferde Grofé. When a moon expedition goes terribly awry, a crew of astronauts finds themselves on Mars and decides to explore the red planet. For the nearly thirty-minute scene in which the astronauts traverse the Martian landscape, Grofé employs a quivering theremin that floats

[358] Quoted in Cynthia Magriel Wetzler, "Little Black Box Put Electronica Music on Map," *New York Times*, October 29, 1995, WC16.
[359] Wierzbicki, "Weird Vibrations," 130.
[360] There's a common misconception that the Beach Boys featured a theremin on their recording of "Good Vibrations." The instrument in question was in fact an electro-theremin, developed by Paul Tanner and Bob Whitesell in the late 1950s. See Philip Lambert, "Good Reverberations," in *Good Vibrations: Brian Wilson and the Beach Boys in Critical Perspective*, ed. Philip Lambert (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016), 190. See also Bob Boilen, "The Real Instrument Behind the Sound in 'Good Vibrations,'" NPR, accessed February 28, 2025, https://www.npr.org/sections/allsongs/2013/02/07/171385175/no-it-wasn-t-a-theremin-on-good-vibrations-remembering-paul-tanner.
[361] Image take from William Grimes, "Leon Theremin, Musical Inventor, Is Dead at 97," *New York Times*, November 9, 1993, B10.

hauntingly over slow-moving harmonies in the orchestra. Here, the theremin sets an ominous tone while also evoking the sound of an imagined wind howling across Mars's rugged terrain.[362]

Other sci-fi film composers soon followed Grofé's lead and incorporated theremins in their scores, including Bernard Herrmann for *The Day the Earth Stood Still* of 1951. In that film, a UFO piloted by two extraterrestrials, Klaatu and Gort, lands on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The two come on behalf of aliens who have been watching Cold War-era nuclear proliferation on Earth and fear it will become a threat to other planets. As the UFO's doors crack open and Klaatu emerges, a theremin plays a series of pianissimo, ethereal D6s "as if to evoke a brilliant shaft of light," as Anthony Bushard writes.[363] The theremin is answered by grumblings from the low electric strings. As a result, Herrmann clearly juxtaposes Klaatu, the Other from above, with Earth. Moments later, Gort's arrival is underscored by two theremins that work together to create one melodic line full of glissandi between tritones and other dissonant intervals, producing a wailing sound that suggests Gort is something to dread.

It was passages like these that solidified the theremin, with its uncanny, wavering, and not-quite-human vocal sound, as the cinematic voice of extraterrestrials and outer space. However, its significance extends beyond its alien associations. 1950s sci-fi films often served as allegories for Cold-War anxieties, including fears of nuclear annihilation, the spread of Communism, the Soviet Union's rapid technological advancements, and a general fear of the Other. The theremin's otherworldly timbre heightened this unease, evoking both fear of the unknown and the potential dangers of unchecked scientific progress.[364]

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[362] Wierzbicki, "Weird Vibrations," 131.
[363] Anthony Bushard, "Waging the Peace: Bernard Herrmann and *The Day the Earth Stood Still*," *College Music Symposium* 49/50 (2009/2010): 316.
[364] Johnathan Minnick, "Distant Ecologies: Sci-fi Film Scores and the Music of the Final Frontier" (PhD diss., University of California, Davis, 2022), 28-79.

The other influence on Space Mountain's soundtrack is surf music, which emerged in the late 1950s and early 60s with the growing popularity of surfing in Southern California.[365] As the historian John J. Bukowczyk has noted, surf music, whether instrumental or vocal, helped enshrine the image of Southern California in the popular imagination as "a freewheeling paradise of young, golden-bronzed [male] bodies with sun-bleached blonde manes."[366] Paul Johnson of the Bel-Airs, a seminal instrumental surf band, describes the genre as a regional American folk music that reflects the experiences of affluent white youths in 1960s Los Angeles suburbs.[367] Perhaps the most famous vocal surf band, the Beach Boys, captured the spirit of this carefree youth culture with their songs about gorgeous girls ("California Girls"), cool cars ("Little Deuce Coupe"), and stateside surfing ("Surfin' U.S.A."). As Luis Sanchez observes, the Beach Boys's first commercial hit, "Surfin' U.S.A.," reached number three on the *Billboard* charts in March of 1963, "creat[ing] a direct passage to California life for a wide teenage audience."[368]

Despite the popularity of vocal groups like the Beach Boys, it was instrumental surf music that inspired Sotto and Richard's Space Mountain soundtrack. Dick Dale, the pioneering surf guitarist, leader of the surf band Dick Dale & His Del Tones, and a surfer himself, asserted, "The [instrumental] style of music I developed…was [inspired by] the feeling I got when I was out there…on the waves…with whitewater caving in over my head. I was trying to project the power of the ocean to the people."[369] Unlike Dale, the Bel-Airs' guitarist Paul Johnson did not surf, however. Nor did he attach surf-related titles to the group's music; rather, Johnson argues that it was the surfers themselves, those well-heeled suburban kids, who associated the sound of

[365] Timothy J. Cooley, *Surfing About Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 46-55.
[366] John J. Bukowczyk, "California Dreamin', Whiteness, and the American Dream," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 35, no. 2 (Winter 2016): 92.
[367] Cooley, *Surfing About Music*, 49.
[368] Luis Sanchez, *Smile* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 10.
[369] Quoted in Robert J. Dalley, *Surfin' Guitars: Instrumental Surf Bands of the Sixties* (Ann Arbor: Popular Culture Ink., 1996), 103.

the Bel-Airs with the sport.[370] Perhaps they made this connection because the Bel-Airs and Dale performed at dances put on at popular Los Angeles surfing beaches. In fact, Johnson recalls a South Bay beach dance in which a prominent surfer exclaimed, "Wow, man—your music sounds just like it feels out on a wave!"[371]

Through their music, guitarists like Dale evoke the thrill of surfing and the power of the ocean in several ways. One such technique, reverb, is created by an electronic device that simulates reverberation, adding space and depth to a sound. When electric guitars are run through reverb, the sound is often described as "wet," making the connection to the ocean obvious.[372] Guitarists also employ tremolo picking, the rapid repetition of one note on a single string. This technique, popularized by Dale, creates an undulating sound that mirrors the rise-and-fall motion of a surfer on a wave, as well as the increased heart rate surfing induces. Additionally, Dale often combines tremolo picking with long glissandi, sliding his hand down the guitar strings to sound like waves crashing. The equipment guitarists use further enhances these effects. For example, Dale uses heavy-gauge guitar strings and Fender Showman amps, all designed to handle his loud and powerful playing.[373] (Dale blew out many amplifiers and speakers before Leo Fender created the Showman amp.[374]) He also plays a Fender Stratocaster solid-body electric guitar on most of his famous surf records, contributing to his twangy sound that became a hallmark of surf guitar.[375]

Dale's sources were eclectic. He often drew on non-diatonic scales to evoke exotic beaches. In 1962, he recorded "Miserlou," based on an eponymous Greek folk song in the *hijaz*

[370] Cooley, *Surfing About Music*, 50.
[371] Quoted in Cooley, *Surfing About Music*, 50.
[372] Ibid., 52.
[373] Ibid., 53.
[374] Ibid.
[375] Caroline Paone, "Let's Go Surfin' Guitars: A Guide to Guitars that Shaped Surf Music," *Guitar Girl Magazine*, August 25, 2020, https://guitargirlmag.com/news/special-features/lets-go-surfin-guitars/.

mode, a scale familiar to some Middle Eastern traditions and characterized by melodic augmented seconds between scale degrees 2 and 3 as well as 6 and 7.[376] Dale's rendition exemplifies his style of guitar playing. As indicated in Musical Example 5.1, tremolo picking prevails throughout the entire presentation of the melody, with prominent downward glissandi (mm. 18 and 22). All mimic the sound of crashing waves, augmented by a heavy reverb such that the sound is "wet."



Musical Example 5.1: Dick Dale on his 1962 Recording of "Misirlou," mm. 18-26. Transcribed by the author.

The Imagineers were likely inspired by Dale's "Miserlou." The number certainly had wide circulation. Indeed, Dale's recording influenced other surf bands including the Beach Boys, the Ventures, and the Trashmen's versions of the tune. Furthermore, Sotto recalls that Quentin Tarantino's film *Pulp Fiction* of 1994 features Dale's version during the opening credits, suggesting that it had sparked a renewed interest in Dale's music and instrumental surf music more generally.[377] Tarantino insists, however, that his use of surf music in the film bypasses its connection with surf culture: "To me it just sounds like rock and roll, even Morricone music." In other words, according to Tarantino, it sounded like "rock and roll Spaghetti Western music," that latter the music so associated with the Italian film composer Ennio Morricone.[378] Whereas

[376] Ibid., 55.
[377] Sotto, "Fear Minus Death Equals Fun."
[378] Quoted in Jeff Dawson, *Quentin Tarantino: The Cinema of Cool* (New York: Applause, 1995), 162.

Tarantino ignored surf music's association with its namesake sport, the Imagineers played into it. Sotto believed that Dale's brand of instrumental surf would "accentuate the [gravitational] forces guests feel when pressed into the twists, turns, and drops each rocket endures."[379] In other words, he effectively proposes that riding Space Mountain is like surfing—surfing through the cosmos. Instead of catching waves, guests race shooting stars and weave through treacherous fields of asteroids, which threaten to collide with the rockets.

Coalescence: The Space Mountain Soundtrack

Space Mountain begins with an anxiety-inducing slow climb to a peak on the track via three chain-driven lifts. Sotto bluntly describes the experience: he notes that as guests endure these "sacrificial climbs," they may well look down and question why they "got on the stupid ride in the first place."[380] To heighten the sense of dread and anticipation, Sotto and Richard chose the theremin. As Sotto writes, "think saucer door cracking open," an allusion to *The Day the Earth Stood Still*, specifically Herrmann's cues for Klaatu and Gort when they open the UFO on the National Mall.[381] Indeed, as the rockets leave the loading area, a theremin in its lower register slowly oscillates between a few notes, each played with wide vibrato, showcasing its wavering quality. Tension builds as the theremin, accompanied by other synthesized swooshes that evoke the sounds of asteroids and stars whizzing by, grows louder and leaps higher. When the rockets make a turn into a sloped tunnel, a synthesizer introduces an ominous quarter-note march that rises in pitch as the rockets climb higher, signaling impending doom (at which point guests might well wonder why they "got on the stupid ride in the first place"). As the agonizing

[379] Sotto, "Fear Minus Death Equals Fun."
[380] Ibid.
[381] Ibid.

climb continues, the theremin whirls loudly in its upper register as percussion and synthesizers create a wall of more space sounds that conform to guests' expectations. Suddenly, everything dies out except for a synthesizer playing a few isolated chords. During the final ascent, the march returns, the tempo quickly increases, and the theremin plays a glissando into the stratosphere with violent vibrato. When the rockets reach the top, the sound of a rocket blasting off takes over and an authoritative voice announces, "We have ignition."

The built-up tension created by the theremin and march is now released. As the rockets begin their anticipated plunge into darkness, an electric guitar enters with a long-held note that is bent down and up, enhancing the moment of weightlessness guests encounter during the coaster's initial drop. This effect also mimics how objects float in space due to the lack of gravity. Then, the mystery of outer space makes a surprising shift to blonde-haired Southern California kids. Four bass-drum kicks thud robotically, leading into the surf-music version of Saint-Saëns's "Aquarium" as the rockets accelerate into deep space.

How did a Saint-Saëns piece from 1886 make its way into a space-themed roller coaster? Inspired by Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Disney CEO Michael Eisner wanted Space Mountain's score to be based on a well-known classical piece. Sotto, however, contended that Strauss's *The Blue Danube*, the piece featured during two space-flight scenes in *2001* in which travelers experience weightlessness, "felt inappropriate to the action" given the coaster's dynamic nature.[382] The regularity of the famous waltz offers viewers something of a comfort, suggesting that space travel is not mysterious or something to fear.[383] Instead, Sotto and Richard settled on "Aquarium," from *Carnival of the Animals*, as noted, one of fourteen movements from Saint-Saëns celebrated zoological fantasy. The work is scored for two pianos, strings, flute

[382] Ibid.
[383] Ibid.

(doubling on piccolo), clarinet, glass harmonica (often replaced by a glockenspiel), and xylophone. The movement is principally in a minor key but ends on a Picardy third. Its main motive, with its narrow intervallic range, is colored with pianistic flourishes whose harmonic underpinnings are similar to Chopin's Etude op. 10, no. 3.

The first complete recording of *Carnival of the Animals* was made for Victor in 1929 by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Leopold Stokowski, who later went on to star as the conductor in Disney's film *Fantasia* of 1940. In 1949, Ogden Nash wrote comic verses that accompany each movement. That year, Andre Kostelanetz conducted the New York Philharmonic for a Columbia recording in which Noël Coward read Nash's verses. Jeremy Nicholas argues that Nash's poetry is "the reason why *Carnival* has been appropriated as music for children" even though it was never intended as such.[384] The short and simplistic poem Nash wrote for "Aquarium" invites children to visualize an underwater world as they listen, with lines such as "Some fish are minnows,/ Some are whales" and "Some fish are slim,/ And some are round."[385] Leonard Bernstein reinforced this trend with his own didactic commentary for his 1962 Sony recording with the New York Philharmonic. Bernstein describes the roles the various instruments take on in "Aquarium" and offers an organological lesson:

> And now we go to the aquarium, where water is described for us by trickling runs on the pianos in the style of Chopin…while the gliding of the fish is pictured for us by a smooth melody in the strings and flute…There are also a few extra drops of water that sprinkle off the little bells, or glockenspiel…Actually, Saint-Saëns wrote this part for a…glass harmonica, which was a very popular instrument in the [nineteenth] century, kind of like a set of water glasses that produced different tones depending on the amount of water in them…Anyway, this old instrument has disappeared from polite musical society, and so we shall hear these watery little notes played on the glockenspiel instead.[386]

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[384] Jeremy Nicholas, "The Gramophone Collection: Saint-Saëns's *Carnival of the Animals*," *Gramophone*, October 10, 2019, 117.
[385] Camille Saint-Saëns, "Aquarium," *The Carnival of the Animals*, New York Philharmonic, conducted by Andre Kostelanetz, recorded 1949, Columbia Masterworks ML 4355, LP.
[386] Camille Saint-Saëns, "Aquarium," *The Carnival of the Animals/ The Young Person's Guide to the Orchestra*, New York Philharmonic, conducted by Leonard Bernstein, recorded 1962, Sony CBS 72393, LP. In fact, composers took advantage of the glass harmonica, invented by Benjamin Franklin in 1761, in the eighteenth century, as

"Aquarium" truly captures the wonder and mystery of the ocean. In an interview prior to a LA Philharmonic performance of *Carnival*, Erin Lundy, a manager at the Aquarium of the Pacific in Long Beach, California, said of the movement, "You can hear the playfulness of bubbles floating to the surface and light trickling through. But if you look down, it's a little dark and you might not know what's lurking beneath…There's so much that's unexplored."[387] This description applies equally well to the darkness and immensity of outer space, much of which also remains "unexplored." In fact, submariners and astronauts face many of the same obstacles when exploring their respective uncharted frontiers, including long-term isolation, challenging environments, limited resources, and physical and psychological complications.[388] Beyond these challenges, the underwater world mimics space in another crucial way: its buoyant environment allows astronauts to train for the weightlessness of spacewalks.[389]

Of course, Sotto and Richard Disneyfied "Aquarium," continuing Disney's tradition of repurposing classical music for popular audiences (see chapter 1). Among the handful of changes Richard made to Saint-Saëns's score is the instrumentation. Richard arranged the piece for electric guitars, drum set, and synthesizers. The veteran Los Angeles guitarist Carl Verheyen recorded the melody and Dick Dale improvised short solos based on his signature licks.[390]

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evidenced by Mozart's works for that instrument (K. 356 and 617). See K. Marie Stolba, "Benjamin Franklin and Music," *American Music Teacher* 26, no. 2 (November-December 1976): 8-10.

[387] Quoted in "Conservation and *The Carnival of the Animals*: An expert from the Aquarium of the Pacific discusses Saint-Saëns' zoological fantasy suite," LA Phil, accessed February 11, 2025, https://www.laphil.com/about/watch-and-listen/conservation-and-the-carnival-of-the-animals.

[388] Vigneshaw Manickham, "Submariners in Space," U.S. Naval Institute, accessed March 13, 2025, https://www.usni.org/magazines/proceedings/2015/june/submariners-space.

[389] Sarah A. Loff, "About NEEMO (NASA Extreme Environment Mission Operation)," NASA, accessed March 12, 2025, https://www.nasa.gov/missions/analog-field-testing/neemo/about-neemo-nasa-extreme-environment-mission-operations/.

[390] Aarin Richard, "Creating the Original Space Mountain Music, Disneyland 1995," Medium, last modified January 11, 2025, accessed October 14, 2024, https://aarinrichard.medium.com/creating-the-original-disneyland-space-mountain-music-1996-df7f1d1e18aa.

Moreover, Dale played his early 1960s Fender Stratocaster and used his Showman amplifier to achieve the same sounds he did over thirty years prior.[391]

A second element Richard altered was tempo. The melody moves at about the same rate as Saint-Saëns's original, marked *Andantino*, but Richard's double-time feel drum-set accompaniment implies a tempo twice as fast. The impression of a brisk tempo (approximately 168 bpm) captures the excitement of the rockets zooming through space. In addition, Verheyen and Dale employ tremolo picking throughout, further enhancing the sensation of speed. Richard also altered the form of "Aquarium" to align with Space Mountain's ride time. A typical performance of the movement takes about two minutes (e.g., the London Symphony Orchestra's 2005 recording clocks in at two minutes and three seconds). However, Space Mountain's descent, the portion accompanied by "Aquarium," only lasts about a minute and forty seconds, on average. Richard thus made several cuts, most notably mm. 13-24 of the original, which repeats much of the material presented in the first twelve bars. But this cut only resolves one timing issue. Since the rockets are powered by gravity, the ride time can vary by twenty to thirty seconds depending on the heat of the track and the weight of the people in the rocket.[392] So, a computerized control system weighs the rockets as they are dispatched.[393] The heavier the rocket, the shorter the soundtrack should be. To accommodate slower rockets, Richard included several "sustains," places where a chord could be held if needed, like the long tails Bellis wrote for sections of Indy (see chapter 4).[394] As a result, the music remains seamless no matter how long it takes the rockets to descend from the peak.

[391] Ibid.
[392] Richard, "Creating the Original Space Mountain Music."
[393] Janzen and Janzen, "Disney's Space Mountain," 38.
[394] Richard, "Creating the Original Space Mountain Music."

Perhaps the most peculiar change made to “Aquarium” is melodic. Richard has Verheyen play the melody Saint-Saëns wrote for flute and first violin. He stays faithful to the original except for the omission of one melody note (see Musical Example 5.2), resulting in a tritone leap, D-sharp to A. Perhaps Richard found this unsettling leap an appropriate accompaniment to the coaster’s startling drops and turns. The omission also leaves more room between phrases, which Dale fills with short improvisations. Dale’s first lick, a long, tremolo-picked downward glissando, spans an octave, and his second is a series of bends on a harmonic. If they hadn’t already, guests familiar with “Miserlou” and other Dale recordings would surely recognize the connection to surf music through these improvisations, which are characteristic of Dale’s playing.



Musical Example 5.2: Comparison of “Aquarium” mm. 1-4 by Saint-Saëns and Richard. Transcribed by the author.

The music builds to a climax as the rockets hurtle through the last sharp turns past more stars. Verheyen crescendos as he plays an ascending line into the guitar’s upper register, ending on a chord that echoes with lots of reverb, highlighting the expansiveness of space one final time. The simulated space expedition ends as the rockets return to the loading station and the music transitions to a synthesizer softly playing a motive based on the first few measures of “Aquarium.”

Ultimately, Sotto and Richard's fusion of a surf-music arrangement of a beloved children's piece from the classical repertory and midcentury sci-fi film music reinforces Space Mountain's retrofuturistic, hyperreal version of space travel. The use of the theremin during the coaster's ascent instills a sense of fear in guests similar to its use in 1950s sci-fi fantasies. But as Sotto argues, "Fear minus death…equals fun," at least for thrill seekers.[395] Meanwhile, the surf-music rendition of "Aquarium" during the rockets' descent transforms the experience into a cosmic joyride, comparable to catching a wave, paradoxically fueled by Earth's gravitational pull—even though gravity weakens in space. Thus, like the rest of Tomorrowland, Space Mountain does not predict the future. Instead, it invites guests to relive the excitement of an era that envisioned space travel as an accessible, everyday adventure.

[395] Sotto, "Fear Minus Death Equals Fun."

Chapter 6: Epilogue

Not long after the park opened in 1955, Walt famously said, "As long as there's imagination left in the world, Disneyland will never be complete."[396] True to his words, Disneyland has continually evolved. New attractions have been introduced as others, whose popularity has waned, have closed. Some have been updated with modern technology and others reimagined to reflect contemporary sensibilities, including principles of racial diversity and inclusion. But such adjustments are not without risk. The recent debate over *Snow White*, Disney's 2025 live-action remake of the 1937 animated feature, gives an idea of the critiques that await any reimagining, with some viewers complaining that the film is "woke" and others attacking the producers' decision to create the dwarfs with computer-generated imagery (CGI) instead of hiring real actors with dwarfism.[397] In Disneyland, one thing that remains constant is nostalgia, a crucial element. This epilogue examines key musical transformations in the four attractions discussed above, along with ways in which nostalgia and Disneyfication have shaped—and continue to shape—these changes.

The Dapper Dans

In 1969, ten years after the Dapper Dans started performing on Main Street, the nightclub performer and barbershopper Charles "Bub" Thomas joined the quartet as one of its revolving members and introduced the group to an instrument unrelated to barbershop, the Deagan organ chimes (Figure 6.1).[398] These chimes were manufactured at the beginning of the twentieth

[396] Quoted in "'Plussing' Disneyland in 1955," The Walt Disney Family Museum, accessed March 5, 2025, https://www.waltdisney.org/blog/plussing-disneyland-1955.
[397] See Brooks Barnes, "Snow White and the Seven Kajillion Controversies," *New York Times* (online), March 20, 2025, https://www.nytimes.com/2025/03/20/business/snow-white-movie-controversies.html.
[398] Chat Bennett, interview by author, March 28, 2023.

century by the J.C. Deagan company, known for its marimbas and xylophones.[399] Though they resemble Indonesian angklungs (idiophones made from bamboo tubes suspended on a frame), their tubes are instead made of metal. Each chime consists of four nickel-plated tubes attached to a wooden frame. The longest tube is tuned to a fundamental pitch, another an octave above that, and two more are doubled two octaves above the fundamental. Attached to the stopped end of the tubes are two small tabs that, when the chime is shaken, glide back and forth in a short channel that is cut into the bottom of the frame. The chime sounds when the tabs strike against the wood at either end of the channel. If a note is to be held for a long duration, the musician simply continues to shake the instrument to produce a series of rapid peals. One can place a finger against the tube they want muted to get the desired octave. These equally tempered instruments came in a variety of sets, the largest containing forty-nine chimes that spanned four octaves.[400] Their overall sonic effect is comparable to handbell tolling.

[399] Bart Hopkin, "Deagan Organ Chimes," *Experimental Musical Instruments* 9, no. 2 (December 1993): 49.
[400] Ibid.

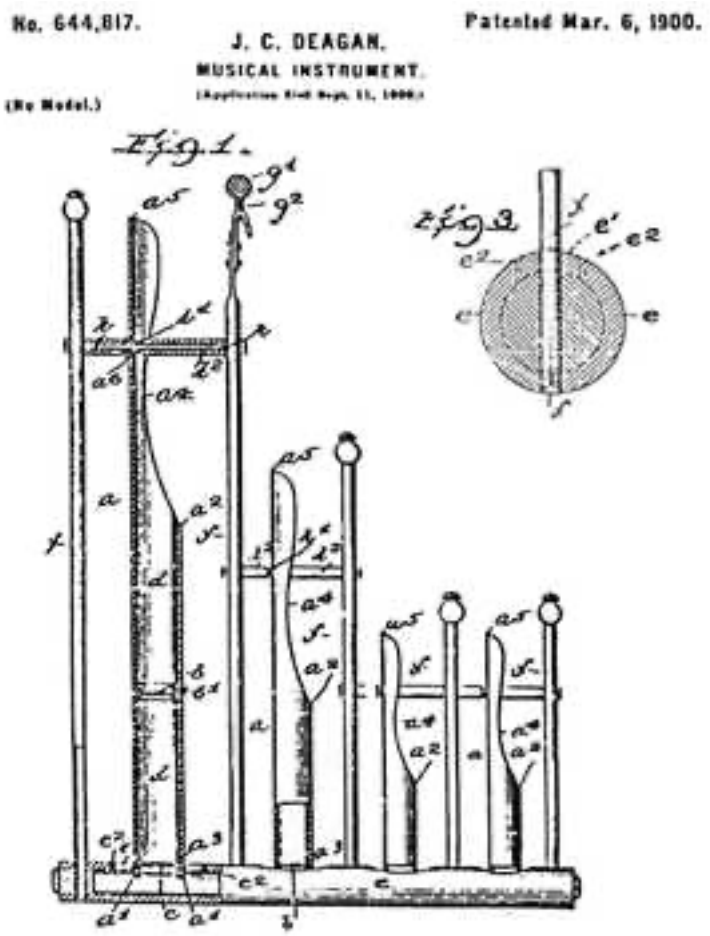


Figure 6.1: J.C. Deagan patent from 1900.[401]

The Deagan company seems to have taken P.T. Barnum's hyperbole as a model for marketing their chimes, advertising them as "universally conceded as being the greatest novelty instrument ever invented."[402] Despite this assertion, the chimes ultimately failed to find a large market. Only a few sets were manufactured and sold, with none made after the early 1920s; in fact, just over a dozen sets are still in existence.[403] The chimes were popular, however, among a handful of circus and vaudeville performers.[404] One such vaudevillian was Billie Bird, who spent

[401] Image taken from Hopkin, "Deagan Organ Chimes," 50.
[402] Quoted in Hopkin, "Deagan Organ Chimes," 52.
[403] Ibid.
[404] Fred Dahlinger, Jr., "Ringing and Ringling: Showmens' Bells, Chimes, and Related Novelty Instruments—Part II," *Carousel Organ* 21 (October 2004): 18.

much of her early career performing on the Keith-Orpheum Circuit and at other major theaters such as The Palace in New York. Later, in the 1940s and 50s, she worked several of the same Los Angeles nightclubs as Bub Thomas. It was then that Bird introduced Thomas to the chimes.[405] Figure 6.2 features the two performers playing the chimes at The Roaring 20s, a club in Torrance, California, c. 1959. According to the former Dapper Dan Chad Bennett, Bird gifted Thomas a set of eight chimes that could play a diatonic C scale.[406] Thomas incorporated the chimes into his nightclub act, and later into the Dans's routines.[407] Perhaps he thought the chimes would enhance the quartet's traditional barbershop harmonies with a novel twist. Whatever the reason, the Dans continue to play the chimes in about a third of their daily performances.[408]



Figure 6.2: Billie Bird (left), Dick Ferrin (center), and Bub Thomas (right).[409]

The Dans's repertoire for chimes and voices ranges from barbershop classics to arrangements of Disney songs. For example, they often perform "Meet Me Down on Main Street," the tune originally written for a 1950 Donald Duck cartoon (see chapter 2). As they sing, each Dan holds two chimes, which they ring in coordination with the other members to create

[405] The Dapper Dans, "A Tribute to Billie Bird," Harmonize, accessed March 31, 2025, http://www.harmonize.com/dapperdans/quartets/billiebird/billiebird.htm.
[406] Bennett, interview.
[407] Over the years the Dans have purchased replacement chimes from various people and places, including museums and churches. Bennett, interview.
[408] Ibid.
[409] Image taken from The Dapper Dans, "A Tribute to Billie Bird."

simple harmonic accompaniments. In other arrangements, the Dans play a shared melody on the chimes, such as in their rendition of "Under the Sea," the Oscar-winning song from Disney's *The Little Mermaid* (1989). As in the animated film, the Dans perform the song as a calypso.[410] It's enhanced by the chimes' peals, which approximate the sound of steel pan drums typical of Caribbean music. The introduction is the result of close coordination among the Dans (Musical Example 6.1). As in a handbell choir, each Dan must sound one of their chimes at the right moment to create the complete melody. Thus, even though the syncopated rhythms and lyrics that catalog the merits of aquatic life in "Under the Sea" are a far cry from standard barbershop fare, the Dans's version still emphasizes the neo-Victorian ideal of male closeness, in this instance, responsible for keeping the melody itself intact.



Musical Example 6.1: The Dans's chimes intro to "Under the Sea" as performed on June 6, 2023. Transcribed by the author.

For nearly sixty years, the chimes as featured by the Dans have functioned as an invented tradition. As a result, guests might readily believe that golden-age barbershoppers played the chimes since Main Street is set in the year 1900. Although quartets from that era often performed with accompanying instruments, such as a piano or even an orchestra, there is no evidence that they ever played the Deagan organ chimes, despite the instrument having been invented at the turn of the twentieth century. According to Bennett, the Dans were the first barbershoppers to

[410] The date of the arrangement is unknown, but clearly after 1989. "Under the Sea" is on the Dapper Dans's 1999 repertoire list. See The Dapper Dans, "The Dapper Dans Repertoire as of 8-29-99," Harmonize, accessed April 2, 2025, http://www.harmonize.com/dapperdans/dd_today/repertoire/repertoire.htm.

have played them. But quartets comprised of former Dans have continued this practice.[411] For instance, the founding members of The Perfect Gentlemen, established in 1998, were all Dans at Disneyland before setting out on their own.[412] Another group of Dans alumni, which formed in 2011, is the Main Street Quartet, its very name harkening back to the original Disneyland ensemble. They used chimes early on, but eventually abandoned the Dans's repertoire and the chimes in favor of more modern songs and a cappella singing.

Whereas the 1962 film adaptation of *The Music Man* and its many subsequent stagings by professionals and amateurs alike continue to showcase revival-style barbershop to a wide public, the Dans have done a good deal more to shape what people think barbershop at the turn of the twentieth century sounded like. In 2023 alone, an estimated 17.25 million people from all over the world visited Disneyland.[413] Those who visit Main Street might well stroll by the harmonious sounds of the Dans and their chimes, however incongruous the presence of this short-lived instrument. Thus, whether singing a cappella or accompanying themselves with the chimes, the Dans's Disneyfied version of barbershop not only engages in restorative nostalgia by reconstructing an imagined lost time and place, but it also lingers in the collective memories of the hundreds of millions of guests who have visited Disneyland since the Dans debuted in 1959.

The Tiki Room

Unlike the Dapper Dans on Main Street, the Tiki Room's show has stayed the same since it opened in 1963, except for one major change. In 1996, the Imagineers removed the

[411] Bennett, interview.
[412] For an overview of The Perfect Gentlemen and the members' history with the Dapper Dans, see "The Perfect Gentlemen," M&M Group Entertainment, accessed November 29, 2023, https://www.mm-group.org/talent/the-perfect-gentlemen/.
[413] Martin Palicki, *Theme Index Museum Index: Global Attractions Attendance Report* (Themed Entertainment Association, 2024), 18.

"Barcarolle," bringing the show's initial seventeen-minute run time down to its current fifteen.[414] The slow number may have been seen as a dead spot and thus dropped to improve pacing. It's surprising that this cut has been the only big change, however, given modern-day sensibilities regarding race and cultural appropriation. As noted, the tiki gods speak with inauthentic islander accents and nonstandard English grammar; the music contains "exotic interjections" that draw arbitrarily from various island cultures, some not even associated with the South Pacific (e.g., "The Tiki Room" is in the style of a Caribbean calypso). Overall, the show reflects an attitude that subsumed Polynesian, Caribbean, and Central and South American cultures into a generic exoticism, evoking nostalgia for South Seas myths.

The reason the show hasn't changed pertains to the Tiki Room's sponsorship. Walt didn't always have the money needed to fund attractions, so he often relied on sponsors to help develop, maintain, and promote them. The Tiki Room started off with a handful of sponsors: the frozen food company Stouffer's, Walt's private company WED Enterprises, and United Airlines. In 1976, Dole, one of the world's largest producers of fruits and vegetables, took over. Dole, however, stipulated that one condition of sponsorship was that the attraction remain unchanged.[415] This dictum requires an examination of the company's history.

Founded in 1901 by James Drummond Dole, the Hawaiian Pineapple Company (it was later renamed the Dole Food Company) exploited Hawaiian land and resources to develop large-

[414] One Disney fan website mentions that a verse from "The Tiki Room," a whistled opening of "Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing," and some bird dialogues were also cut from the show. See "Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room," The Disney Wiki, accessed April 2, 2025, https://disney.fandom.com/wiki/Walt_Disney%27s_Enchanted_Tiki_Room#:~:text=The%20Disneyland%20show%20has%20remained,2%2D20%2C%201996%20refurbishment.

[415] Tom Corless, "The Complete History of Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room," *WDW News Today*, accessed September 12, 2023, https://wdwnt.com/2023/06/the-complete-history-of-walt-disneys-enchanted-tiki-room/; Dave DeCaro, "Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room," *Daveland Web*, accessed September 11, 2023, https://davelandweb.com/tikiroom/.

scale pineapple cultivation and canning methods.[416] This industry was made possible by significant changes to land ownership under King Kamehameha III. In 1848, under pressure from Western powers, the Great Mahele (division of lands) was enacted, effectively abolishing the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system and introducing private land ownership in Hawaii.[417] As a result of the Mahele, Dole was able to purchase the island of Lāna‘i in 1922 and turn it into the world’s largest pineapple plantation.[418] Much of the company’s success relied on cheap labor provided by locals and those brought in from China, Japan, Korea, Portugal, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines.[419] Soon, pineapple upside-down cakes were all the rage in the United States thanks to the Hawaiian Pineapple Company’s clever marketing strategies, which included recipe contests for the light, tangy treat.[420] In addition, the company’s ads often exploited sexualized images of Hawaiian maidens, reinforcing the centuries-old South Seas sexual fantasies depicted in literature, paintings, and films. For example, a Dole pineapple juice ad placed in the August 10, 1935, issue of the *Saturday Evening Post* depicts Hawaii as a tropical paradise and features a dark-skinned native woman wearing a sarong and lei (Figure 6.3). As Sascha T. Scott observes, the ad’s description of the “spicy aroma, the sprightly flavor, the exhilaration of this pure juice from sun-ripe [Dole] pineapples,” mirrors how the native woman is presented as “spicy” and exhilarating, with her firm, “ripe,” exposed breasts.[421]

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[416] Richard A. Hawkins, “James Dole and the 1932 Failure of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 41 (2007): 149-50. Lindsay Malfer, “The Devastating Effects of Colonization on Hawai‘i,” *ArcGIS Story Maps,* accessed September 13, 2023, https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/83474c5d6077492d990b961bab0bcd74.

[417] Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: Univeristy of Hawai‘i Press, 2022), 44.

[418] Hawkins, “James Dole,” 152; Derek Paiva, “End of an era: Maui Land & Pineapple closing its pineapple operations,” *Hawai’i Magazine*, November 4, 2009, https://www.hawaiimagazine.com/end-of-an-era-maui-land-pineapple-closing-its-pineapple-operations/.

[419] Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 28-29.

[420] “Who Invented the Pineapple Upside Down Cake,” *Scrantonian Tribune*, January 23, 1983, F12.

[421] Sascha T. Scott, “Georgia O’Keefe’s Hawai‘i? Decolonizing the History of American Modernism,” *American Art* 34, no. 2 (Summer 2020): 40.

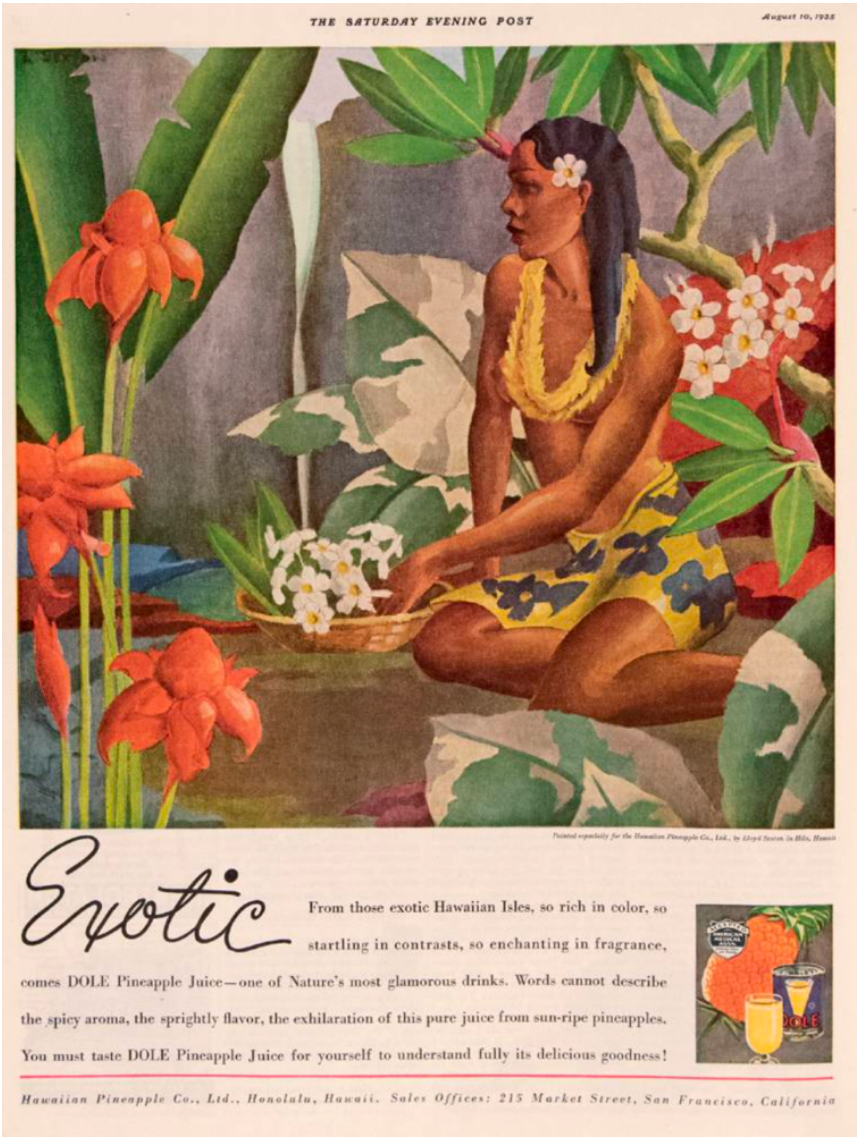


Figure 6.3: Dole Pineapple Juice ad from the *Saturday Evening Post*, August 10, 1935.[422]

Thanks in part to Dole's recipe contests and sexualized ads, the demand for pineapples was so high that the company established another plantation, this one on Oahu, in 1950, nine years before Hawaiian statehood. The plantation, which opened to the public in 1989, describes itself in theme-park terms on its website: "Dole Plantation provides enjoyable activities for the entire family, including the Pineapple Express Train Tour, the Plantation Garden Tour, and the

[422] Image take from Scott, "Georgia O'Keefe's Hawai'i," 40.

Pineapple Garden Maze."[423] The plantation also offers educational presentations and displays, houses a gift shop, and serves pineapple-flavored foods and refreshments. Some are also sold at Dole's Tiki Juice Bar, conveniently located next to the Tiki Room's entrance.

Compared to Splash Mountain, the log-flume ride whose minstrelsy-inspired songs spurred guests to petition for its retheming (see chapter 1), the Tiki Room has received very little backlash over the years. To be sure, some, such as Mittermeier, find it "troublesome that the attraction…has stuck around—especially as it is tied to the…sponsorship of Dole."[424] Yet such criticisms don't include a discussion of the attraction's culturally appropriated forms of music. So, assuming that Dole and Disney continue their partnership, the Tiki Room and its music will continue to preserve a Disneyfied version of tiki culture for years to come. It remains to be seen if the element of nostalgia, so prominent in the original conception, will withstand challenges from those offended by the stereotypes it promotes or if the initial spirit of the Tiki Room defies contemporary mores.

The Indiana Jones Adventure

Since opening in 1995, only one key element of Indy's musical experience has changed, and it was relatively short lived. In March 2020, Disneyland, like many entertainment venues, restaurants, and stores, shut down due to Covid-19 restrictions. After having been closed for over a year, the park reopened on Friday, April 30, 2021. When I visited Disneyland that May, I noticed that Indy's three newsreels, with their triumphant fanfares, were cut from the preshow; only a themed safety video instructing guests how to wear their seat belts remained. The removal was the result of Covid-19-era social-distancing policies. Most guests waited outside Indy's

[423] "Welcome to Dole Plantation," *Dole Plantation*, accessed September 14, 2023, https://www.doleplantation.com.
[424] Mittermeier, *A Cultural History*, 31.

temple, with entry carefully paced to maintain a continuous flow once inside. Since guests walked straight through the projection chamber instead of being held there, as was customary pre-Covid, the newsreels were cut to ensure everyone saw the safety film, which played on repeat. Unfortunately, this meant that guests unfamiliar with Indy missed much of its backstory, not to mention the fanfare's clarion call to adventure. As a result, many fans already acquainted with Indy experienced Boym's restorative nostalgia, longing for the day that the newsreels would return, when their "lost home" would be reconstructed. If that assertion seems exaggerated, we can turn to Gavin Doyle, a devoted Disneyland blogger, who wrote, "I have personally asked for these newsreels to be restored multiple times via comments at guest relations and to the highest-level Disneyland executives…This is one of those details at Disneyland that just feels off."[425] If Doyle had simply mourned the loss of the newsreels he would have engaged in reflective nostalgia. Instead, his pleas for Disney to rebuild what was lost exemplifies restorative nostalgia. Here, Bemis's definition of Disneyfication is also apt. As noted, she proposes that Disneyfication is a "process by which the public and a corporation are engaged in a cultural ritual of transforming historical fact into the 'national narrative.'"[426] In other words, guests are more than mere consumers. Rather, they have agency, and they use it.

Perhaps in response to complaints from guests such as Doyle and to the fact that pandemic restrictions were eventually lifted, in December of 2024, the three newsreels were finally restored. After several years, guests could now enjoy the full (musical) experience as intended when Indy debuted. On Disney-related websites, a handful of Indy fans celebrated the newsreels' return. For example, Maverick Bohn weighed in on December 21, 2024. Bohn is an

[425] Gavin Doyle, "Disneyland's Best Ride Just Got One of My Favorite Things Back After Finally Dropping a Post-2021 Reopening Policy," Mickey Visit, last modified, December 22, 2024, https://mickeyvisit.com/disneylands-best-ride-just-got-one-of-my-favorite-things-back-after-finally-dropping-a-post-2021-reopening-policy/.
[426] Bemis, *Disney Theme Parks*, 116-17.

enthusiastic member of California Jones, a Facebook page dedicated to the fictional archaeologist that addresses matters as diverse as Indiana Jones trivia, memorabilia, and cosplay. Jubilantly, he posted the following:

> Rejoice fellow Joneses! [The newsreel] *Eye on the Globe* is back and to celebrate, I was able to record each reel and wanted to share them all with you. Many of us have chatted about how much these little reels mean to the fans and how much of an impact it makes on the atmosphere and overall immersion of Temple of the Forbidden Eye.[427]

Clearly, fans like Bohn had ritualized the Indy experience. Never mind that *Eye on the Globe* consisted of fictitious news. Bohn and other members of California Jones obviously felt that the newsreels were an integral part of the attraction's backstory that needed to be reinstated. Restorative nostalgia had certainly taken hold among Indy fans.

In short, the story of Indy's newsreels demonstrates just how nostalgic some guests are for their favorite attractions. Perhaps the Imagineer Jeanette Lomboy said it best: "You can't move a bench [in Disneyland] without touching someone's memory."[428] Thus, even small changes to the park can ignite public pushback.

Space Mountain

On April 10, 2003, Space Mountain closed for two years so that the rockets and entire track could be replaced.[429] When it reopened on July 15, 2005, it was accompanied by a new soundtrack by the film composer Michael Giacchino of *The Incredibles* (2004) fame, the most drastic musical change among the four attractions discussed here.[430] Whereas the original

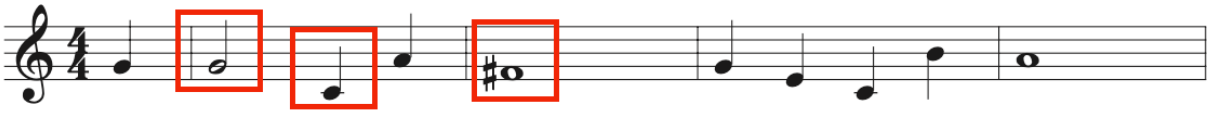
[427] Maverick Bohn, "Rejoice fellow Joneses!" Facebook, December 21, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/groups/310334563829270/posts/1117003013162417/.
[428] Quoted in Todd Martens, "A Course Correction," *Los Angeles Times*, July 19, 2021, E1.
[429] Robert Niles, "QUICK TAKES; Space Mountain closed until 2005," *Los Angeles Times*, April 12, 2003.
[430] Susan Carpenter, "COVER STORY; Faster, higher—and smarter; These attractions not only knock your socks off, some take you into an interactive world. Chat about it with the 'Nemo' turtle," *Los Angeles Times*, June 30, 2005.

soundtrack evoked retrofuturism via 1950s sci-fi films and 1960s surf music, Giacchino's score enters another realm entirely, namely, retrofuturism through 1980s sci-fi films and techno music.

Giacchino based the entire score around a four-measure phrase that recalls themes from two major 1980s sci-fi films (Musical Examples 6.2 a-c). In C major, its first two measures highlight the tonic, dominant, and flattened fifth—C, G, and G-flat, respectively. For sake of comparison with a famous theme, the G-flat can be read enharmonically as an F-sharp. Indeed, John Williams uses these same three notes—C, G, and F-sharp—at the beginning of Yoda's theme in *The Empire Strikes Back* (1980), portraying him as a mysterious figure with extraordinary powers. Likewise, Alan Silvestri uses these three notes in the opening bars of his main theme for *Back to the Future* (1985), heralding the thrilling moment when the protagonist travels through time in a DeLorean. The F-sharp in all three examples briefly implies C Lydian, such that the raised fourth floats in space after the tonic and dominant have sounded, an effect fitting for films and rides that feature space and time travel.



Musical Example 6.2a: Main theme to Giacchino's Space Mountain Soundtrack (2005). Transcribed by the author.

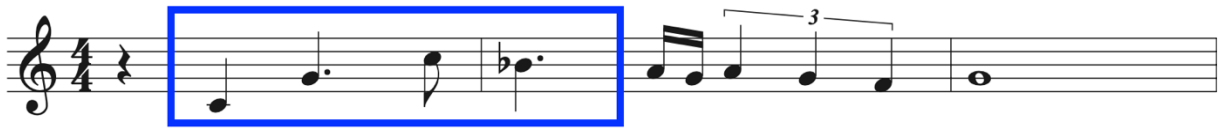


Musical Example 6.2b: Yoda's theme by John Williams, *Empire Strikes Back* (1980). Transcribed by the author.

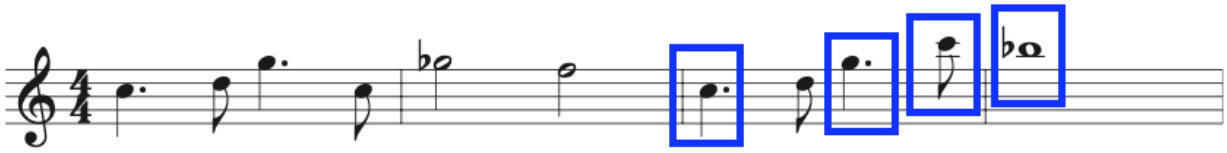


Musical Example 6.2c: Main theme by Alan Silvestri, *Back to the Future* (1985). Transcribed by the author.

The second half of Giacchino's four-bar phrase has yet another connection to Silvestri's *Back to the Future* score. The film's main theme is preceded by a heroic fanfare, which opens with a melodic ascent from tonic to dominant to tonic and then falls a major second to the flattened seventh scale degree (Musical Example 6.3a). The third and fourth measures of Giacchino's phrase outline the same melodic gesture (Musical Example 6.3b). Whether Giacchino was consciously influenced by Williams and Silvestri's themes, they were likely in his ear as he composed. Keen listeners might well hear the similarities.



Musical Example 6.3a: Main theme opening fanfare by Alan Silvestri, *Back to the Future* (1985). Transcribed by the author.



Musical Example 6.3b: Main theme to Giacchino's Space Mountain Soundtrack (2005). Transcribed by the author.

Like Richard, who in 1996 composed the score for Space Mountain, Giacchino features a theremin during the coaster's ascent up the chain-driven lifts, perhaps as a nod to the original soundtrack. However, rather than using the theremin merely for its timbral effects, he assigns it the four-measure phrase. Then, when the rockets start their descent, the music transitions into what Giacchino calls a "techno track" for orchestra. Techno, a subgenre of electronic dance music that developed in the 1980s, is characterized by repetition and synthesized sounds, all in

the service of a futuristic aesthetic.[431] Accordingly, Giacchino scored the descent for synthesizers, drum machine, and theremin. But he also employed an orchestra. Whereas the electronic instruments evoke sounds considered futuristic in the 1980s, the orchestra gives the soundtrack "a kind of a timeless feel," as Giacchino himself explains.[432] However, like techno, the music that accompanies the descent is highly repetitive, structured as a theme and variations on the four-measure phrase, with the main element of variation Giacchino's constant reorchestration of the phrase and altering of the accompaniment.

Overall, Giacchino's fusion of 1980s orchestral sci-fi film music and techno remains true to Space Mountain's retrofuturistic aesthetic, updating it with more recent sounds while also honoring the original soundtrack by incorporating a theremin. Perhaps this updated soundtrack is the one the roller-coaster historian Robert Coker referred to on April 11, 2025, when he told Brian Lehrer on WNYC radio that his favorite ride is "Space Mountain at Disneyland just because of the music." He added, "It's such a beautiful experience."[433] Either way, Coker's comment highlights just how much of an impact music can have on a ride.

Final Thoughts: "Even the trees will keep growing"

Despite the changes detailed above, the essence of each attraction has remained the same. These updates embody what Walt called "plussing," the ongoing process of enhancing Disneyland by improving existing attractions and adding new ones.[434] In 1956, Walt summed up

[431] Ansgar Jerrentrup, "Techno Music: Its Special Characteristics and Didactic Perspectives," *The World of Music* 42, no. 1 (2000): 65-82.
[432] Michael Giacchino, "Making the music of Space Mountain Mission 2 with Michael Giacchino," YouTube, accessed March 24, 2025, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LhEZQ7fs5lY.
[433] Robert Coker, "100 Years of 100 Things: Roller Coasters," WNYC, accessed April 16, 2025, https://www.wnyc.org/story/100-years-of-100-things-roller-coasters/.
[434] Snow, *Disney's Land*, 324.

the advantages of plussing during an interview with the journalist Pete Martin, comparing filmmaking to building Disneyland:

> A picture [film] is a thing that once you wrap it up…you're through. *Snow White* is a dead issue with me. The last picture I just finished—the one I just wrapped a few weeks ago—it's gone; I can't touch it. There's things in it I don't like? I can't do anything about it.
>
> I wanted something live, something that could grow, something I could keep plussing with ideas, you see? The park is that. Not only can I add things but even the trees will keep growing; the thing will get more beautiful every year. And as I find what the public likes—and when a picture's finished and I put it out—I find out what they like, or they don't like…I can't change that picture, so that's why I wanted that park.[435]

Clearly, Walt's conception of Disneyland as a living and breathing park that continues to evolve thanks to creative inspiration and guest feedback has endured. The Deagan organ chimes charmingly "plus" the Dans's performances, further Disneyfying their brand, a simulacrum of barbershop c. 1900, while still evoking restorative nostalgia for small-town America in the Age of Innocence. As noted here, the Dans sing in the barbershop revival style, codified roughly two to three decades after the turn of the twentieth century. The Tiki Room's capacity to elicit collective nostalgia for tiki culture was unaffected when the "Barcarolle," which has no ties to Polynesia, was cut in 1996 to improve the show's pacing, revealing that plussing can involve fine-tuning existing attractions, not just adding to them. After all, the "Barcarolle" was musically inconsistent with the show's other numbers: it was the only piece without singing and was based on a classical melody, whereas the others were vocal arrangements of popular songs. As for Indy, guests who demanded that the 1930s-style newsreels be reinstated not only demonstrate the public's role in Disneyfication, the importance of which Walt noted in his 1956 interview, but also its part in plussing. Fans obviously regard the newsreels as an authentic aspect of the Indy

[435] Quoted in "In Walt's Own Words: Plussing Disneyland," The Walt Disney Family Museum, July 17, 2014, https://www.waltdisney.org/blog/walts-own-words-plussing-disneyland.

experience, one that enhances immersion and, as I have shown, exemplifies the attraction's imperialist nostalgia in part through the strident yet uplifting music of the genre. Though the 2005 Space Mountain soundtrack differs greatly from the 1996 version, retrofuturism remains the guiding concept. Giacchino updated the ride's retrofuturistic aesthetic by replacing the original score, rooted in midcentury influences, with his fusion of 1980s sci-fi film music and techno, while retaining the theremin as the sonic symbol of outer space. In sum, these updates illustrate that plussing can occur without affecting an attraction's nostalgic appeal.

As mentioned in chapter 3, Stephen Fjellman has stated that Disney, especially at its theme parks, "produces, packages, and sells experiences and memories as commodities."[436] Put simply, Disney sells nostalgia. Indeed, Disneyland attractions—whether old, refurbished, re-themed, or brand new—evoke various forms of nostalgia, reconstructing historical places and times while prompting guests to reflect on history and their own lived experiences. As I have demonstrated, nostalgia is central to Disneyfication, the process of simplifying, sanitizing, sentimentalizing, and commercializing literature, history, or even cultures.

Music plays a crucial role in this transformation. It has the power to evoke emotions, stimulate dormant memories, and trigger visceral, bodily reactions. It can also suggest times, places, and cultures—real or imagined—through melody, harmony, and rhythm. Yet for all its evocative force, music remains curiously elusive: it resists fixed meaning, leaving it open to numerous interpretations. Throughout, I have argued that music, possessed of all these qualities, is fundamental in establishing and augmenting Disneyland's simulacra and hyperrealities, including Main Street's facades, the Tiki Room's thatched hut, Indy's fabricated jungle and temple, and Space Mountain's indoor space-travel simulator. Working in tandem with its other

[436] Fjellman, *Vinyl Leaves*, 11.

associations, the music in each attraction blurs the line between reality and fantasy. Nevertheless, the music, however ephemeral its language and however mysterious its meanings, provides an immediate, gut-level experience to which Disneyland guests readily respond. As the Imagineer John Hench once said regarding the power of music and the guests' embrace of it, "People don't walk out of the attraction[s] whistling the architecture."[437]

[437] Quoted in Imagineers, *Walt Disney Imagineering: A Behind the Dreams Look at Making the Magic Real* (New York: Hyperion, 1996), 130.

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