UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

MUSIC OF AMERICAN WORLD'S FAIRS: MUSIC, PROTEST AND POLITICS AT THE 1939 AND 1940 GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

MUSIC

by

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December 2019

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CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES viii

MUSICAL EXAMPLES xv

LIST OF TABLES xvi

ABSTRACT xvii

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS xix

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1

Project History and Research Overview 3

World's Fair Scholarship & Methodologies 4

Situating the Golden Gate International Exposition 18

Chapter Overview 21

CHAPTER 2: THE ROLE OF MUSIC AT AMERICAN WOLRD'S FAIRS 28

Music and American World's Fairs 34

The First World's Fair in the United States 41

The World's Columbian Exposition: Chicago, Illinois (1893) 47

Entertainment Zones and Issues of Exhibiting Culture 58

Louisiana Purchase Exposition: St. Louis, Missouri (1904) 77

The Fairs of the 1920s and 1930s 82

1930s American Fairs & the Search for the "Average American" 83

Federally Supported Music: WPA, FTP, and FMP 88

CHAPTER 3: SAN FRANCSICO IS A FAIR CITY 94

California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894 102

Music of the CMIE 110

Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915 120

Music of the PPIE 127

Wartime Fair Musical Programming 141

Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939–1940 150

Conclusion 160

CHAPTER 4: BUILDING THE MYTH 166

The Innovations of the "Other Fair" 168

Constructing the Myth 173

GGIE's Architecture 183

Tower of the Sun and Carillon 197

"Going Western": Musical Restructuring of the American West Myth at the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair 208

Opening Day 222

CHAPTER 5: GGIE ENTERTAINMENT & MUSICAL PROGRAMMING 229

Entertainers and Impresarios 238

Official Exposition Ensembles & Programs 259

Wind and Swing Bands 271

Benny Goodman 276

Cavalcade of the Golden West 286

Radio and Film 305

Station W6XBE 308

The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra 314

The Role of Women in Musical Programming at the GGIE 325

Nadia Boulanger 333

Coolidge Quartet 336

CHAPTER 6: MUSIC SPONSORSHIP: FEDERAL, CIVIC, ACADEMIC, AND CORPORATE 342

Federal Sponsorship 348

The Swing Mikado 361

State & Civic Sponsorship 372

Academic Sponsorship 379

Corporate Musical Sponsorship 385

"IBM Day & The IBM Symphony 391

CHAPTER 7: MUSIC FOR THE MASSES: SPECIAL EVENT DAYS AND MUSIC FESTIVALS 398

Special Events Days 399

French Day 402

Jewish Day 409

San Francisco Day 1939 & 1940 410

Corporate-Sponsored "Special Events Days" 413

Music Festivals 423

California Composers Festival (August 22–27, 1939) 423

California Music Festival (September 16–20, 1940) 436

Negro Music Festival (July 24–28, 1940) 440

The Eisteddfod 446

CHAPTER 8: MUSIC DURING WARTIME: FOREIGN-SUPPORTED AND REPRESENTED MUSIC 452

Fair at War 459

Pacific Area 472

Latin American Court and Representation at GGIE 476

U.S. Territories Representation: Philippines and Hawaii 490

East Asian Representation at GGIE: China and Japan 500

Chinese Village 503

Japanese Pavilion 514

CHAPTER 9: MUSIC WRITTEN FOR THE FAIR & THE GGIE SHEET MUSIC COLLECTION 539

The GGIE Sheet Music Collection (GGIESMC) 530

Music-Making, Composing, and Publishing in the late 1930s Bay Area 539

Examples of Sheet Music as Promotion Materials 545

Songs as Souvenirs 554

GGIE Attraction Songs: "Yours For A Song" 559

Golden Gate International Expositions and Film Composers 565

Wind Band Music Written for the GGIE 573

The Goldman Band & *The Golden Gate March* 573

The Goldman Band Program Book 578

Western Art Music Written for the GGIE 590

Cantata: *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* 591

De Lorenzo's Poem as Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition *or* Ode to the Exposition 599

CHAPTER 10: *RADIO UNCHAINED*: THE ASCAP VS. BMI WAR AND PROTEST CONCERT 610

Protest Concert Held at the GGIE 623

Issues of Broadcast Rights for the ASCAP Concert 626

Music at War 629

Titans of Tin Pan Alley 642

"The Flying Flag": *Expressions of Programmatic Patriotism* 645

Conclusion 647

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION 652

BIBLIOGRAPHY 662

LIST OF FIGURES

3.1	"President Roosevelt at microphones at luncheon given for him, Golden Gate Exposition, Treasure Island."	151
4.1	"Aerial view of construction of Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. Between 1937 and 1939."	172
4.2	"GGIE groundbreaking ceremony."	178
4.3	Image shows Yerba Buena Island in the foreground and the City of San Francisco in the background.	179
4.4	Current-day view of the Administration Building.	180
4.5	President Roosevelt oversees the construction on Treasure Island, 1938.	182
4.6	"Pacifica."	187
4.7	"Relief mural 'Peacemakers' by artists Margaret, Helen, and Esther Bruton in the Court of Pacifica, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island."	189
4.8	"Flutist, from Chinese Musicians Group."	190
4.9	"Rivera with Sketch."	192
4.10	The artistic rendering of the GGIE fairgrounds.	194
4.11	"Gleaming Treasure Island...San Francisco Bay, site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition.	196
4.12	"Come to the Fair," Daniel Webster School Presents *Varieties of 1938*. San Francisco Programs: Music Public Schools Music Programs, Part 2, 1937–1947.	197
4.13	Christmas Greetings from Dr. Coulson. "Dr. Nathaniel Thomas Coulson with Choir Boys of Grace Cathedral in front of the Tower of the Sun/Golden Gate International Exposition."	200
4.14	Bourdon Bell in its current location in the Grace Cathedral's north tower.	201

4.15	"Position of bell cage in Tower of the Sun. Treasure Island 1939 plan."	202
4.16	The Bourdon bell with models and the Tower of the Sun in background.	203
4.17	"CARILLON GOES UP: Here is one of the medium-sized bells of the 44-bell carillon being hoisted into place in the Tower of the Sun on Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition.	204
4.18	"Composite picture shows how J. SIDNEY LEWIS, carillonneur [sic], operated the chimes from keyboard at base of Tower of Sun, and in belfrey, near top of the 400-foot tower, the carillons [sic] ring out music over Treasure Island."	207
4.19	"Street Dance: Bank President Parker Maddux."	213
4.20	"Lucile Marion." *SF News*, n.d.	215
4.21	Lucile Marion, "Old Mission Trail."	216
4.22	"San Francisco. Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939 to 1940: Bird's-eye panorama of opening day parade."	223
4.23	"Formal dedication ceremonies of the Golden Gate International Exposition outside the Federal Building, Feb. 18, 1939. California San Francisco, 1939."	225
5.1	"Armenian Band from Fresno entertaining in the Court of the Nation in International Day, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island."	232
5.2	"Main Floor of Auditorium."	233
5.3	Audience gathered for Benny Goodman and his Band.	235
5.4	"The Music Box Advertisement."	241
5.5	"Ziegfeld Folies At the Fair," program"	245
5.6	"Art Program: In the Continental Manner."	247

5.7	"Folies Bergere Newspaper Advertisement."	249
5.8	"Vincent Travers," *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program	251
5.9	"Exposition Band. "Special Activities."	262
5.10	**"**Signed program by Perry Askam."	266
5.11	"Another Historic Meeting: Pictured above are the veterns [sic.] of the Philippine Constabulary Band schedule to give a concert at the Philippine Pavilion on Treasure Island, February 18."	272
5.12	"Swing's King Due Sunday."	282
5.13	*Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West* (1939), program.	288
5.14	*Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West (1939),* program.	290
5.15	Audience vantage.	292
5.16	View of the two working trains. *Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West* (1939), program.	294
5.17	Mortenson as a "Mexican Gunner."	296
5.18	Mortensen as part of the bicycle trio.	296
5.19	Elias Breeskin.	297
5.20	"Men of Many Voices."	300
5.21	*America! Cavalcade of a Nation: Souvenir Program* (1940), program.	303
5.22	"Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series."	321
5.23	"Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series: Artists and Conductors."	322
5.24	Ticket to the Island Club for the special event day for the Masonic Fraternity.	328

6.1	"Thirtieth Infantry Band concert in front of Federal Building.	353
6.2	"Indian court, Federal Building, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939 Apache devil dancer from an Indian painting,	355
6.3	"Federal Theatre [on] Treasure Island 'Swing Mikado' A cast of 100: Sensational success: Hot from New York: The big hit of the Golden Gate International Exposition," Swing Mikado Poster.	368
6.4	"Recreation Building GGIE: San Francisco Recreation Junior Symphony."	375
6.5	PG&E, "'Hi-Pardner' Welcome to California!," advertisement.	387
6.6	Chevron's corporate marketing pamphlet.	390
7.1	"Four college girls receiving an old Spanish serenade on San Francisco State College Day, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island."	402
7.2	"PG&E Day" Ticket, October 21, 1939.	414
7.3	"Centuries-old costumes and this altar from the Chinese Village on Treasure Island will be used in the International Parade Sunday, celebrating the Summer opening of the Golden Gate International Exposition. Villagers will also take part."	420
7.4	"GBPB: April 3, 1939," program.	434
7.5	"Where and Where at the Fair: September 14, 1940."	437
8.1	The Pacific Area is in the center of this illustration	460
8.2	The Latin American Court is marked as "8" on the map.	461
8.3	The International area is identified as the region of buildings around map marker number 9.	461
8.4	View of the main entrance to the El Salvador Pavilion.	477
8.5	Juan Trasviña was a radio announcer for KGEI, broadcasting for Latin Americans at the Golden Gate International Exposition.	479

8.6	"Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua, talking to George Creel at the Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, California, 1939."	480
8.7	"Virgil Morton and Grace Churcher Performing Mexican Dances to the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band"	485
8.8	Brazilian Orchestra. *Brazil, Departamento Nacional do Cafe*, "Pavilhão Brasilerio Na Golden Gate International Exposition 1940 Sãn Francisco, California."	487
8.9	Brazilian Orchestra	488
8.10	Harry Owens Advertisement	495
8.11	Audience perspective of Bob Hope performing with Harry Owens and the Royal Hawaiians.	496
8.12	The heart of the Gayway as seen through the entrance to the Chinese Village at the Golden Gate International Exposition.	505
8.13	"Chinese Village. Treasure Island, S.F. World's Fair, 1939"	508
8.14	"The Drum and Bugle Corps in the Court of the Lake of the Nations after winning first prize in the Parade of Bands, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island."	511
8.15	"Chinese Instruments, to illustrate Chinese music, will be played by Miss Maryette Lum at the Chinese program for Business and Professional Women's Club of San Francisco this evening."	513
8.16	"Japanese Take Over Fair"	516
8.17	"Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls," program.	523
8.18	"Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls" program.	524
8.19	"Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls" program.	526
9.1	Treasure Island Moonlight-Fantasy (American Rhapsody No. 5)	542
9.2	"Let's Go San Francisco," cover.	550

9.3	Cover comparison: “Let’s Go San Francisco” & “Treasure Island Souvenir.”	555
9.4	Back cover of “Treasure Island Souvenir.”	557
9.5	Version 1 of “The Bells of Treasure Island,” cover with notice: “For Professional Use Only Not To Be Sold.”	567
9.6	Version 2 front cover, “The Bells of Treasure Isle.”	568
9.7	Version 1 “I’ve Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate.”	571
9.8	“I’ve Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate,” illustrated cover.”	572
9.9	“GBPB Inscription: Property of Leonard B. Smith 2690 W. Baston Blvd. Detroit, Michigan.”	579
9.10	“GBPB: Smith’s performance tally.”	580
9.11	“GBPB: Advertisement, back cover of March 22, 1939 program.”	582
9.12	“GBPB: March 19, 1939,” GBPB program.	588
9.13	Orly See, conductor of the Oakland Symphony Orchestra, points his cane at some object of interest at the Fair while C.W. Olmstead (center) and Nicola DeLorenzo [sic.] look on. DeLorenzo’s “Ode to the Exposition” will be played by the orchestra May 9.	600
10.1	“Festival of American Music, ASCAP,” program cover	620
10.2	“The Saint Francis Hotel,” The location of the NAB convention and Gene Buck press conference.	622
10.3	Alfred Frankenstein, “Music at the Fair.”	624
10.4	“ASCAP Will ‘Say It With Music’ In Radio War: Talent Arriving Here For Tuesday’s Fabulous Show At Fair.”	625
10.5	“ASCAP DAY,” program poster.	631
10.6	“ASCAP Afternoon Program,” program.	632
10.7	Signed ASCAP Program by William Grant Still	634

10.8	Judy Garland at the GGIE	636
10.9	“ASCAP Evening Program,” backside of program.	638
10.10	“American Society of Composers, Authors & Publishers, Coliseum, Treasure Island,” photograph	643
10.11	“Song Geniuses at Treasure Island Music Festival.”	644
10.12	“Radio Log.”	649

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

6.1	Transcription of Theme A.	396
6.2	Trumpet and Horn's martial-like motivic material Theme A.	396
9.1	"California's Calling You," introductory material, mm.1–4.	548
9.2	Introductory material, mm. 1–8.	551
9.3	Let's Go San Francisco," mm. 25–38.	552
9.4	"Yours For A Song," mm.1–4.	563
9.5	"Yours For A Song," change of key to refrain (major to major), modulatory passage pre–chorus, mm. 13–20.	564
9.6	"Yours For A Song," example of triplet rhythm: mm. 20–24.	565
9.7	Frank Churchill, "Bells of Treasure Isle," mm. 1–4.	569
9.8	"Bells of Treasure Isle," final four measures, mm. 29–32.	569
9.9	Edwin Franko Goldman, *Golden Gate March,* structure.	584
9.10	Introduction and First Strain (Theme A) material (mm.1–13).	585
9.11	Opening measures of the trio section.	586
9.12	Trio: timpani and chime part, mm. 38–73.	587
9.13	Rythmic drumming in the second movement, "Tamals."	604
9.14	Nicola De Lorenzo, *Poem: As Homage To Golden Gate International Exposition*, mm.1–9.	604
9.15	Nicola De Lorenzo, *Poem: As Homage To Golden Gate International Exposition*, mm.10–15.	605
9.16	mm. 4–5 "Fanfare" *soli* section.	606

LIST OF TABLES

3.1	San Francisco World's Fair and New York Event Programming: July 6, 1939	155
4.1	Chart taken from "The Carillon: Grace Cathedral, San Francsico, pamphlet, Grace Cathedral Archives	198
5.1	Entertainment Program for April 23, 1939 at the GGIE	255
5.2	Musical Entertainment Program for Tuesday, May 2, 1939 at GGIE	268
5.3	Entertainment Program for Thursday, July 19, 1939 at the GGIE	269
5.4	September San Francisco Symphony GGIE Concert Series	319
5.5	Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series, 1940	324
6.1	Sample of federally-funded ensembles from April–May 1939	345
6.2	Civic Funded Ensembles	376
6.3	Academic/Educational Institutional Ensembles	380
8.1	1939 Foreign Representation: Designated Sections	469
8.2	1940 Foreign Representation: Designated Sections	469
9.1	The GGIE Sheet Music Collection (GGIESMC) List	535
9.2	Joseph Myer, "California's Calling You," Structure	548
9.3	"Yours For A Song" Version Comparison: New York vs. San Francisco.	562
9.4	Instrumentation and Text chart for *The Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate*.	593
10.1	Symphonic Concert Program Transcription	632
10.2	"Transcription of ASCAP Evening Program. (Transcribed from Figure 10.9)	639

Abstract

MUSIC OF AMERICAN WORLD'S FAIRS: MUSIC AND POLITICS AT THE 1939 AND 1940 GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

By

Elisse Colleen La Barre

In 1939, the United States' strained relations with countries in Asia and Europe echoed the challenges of war amidst a crippling depression. The city of San Francisco, known as the "Gateway to the West," was the closest major continental American city to Asia. Selected in 1935 to host an American world's exposition, fair organizers were quick to market the unique and long-term geographic and cultural relationship that San Francisco had with countries that bordered the Pacific Ocean. On February 18, 1939, San Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE), which eventually attracted more than 8 million visitors, adopted the "Pageant of the Pacific" as its theme. The exposition served as a platform that attempted to facilitate a multicultural dialogue that promoted peace and was the first occurrence where the fine arts of the Pacific Rim were assembled at an American massed event.

The GGIE is a Depression-era massed spectacle that allows for an insight into the rise of mass culture and issues of local, regional, civic, national, and global communities as well as an example standardization of music and entertainment at American fairs. Popular musical figures were in demand at expositions and wielded a great amount of power in creating uniquely "American" music as well as shaping the sonic representation of a nation. The focus will be to construct a context in order to contextualize the GGIE within previous American world's fairs, especially the 1894

California Midwinter Exposition and the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

Corporate, academic, federal, and civic entities used music at the GGIE as a tool for marketing and propaganda as well as a form of protest. The American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers' (ASCAP) staged a highly publicized musical protest during the last weeks of the GGIE. Using recordings and reviews, this examination will shed new light on the issues of music licensing, performance rights organization history, musical protest, and the reaffirmation of the American popular music canon on the West Coast in the final years before the United States' involvement in WWII.

Geographically closer to the events in Japanese-occupied China than the concurrent New York World's Fair, San Francisco hosted an exhibition that promoted peace in the Pacific with the focus on tourism and trade. The main purpose of the GGIE was twofold: to position the United States as a world power at the threshold of a world war and to aid the nation, and San Francisco in particular, during the Depression. The fair was not only an idealistic enterprise but also a practical one. Although this dissertation's primary focus is musical, it also examines how issues of race and gender, copyright and technology, and Depression-era politics and Western identity underline the influence of world's fairs on the modern cultural history of San Francisco, California and the United States.

AKNOWLEDGMENTS

The year 2019 will be the 80th anniversary of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition. The cultural and institutional memory of the fair is fading, and I hope this work adds to the revival of interest in the Pageant of the Pacific. Edwin Franko Goldman (1878–1956), one of the many performers at the GGIE, addresses the primary reason behind the study of this previously overlooked fair on San Francisco Bay:

> The future is more important than the past because you and I are going to live in it whether we like it or not. The main reason for bringing up to date the biography of anything is that it enables one to predict, very slightly, what is going to happen to us in the future, and shows us what mistakes to avoid.[1]

Themes and issues explored in this study from 1939–1940 will resonate with contemporary readers, thus a "biography" of the GGIE is important to study. The city of San Francisco is still is an exposition town and has hosted subsequent spectacles after the closure of the 1940 GGIE, for example: America's Cup, Super Bowl, Cyber World Games, and Mac World, among others. It is surprising how much history does not change—the west coast still lures those with adventurous spirits.

World's fairs are massed spectacles that foster sponsorships and partnerships and require many hours of resourceful planning and committee work. In a similar way, a study of such an event requires and demands as many partners and time. Tasked with an endeavor this large spanning both coasts and the Pacific Ocean, many

[1] Edwin Franko Goldman, quoted in *An Anthology of Music Criticism* (San Francisco: Works Projects Administration in Northern California, 1942), 394.

hours were spent with interesting, engaging, and very helpful partners who all deserve a note of thanks. Listed in geographic locations (domestic and international):

Washington, D.C.: Loras Schissel (Library of Congress, Music Division) and his insight into the Goldman Band Program Book, Larry Applebaum (Library of Congress, Music Division), Library of Congress Preservation Division colleagues and staff, Library of Congress Music Division staff, Elizabeth and Robert Trencheny, the staff at the: National Building Museum, National Archives, US Copyright Office, and Manuscripts Division librarians. A special thank you to Lieutenant-Colonel Treg E. Ancelet for his insight into wind-band performance practice, analysis, and military music. **San Francisco, CA:** San Francisco Public Library and San Francisco History Center librarians and staff, especially Jason Gibbs; California Historical Society Archives; Museum of Performance and Design; Michael Lampen and the Grace Cathedral Archives; Treasure Island Development Authority; Treasure Island Museum Association, and retired curator of the Treasure Island Museum, Edward Vanorden; San Francisco Building and Design Archive; Treasure Island Winery (for the tour of their establishment, reportedly the location of Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch*). **Berkeley, CA:** The staff at the Jean Hargrove Library and Music Department. **Oakland, CA:** Oakland Paramount Theater, Oakland History Museum, and Mills College Library & Special Collections. **Mountain View, CA:** Sydney Gulbronson Olson, processing archivist at the Computer History Museum. **Los Angeles, CA:** UCLA Special Collections librarians and staff. **Santa Cruz, CA:** UCSC's Music Department faculty, staff, and colleagues (a special thank you to Dr. Jessica

Loranger). **Charlottesville, Virginia:** Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia librarians. **New York:** ASCAP Archives: Janelle Travers & Etan Rosenbloom (Los Angeles ASCAP office), Virginia Lewick archivist at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Presidential Library; Lewis (L.J.) Strumpf and Jamie Martin, corporate archivists for IBM. **Adelaide and Sydney, Australia:** A special thanks to Lewis Cornwell at the Sydney Conservatorium of Music, Librarian Susan Mercer at the State Library of New South Wales; Marie Chellos, faculty liaison librarian at the Conservatorium Library (University of Sydney); Rachel Pryor, reference librarian at the National Library of Australia. **Tokyo, Japan:** The helpful staff at the National Diet Library.

This project is the partial result of the following grants and awards: University of California, Santa Cruz Music Department Dissertation Grant; University of California, Santa Cruz Porter College; Society for American Music; Popular Culture Association & American Culture Association Endowment Travel Grant; University of California Humanities Research Institute; Popular Culture Association & American Culture Association Research Workshop at Bowling Green State University Travel Grant; The Art's Dean Fund for Excellence (2014 & 2015); University of California, Santa Cruz Graduate Student Association Travel Grant.

In the heart of California resides one of the most complete world fairs collection in the country, Fresno State University Special Collections. I am grateful to Tammy Lau and the library staff for their help. One of the pleasures of working in the world's fairs field is meeting those who conserve ephemeral items that seem

unnecessary to keep but are fascinating resources to historians. Donald Larson, who attended the Golden Gate International Exposition, curated and donated his world fairs collection and is a stalwart supporter of the Fresno State Special Collections. His willingness to share his resources and knowledge with the author is greatly appreciated.

I want to thank all of the people who shared their reminisces of the fair as well as photos and ephemera: David C. Mahan, Edward Lewis and Family, Victor Small, Nancy Brazil, Normalee DeCoito, George Green, and Jonathan Elkus. Thank you to my colleagues and faculty members for your insightful comments in response to conferences, lectures, and workshop presentations: John Adams, Society for American Music, American Musicological Society, University of the Pacific Music Conservatory, St. Mary's College, and Musicological Society of Australia, Popular Culture Association Bowling Green State Workshop.

For their patient and astute guidance, a special debt of gratitude is due to my dissertation committee members: Drs. Anatole Leikin, Dard Neuman, and Larry Starr. The spark of interest for this dissertation topic began after reading a passage in Dr. Leta Miller's 2011 book, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World* War. I wish to thank Dr. Leta Miller for her attention to detail and great care taken during my doctoral studies. Her edits, comments, and insights were invaluable in this endeavor, and I will be forever grateful for our academic partnership.

A special thank you to my Village for their dogged support and fierce love. A special note of consideration is due to Donald D. La Barre, M.A. for his insight into the fields of sociology and archeology as well his research help. Dr. Fiona Grant, thank you for your supportive comments and notes. Dr. Leslie La Barre, thank you for your diligent work with transcriptions, engraving, and aid in analysis and edits. I want to recognize your endless encouragement—this study would not have been the same without you and your phenomenal musical expertise. LTC Treg Ancelet, thank you for your support during my research projects and encouragement. To my family—thank you for being the champions of my success and for your constant support…. This work is for *you*.

This project is constantly evolving, and this publication is just the beginning. I welcome any recollections or information about the fair, please contact me at the following address: ggietreasureislandmusic@gmail.com.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

In 1939, the United States' strained relations with countries in Asia and Europe echoed the challenges of war amidst a crippling depression. The city of San Francisco, known as the "Gateway to the West," was the closest major continental American city to Asia.[2] Selected in 1935 to host an American world's exposition,[3] fair organizers were quick to market the unique and long-term geographic and cultural relationship that San Francisco had with countries that bordered the Pacific Ocean. San Francisco served as the central port for the influx of immigrants from Asia as well as Europe, Latin America, and Australia[4] during the late nineteenth-century Gold Rush.[5] On February 18, 1939, San Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE), which eventually attracted more than 8 million visitors, adopted the "Pageant of the Pacific" as its theme, celebrating the cultures of the countries that line the Pacific Ocean and using the arts to facilitate dialogue and

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[2] According to census data, San Francisco's population in 1940 totaled 634,536 residents. "San Francisco City and County 1940," Bay Area Census, Metropolitan Transportation Commission and the Association of Bay Area Governments, accessed July 22, 2018, http://www.bayareacensus.ca.gov/counties/SanFranciscoCounty40.htm; Seattle, Washington's population in 1940 totaled 368,302 residents. "Population history of Seattle from 1890–1990," Boston University, accessed July 22, 2018, http://physics.bu.edu/~redner/projects/population/cities/seattle.html; Alaska and Hawaii wouldn't be granted statehood until the 1950s.

[3] The process of selection for American fairs begins at the civic level and is then presented at the federal level: Congress and the President of the United States.

[4] This was San Francisco's population pre-Gold Rush to 1849. Once the news of gold spread through maritime trade, over one thousand immigrants were arriving by sea per week. The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, "From the 1820s to the Gold Rush," accessed July 1, 2016, http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist1/early.html. A great many of those immigrants came from South America, China, and Australia, the latter country had their own gold rush in 1851. There are instances of people who participated in both gold rushes. John Adams and Peter Sellers' recent opera (November 2017) *Girls of the Golden West* recounts the history of a character who danced for miners during the Gold Rush era.

[5] John Sutter discovered gold in the Northern Californian foothills in 1848.

foster community.

In a letter titled "A Message to the World from the Mayor of San Francisco," Mayor Angelo Rossi invited "the people of the earth to behold the handiwork of peaceful traders, craftsmen and artists from every corner of the globe."[6] He wrote, "San Francisco is today the crossroads of the airways of the world; the outstanding junction point of transcontinental and transoceanic flight; and the home port of the largest airliner winging above the earth."[7] The GGIE is the only American world's fair to house a form of transportation (Pan-American Clippers) that directly linked fairgoers to the physical locations of the foreign exhibitors.[8]

Geographically closer to the events in Japanese-occupied China than the concurrent New York World's Fair, San Francisco hosted an exhibition that promoted peace in the Pacific with the focus on tourism, agriculture, and business. More than thirty years before the terms "multiculturalism"[9] and "Pacific Rim" were coined, the GGIE was the first staged massed spectacle created to present a unified Pacific region that incorporated multicultural pluralism. Adopted in the American institutional vernacular in the 1980s, multiculturalism is a broad methodical approach to history that most often includes other disciplines in order to "highlight neglected aspects of

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[6] Angelo Rossi, "A Message to the World from the Mayor of San Francisco," *The San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939.
[7] Ibid. The Pan-American Clipper service, discussed later in this dissertation, connected San Francisco with mainland Asia.
[8] See Chapters 3 and 4.
[9] The term was used primarily in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s. Scholars disagree on the exact point of origin of the term "multiculturalism." Mina Yang attributes the "beginnings of 'multiculturalism'" as a Californian concept, although there are studies that direct the formation of the term to European sources. Mina Yang, "Orientalism and the Music of Asian Immigrant Communities in California, 1924–1945," *American Music* 19, no. 4 (2001): 389.

our social history, particularly the histories of women and minorities."[10] Critics of the term "multiculturalism" question its many issues, including the forced process of multicultural inclusion within a majority without autonomy.[11] The exposition served as a platform that attempted to facilitate a multicultural dialogue that promoted peace, and was the first occurrence where the fine arts of the Pacific Rim were assembled at an American massed event.[12]

Project History and Research Overview

This dissertation presents a comprehensive and in-depth examination of the music performed, programmed, and written for the GGIE as well as the impact that the event had on the American music industry. In addition, it examines a contextual analysis of the music written specifically for the GGIE and the role of music at American world's fairs. The GGIE is a Depression-era massed spectacle that allows for an insight into the rise of mass culture and issues of local, regional, civic, national, and global communities. The main purpose of the GGIE was twofold: to position the United States as a world power, at the threshold of a war, and to aid the nation and San Francisco during the Depression. The fair was not only an idealistic enterprise but also a practical one. The primary focus of this study is musical but it also

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[10] James C. Trotman, ed., *Multiculturalism: Roots and Realities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002). The modern multiculturalist movement began in Canada in the field of political philosophy and liberal scholars such as Will Kymlicaka became advocates.
[11] Further readings on multiculturalism: Brian M. Barry, *Culture and Equality: An Egalitarian Critique of Multiculturalism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Will Kymlicaka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 2007).
[12] *Official Catalog Department of Fine Arts Division of European Art: Masterworks of Five Centuries*, San Francisco: S.F. Bay Exposition Company, 1939.

examines issues of: politics, race and gender, copyright and technology, and Depression-era policies and Western identity. These issues underline the impact of world's fairs on the modern cultural history of San Francisco, California and the United States.

World's Fair Scholarship & Methodologies

The study of world's fairs and exhibitions allow moments of insight into how a society projects its culture for interpretation by the international community, and the actuality of the stark realities behind the façade of the brightly colored advertisements. Pre-World War II American world's fairs and expositions focused primarily on positioning the country as an imperial and economic force within the global community. Fair historian Robert Rydell's book, *All the Worlds a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916*, presents the role of world's fairs as physical examples of the "ideas and values of the country's political, financial, corporate, and intellectual leaders and offered these ideas the proper interpretation of social and political reality."[13] Built to be temporary, world's fairs were physical manifestations of the dreams and ideals of the society that built them.

This study utilizes the three category titles "fair," "expo," and "exhibition" interchangeably—the terms are synonymous. Current world's fairs are called "expos"

[13] Robert Rydell, *All the Worlds a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 3.

(shortened from "exposition").[14] For example, the term "expo," used in the title of the Montreal Expo (1967) has since been used as the popular nomenclature. The most recent (and future) international expositions use "expo" in the title: Expo Milan (2015), Expo Kazakhstan (2017), and Expo Dubai (2020). Referred to as "world's fairs" by the United States, "exhibitions in Europe and Asia are commonly referred to as "international (or universal) expositions" while Great Britain uses the term "exhibitions."

The desire to capitalize on the success of previous expositions while at the same time distinguishing and marketing the most current fair as superior was the key goal of the organizational committees. In the very first sentence of the official handbook for the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE), the organizers directly address the classification of their fair as a "universal exposition." The statement reads:

> The Panama-Pacific International Exposition is of the so-called "universal" class. In all the world there have been held but eleven expositions of this class and in the United States but two. A Universal Exposition differs from one of the ordinary or lesser type as a great university differs from a college. To deserve its characterization, a universal exposition must show the achievements of every civilized nation in every line of human effort. It must epitomize civilization. It must be a complete exhibit of human achievement to its date.[15]

There was no consistency when naming an exposition, so the PPIE organizers chose to tag "universal" onto the name. How can they entice the public to attend their exposition? By promising bigger and better expositions alongside the theological

[14] John Findling, "World's Fair," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed April 2016, http://www.britannica.com/topic/worlds-fair.
[15] "Introductory," in *Official Guide: Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (San Francisco: The Wahlgreen Co., 1915): 9.

spectrum, the fair marketers insured large and new audiences. The PPIE handbook statement continues:

> The Panama-Pacific International Exposition is planned to surpass all its predecessors in scope, in interest, in physical beauty and in economic importance. This is not vainglory; it is merely an obvious requirement. If an exposition is a record of the progress of mankind, each succeeding exposition must necessarily surpass its predecessors as long as mankind continues to progress.[16]

Historically, individual nations held a world's fair without a governing international body overseeing the event. In the case of American world's fairs, Congress determines the location of the exposition and Presidential decree dictates the timing of when the official unveiling of the host city occurs. European nations in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries hosted many industrial, artistic, and trade fairs that showcased innovations and new technology all within a carnival-like atmosphere.[17]

To curtail multiple concurrent world's fairs, an organization founded in 1928 by thirty-one nations attempted to control the number of world's fairs held. The Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), supported by 168 members, oversees the regulation of international exhibitions that "last more than three weeks" and define expos as events of "non commercial nature."[18] In the twenty-first century, large expositions (or "registered exhibitions") "could be held once every five years and one smaller exposition, called a 'recognized exhibition,' could be held during the

[16] Ibid.
[17] Findling, "World's Fair."
[18] Bureau International des Expositions, accessed April 1, 2016, http://www.bie-paris.org/site/en.

interval."[19] The competitive bidding process is very much like the Olympic Games in that a host city must submit a bid to the national government, which in turn submits a bid to the BIE.

Discussions of world's fairs controversy have swirled around the hegemonic forces that push political or social agendas at the detriment of those of color, class, and gender and the GGIE is not exempt by any means. The study of world's fairs is rife with issues of marginalization, racism, and cultural hegemony primarily because the main purpose of a world's fair was to position a nation's politics, goals, and nationhood in comparison with other world nations.

Studies that apply twenty-first-century views and value systems on historical events without acknowledging the historical context, mechanisms, and cultural norms set in place by those in power do not fully investigate the issues. Therefore, such studies cannot present a complete argument. An example is Mina Yang's attempt to present an appraisal of the PPIE in addition to contemporary regional fairs and the GGIE in her book, *California Polyphony: Ethnic Voices, Musical Crossroads*. Although Yang's work raises insightful and detailed musical case studies in a somewhat chronological order from early California history up to post-9/11 issues of race and class, I disagree with the brevity of her treatment of the PPIE and GGIE. Although I acknowledge that her book is a survey and not specifically about Californian world's fairs, Yang does not differentiate between the California-hosted fairs although each was very distinct and dealt with race, gender, and class differently

[19] Findling, "World's Fair."

(see Chapter 3). For example, Yang categorizes the San Diego regional fair (Panama-California Exposition) and the PPIE as "the Panama Pacific International Expositions" even though both differed in many ways.[20] Yang's survey devotes a page and a half to all three expositions (in addition to several sentences referencing the GGIE in a later section).

The study of world's fairs is of importance *because* they are byproducts of those "in positions of power and influence." Modernity and progress are at the core of exhibitions. In their monograph, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States,* Robert Rydell, John Findling, and Kimberly Pelle, lay out a general outline of six major schools of thought that can be applied to examining the importance of fairs: cultural hegemony; audience centered; counter-hegemony; modernity; documentary and technological; academic and non-academic foundations. The first is the "cultural hegemony school" by which the fairs can be examined "through the intentions of their organizers and managers."[21] Applying this method to the study of world's fairs can contribute to the understanding that those in positions of power formed a "who's who of prominent Americans, ranging from businessmen like John Wanamaker and Henry Ford to presidents like William McKinley and Franklin Delano Roosevelt to political activists like Frederick Douglass and Ida B. Wells."[22] This understanding allows us to get insight into the goals of the exhibitors.

Each exposition examined in this study had an official guidebook (or

[20] Mina Yang, *California Polyphony: Ethnic Voices, Musical Crossroads* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 20.
[21] Robert Rydell, John Findling, and Kimberly Pelle, *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 5.
[22] Ibid., 2.

handbook) that contained valuable information for potential visitors and served as promotional material as well as a souvenir that would be "a cherished reminder of that visit in years to come."[23] This valuable trove of information contains maps, charts, facts, information, advertisements, and most importantly, is the most complete surviving primary-source document that articulates the organizers' desires, goals, and concepts for their exposition. The official guidebooks for both the California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE) and the Panama-Pacific International Exposition had designated front matter that notified the reader which publishing house was chosen to print the guide; printing was an exclusive privilege that warranted an entire page in both books regarding the recognition. The CMIE guidebook's publication permission reads:

> To Whom It May Concern—This is to certify that Geo, Spaulding & Company have been given the exclusive privilege of publishing and selling the OFFICIAL GUIDE of the California Midwinter International Exposition, and that they are the only firm publishing the Official Guide recognized by the Committee and have their Headquarters in the rooms of the Committee in the Mills Building. M.A. de Young, Director General.[24]

Heavily relied upon by visitors and organizers, these guidebooks are windows into the information disseminated directly from the few in power to the consumers (i.e. general public). Each guidebook's purpose differed from one exposition to another. *The California Midwinter International Exposition Official Guidebook* authors position the contents of the book (including maps and charts) as a "valued friend to the visitor during the Exposition" that will help ameliorate the visitor's feelings of

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[23] *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, CA, First Edition* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894), 9.
[24] Ibid.

"helplessness in finding his way about the streets."[25] The GGIE 1939 guidebook authors explain the role of the handbook as one that is especially "designed to be your constant companion during your visit to the Exposition."[26] The format of the revised edition of the 1939 guidebook has convenient tabs with popular headings in order to provide information to the visitor.

The second school is "audience centered" and focuses on the experiences and derived meanings of fair patrons. Examples include personal correspondence such as letters, personal guidebooks, films, and scrapbooks, which all dissected patrons' experiences at the expositions. Bowling Green State University's Ray and Pat Browne Library for Popular Culture Studies contains a collection of postcards that include messages from fair visitors to relatives and friends who could not attend. A recent technology for the Depression-era fairs, the handheld video camera, allowed visitors to create silent (and sometimes in color) videos of their fair-going experience. Videographic evidence of music making at the fair can be analyzed in these home movies.[27]

The "counter-hegemony school of thought" disrupts the normative positions of power by arguing that fairs allowed the marginalized a voice and a position of agency. Entire studies of world's fair monographs and sections of articles focus on certain groups who historically were not part of the power elite: women, persons of color, and the economically disenfranchised. An example of published work utilizing

[25] Ibid.
[26] *Golden Gate Official Guide Book, Revised Edition: Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay* (San Francisco, CA: Crocker Company, 1939), 17.
[27] Amateur videos of the fair taken by fairgoers are found in digital archival collections as well as in private collections.

this methodology is *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs,* an edited volume that rereads the alternative narrative of women's experiences and roles at European and American fairs.[28]

According to Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, the fourth school of thought, championed by social anthropologist Burton Benedict, situates fairs as displays of abundance that advanced modernity and Americans' focus on consumerism. Burton's research focus was on the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition and resulted in a 1982 curated exhibit at the Hearst Museum Anthropology Museum at the University of California, Berkeley as well as numerous articles, a documentary, and the seminal text, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*.[29]

The fifth school focuses on displaying fairs in a more documentary-style that addresses issues of urban planning and focuses on the technological and scientific aspects of world's fairs. The grandiose designs of the late nineteenth-and early twentieth-century fairs have captivated scholars and it is only within the last decade that architectural historians have focused on the fairs of the 1930s. Most of the work conducted on the GGIE has centered on the visual arts and architecture. In 2010, the National Building Museum curated a "first-of-its-kind exhibition" that explored the American world's fairs from 1933 to 1940. The book that accompanied the exhibition, *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, is a

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[28] Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn, eds., *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010).
[29] Burton Benedict, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (London: Scolar Press, 1983).

monograph dedicated expressly to the American fairs of the 1930s. The edited volume presents the issues stemming from mounting fairs during the Depression and critically engages with American modernism and articulating the concept of "escapism."[30] Architectural and urban historian Andrew Shanken's *Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair* is the most recent published book to date dedicated solely to the GGIE's architecture.[31]

The inclusion of nonacademic and academic works (official fair histories, pamphlets, journal and magazine articles, personal accounts, etc.) makes up the final and sixth school of thought. I choose to use political theorist and historian Timothy Mitchell's definition of "representation" as "everything collected and arranged to stand for something, to represent progress and history, human industry and empire; everything set up, and the whole set-up evoking somehow some larger truth."[32] The ephemera are the physical representations of a historical event. Ephemera examples utilized in this study are curated from a myriad of resources and varitations of material, and include: menus, programs, tickets, sheet music, pamplets, etc.

My study encompasses and borrows aspects and concepts from all six schools of thought. Firstly, the GGIE Exposition Company board and committee members were mostly men in positions of power. Forward-thinking for the era, those in power were conscious of California's close ties (culturally and economically) to Asia and Latin America, thus creating a theme for an American exposition that incorporated

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[30] Robert W. Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).
[31] Andrew Michael Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2015).
[32] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), 6.

and highlighted an international community. The normal hegemonic power structure of American world's fairs was overturned when GGIE Exposition Board attempted to depart from the act of exhibition to education: foreign pavilions were not platforms for the display of peoples but methods of creating opportunities for tourism and business. Not only did the GGIE act as an American port of call for the Pan-American China Clippers that connected mainland United States to Asia but the exposition itself was also a general advocate for tourism to the Pacific-region during a time of conflict. An example of this shift of power in the historical exhibition narrative is in the directive of the 1939 GGIE guidebook, an officially sanctioned publication. The GGIE guidebook provides the readers an educational source for "foreign participants" to "have the opportunity to tell Americans some interesting and educational facts about their exhibits and the countries from which they come."[33] The authors of the guidebook even admonish those who are uneducated on matters pertaining to foreign countries:

> Americans who are uninformed, as well as perhaps misinformed on the home lands of our international friends, will find on Treasure Island the significant and worthwhile contributions each country has to offer in resources, industry, the arts, recreation and attractions to travelers. The second best thing to hopping a steamer for a visit to the nations exhibiting the Fair, is to see what each of those nations has on display at Treasure Island for YOU to see and enjoy. Then, and perhaps, later you may actually go to see them.[34]

Evidenced in the above quote, the organizers wanted those who were "uninformed" and even "misinformed" to gain knowledge of the countries outside of the U.S. This is the first incident in the world's fair literature where the sanctioned guide

[33] *Golden Gate Official Guide Book, Revised Edition* (1939): 9.
[34] Ibid.

reprimands and attempts to correct the ignorance of an audience.

The "audience-centered" school of thought is at the forefront of this study. World's fairs were products of those in power and yet each fair visitor, employee, and exhibitor had a distinct and memorable experience. Ephemera, such as scrapbooks and amateur film recordings, can provide insight into individual GGIE visitors' experiences. In addition, the GGIE was a platform for advertisers to market products, concepts, and lifestyles while the federal government used the exposition to promote political agendas. The many pamphlets, letters, personal guidebooks, advertisements, sheet music, giveaways, and other ephemera are personal creations that interpret the meanings of the event.

The role of women and Native Americans at the GGIE and the display of power within the foreign pavilions will incorporate the "counter-hegemonic" school of thought and be investigated further in Chapters 3, 4, and 6. Benedict's theory of fairs' ability to advance modernity and consumerism is very much evident in the expositions of the 1930s, especially New York's "World of Tomorrow." Explored in Chapter 4, the GGIE attempted to be the antithesis of New York's modernist fair and yet, at the same time, introduced audiences to modern technology and art. The fifth school, "documentary-style," is perhaps the most researched approach of the GGIE. Architecture and urban planning scholars have dedicated studies regarding the GGIE's place within the art-deco movement as well as its uniqueness amongst concurrent and future fairs (see Chapters 3 and 4). This study is conscious of the fair's creators,' news media, and patrons' wording and will use a first-person

narrative whenever possible while acknowledging that the terminology and essentialized vernacular of that era (e.g. the usage of "Negro," "savage," and gendered statements) is derogatory and racist terminology for the twenty-first-century reader.

Cross-Disciplinary Approaches

The scholarship on world's fairs is inherently cross-disciplinary since almost every aspect of human endeavor is a part of an exhibition: performing and fine arts, technology and engineering, marketing and advertising, commerce and trade, and architecture and politics. World's fairs have always been of interest to the enthusiast and collector but only entered the view of academia around the mid-1980s. Anthropologists have devoted many monographs and studies regarding world's fairs and the role of social sciences in determining the placement of pavilions and peoples. An example of an anthropological study is Curtis M. Hinsley's essay in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, which presents the commodification of the exotic at the Chicago's Exposition of 1893.[35]

This study would be remiss if it did not incorporate and heavily rely on the work of cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and cultural theorists. Theories regarding "popular" and "mass" cultures arose in the 1930s with the scholarship of

[35] Curtis Hinsley, "The World As Marketplace: Commodification Of The Extotic At The World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," In *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, Ivan carp and Steven Lavine, eds. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991): 344–365.

sociologists such as Maurice Halbwachs.[36] A general definition of "mass culture" is a commercially produced culture intended for mass consumption.[37] The technology that is readily available to a wide audience made mass culture possible. "Popular culture"[38] is everything that a society recognizes as culturally normative.

The study of world's fairs also incorporates more recent theories of "cultural consciousness," "social memory," or "public memory" put forth by Dr. Jan Assmann. In their article, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," Assmann and John Czaplicka argue that collective memory, or "communicative memory," is limited to a "temporal horizon;" rather, this "horizon does not extend more than eighty to (at the very most) one hundred years into the past."[39] Using this communicative memory timeframe to examine the 1939–1940 Golden Gate International Exposition, they indicate that communicative memory is fading. At the date of this publication, eighty years have passed since the GGIE opened and the fait is now a faint collective memory for Bay Area residents. Gathering information from fairgoers will not be an option in the future, thus firsthand accounts are rare.

The field of world fair scholarship is not extensive and a few scholars from various disciplines have authored works that have become foundations for subsequent

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[36] Halbwachs (1877-1945) was a leading French sociologist who studied, among other subjects, the working man and living standards. He lived in occupied France and "was arrested by the Gestapo in Paris in July 1944, and died in February 1945 in the camp at Buchenwald." Georges Friedmann and John H. Mueller, "Maurice Halbwachs, 1877–1945," in *American Journal of Sociology* 51, no. 6 (1946): 509.

[37] "Mass Culture." *Oxford Reference, accessed March 28, 2018,* http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803100138730.

[38] This dissertation takes the approach regarding the classification of "popular" culture, meaning there is no recognition of the designation of "high" and "low" cultures because of the hierarchical connotation those labels imply.

[39] Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, "New German Critique," *Cultural History/Cultural Studies* 65 (1995): 126.

studies.[40] Robert Rydell has authored and edited several books, articles, and introductions as well as organized a conference in conjunction with the Smithsonian in the 1980s. In his opinion, the function of world's fairs has changed and shifted: "Historians, anthropologists, social scientists, and performance studies scholars have set their sights on expositions, arguing that these spectacles have been mirrors that reflect as well as laboratories that shape the societies that host them."[41] For the purpose of this study, there are eight fairs (based on the amount of scholarship, attention, and fame) that have served as "mirrors" and "laboratories" for scholars and are generally assumed by the field as the following:

1. Crystal Palace: London, 1851
2. Philadelphia: 1876
3. Exposition Universelle: Paris 1889
4. World Columbian Exposition: Chicago 1893
5. Louisiana Purchase Exposition: St. Louis, Missouri: 1904
6. Pan-Pacific International Exposition: San Francisco, 1915
7. World of Tomorrow, New York, 1939
8. New York, 1964

Since each exhibition (regional, national, and global) has its own unique qualities and points of scholarship, I will not be able to contribute more than a brief survey of the non-San Francisco hosted fairs. For this study, the focus will be to construct a context to place the GGIE within Depression-era fairs as well as within the expositions that San Francisco had previously hosted—the 1894 California Midwinter Expostion and the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition.

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[40] Authors and scholars include Burton Benedict, John E. Findling, Kimberly D. Pelle, and Robert Rydell.

[41] Robert Rydell, "Forward," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, edited by Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), vii.

Situating the Golden Gate International Exposition

Writings about the Golden Gate International Exposition have been very limited. In comparison to the concurrent New York world's fair, the history and legacy of the GGIE have not garnered the same amount of attention amongst the scholarly and amateur communities. Several examples of the void in GGIE research are found in encyclopedic entries and published books. The *Encyclopædia Britannic*a's entry on world's fairs does not include the GGIE, although both the Century of Progress Exposition (1933–34) and the New York World's Fair (1939–40) earned entries.[42] The GGIE relegated to shorter entries than the other fairs in fair encyclopedias or edited volumes. The absence of the GGIE could be due to the timing of the fair—as a concurrent event with New York, the latter fair has historically received a greater volume of studies devoted to it. The only published book to date specifically dedicated to the music of the 1939 fairs, *1939 Music & The World's Fair*, does not mention the GGIE.[43] Thus, every piece of evidence, whether it is a film, recorded radio broadcast, or postcard book is of importance in creating a comprehensive body of work. Because world's fairs inspired and impacted a wide audience, many amateur societies, associations, and communities have been established to preserve history, serve collectors, and commemorate many world's fairs. A number of these groups have produced publications and online sources for their membership and the public.[44]

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[42] Findling, "World's Fair," in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.
[43] Claudia Swan, ed., *1939 Music & The World's Fair* (New York: EOS Music Inc., 1998).
[44] Listed are a small sample of the world's fair communities' resources: "Expo Museum," http://www.expomuseum.com. *Expo Info Guide* was a general bulletin for "Expo Collectors and

The GGIE is no exception and several enthusiasts have published books and pamphlets regarding the exposition's history as well as compiled personal visitor experiences.[45] The living members of the generation who attended and worked at the fair are in their late eighties and nineties. This study includes several oral histories of subjects who attended the fair as children and young teenagers conducted by the author. Patricia F. Carpenter and Paul Totah compiled a valuable compilation of first-hand accounts from fair workers, performers, and attendees from different age groups (57 years to 97). *The San Francisco Fair: Treasure Island 1939-1940* includes fifty interviews that highlight the intersections of different cultural groups and their place within geopolitics.[46] The oral histories include various stories important to the historical record, such as the fair organizers and partners: employing German Jewish refugees, canvassing money for the Chinese Village, as well as narratives of fair participants forced into concentration camps a year after the GGIE's closure.

In lieu of an official overarching report on the GGIE, *"The Magic City," 1939–1940: The Story of the Golden Gate International Exposition* is a "permanent record" story compiled by Jack James, Director of Publicity and Promotion in 1940, and Earle Vonard Weller, Manager of the GGIE Magazine Division. Contributors to this record included both presidents of the GGIE (Leland W. Cutler and Marshall

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Historians Organization: The Echo of World's Fair Memorabilia & History" edited by Edward J. Orth. The 1904 World's Fair Society (http://www.1904worldsfairsociety.org).; Treasure Island Museum Association.

[45] These include Richard Reinhardt's experience as a six-year old at the GGIE in his *Treasure Island: San Francisco's Exposition Years* (San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1973) and Anne Schnoebelen's *Treasures: Splendid Survivors of the Golden Gate International Exposition* (San Francisco: GGIE Associates, 1991).

[46] Patricia Carpenter and Paul Totah. *The San Francisco Fair: Treasure Island 1939-1940* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1989).

Dill), U.S. Commissioner George Creel, as well as board members. The book summarizes the GGIE's tenure from the planning process to the closing radio address and includes graphics, speeches, and an extensive appendix that lists every committee, exhibitor, concession, foreign participator, special day program, attendance record, financial department report per each operating period, and employee.

James and Weller's book includes valuable information regarding the entertainment and musical programming. The authors could not include the entirety of musical entertainment and wrote the following note: "A complete book could be written and possibly should be on the music of the Exposition. A record of its pageantry even a cursory record might well fill another fat volume."[47] The book's Chapter 14 entitled, "Pageantry and Song," is the basis of this dissertation. The authors present a survey of the varied musical entertainment presented at the fair alongside the graphics and an abbreviated comparison of the GGIE to the New York fair. Although this record is not "an official history," it is the only record overseen by the Exposition Company and official committee members. Thus, the details and data presented can be analyzed and interpreted as perspectives of the era.

This academic thesis relies heavily on a musicological means of investigation: musical analysis and the study of archival material, government documents, etc. that uniquely incorporates an ethnographic approach. Because of the

[47] Jack James and Earle Vonard Weller, *Treasure Island, "The Magic City," 1939-1940: The Story of the Golden Gate International Exposition* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing and Publishing Co., 1941), 179.

era of the GGIE, technology like the radio, audio recording, and film are all sources that contribute to this study in addition to the oral histories conducted with informants who attended the fair. World expositions were a shared experience of the ordinary individual; every patron had a unique outlook on the fair and some have kept different forms of ephemera. Drawing upon film footage, advertisements, photos, scrapbooks, brochures, personal correspondence (postcards, letters, and notes), and radio transcripts allows scholars insight into the millions of fair patrons who had shared experiences. This study draws on archival sources as geographically varied as Washington D.C., Ohio, California, and South Australia, as well as the generous offerings from interview informants, collectors, and families who kept (and shared) material about the GGIE.

Chapter Overview

World's fairs are outward projections of a society's goals of progress and modernity, and music was very much a by-product of the political and cultural issues of American identity. American fairs allow insight into political matters, issues of class, race, and gender, colonialist philosophies, and opportunities (or the lack of them) for marginalized populations to express agency within American society. Chapter 2 investigates the role of music in American world's fairs as well as conducts a sociological and anthropological survey of the origins of expositions. Fairs became a catalyst for the standardization of music and entertainment. Popular musical figures were in demand at expositions and wielded a great amount of power in creating

uniquely "American" music as well as shaping the sonic representation of a nation. Programming choices by Theodore Thomas, John Philip Sousa, Patrick Gilmore, women's committees, and other civic organizers controlled and nurtured the music heard by millions of domestic and foreign fairgoers. This comprehensive survey compares music and performance reception of nineteenth through twentieth-century American world's fairs to analyze the history of fair programming standardization.

Chapter 3 focuses on the San Francisco-hosted expositions: The California Midwinter International Exposition (1894), The Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915), and The Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940). The forty-nine years that separate the first and last exposition highlight the cultural and political development of the city and underline California's important role in nation building. The music programmed, written for, and performed at the fairs serves as a focused pivot point through which scholars can gain insight into nineteenth- and twentieth-century societal issues such as class, culture, and race as well as the development of a unique Californian identity within the broader context of American geopolitics.

Chapter 4 includes detailed information on the planning of the fairgrounds as well as the specific role that music played at the GGIE and a cursory comparison of event programming with the concurrent New York's world's fair. Included in this chapter is the most recent and comprehensive study on the Grace Cathedral Carillon housed in the Tower of the Sun. The GGIE was the first American international exposition to incorporate and celebrate the Pan-Pacific region by its official theme,

and the architecture and music reflect this. The exceptionality of Californians' perspective can be seen in the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the frontier chronicle during the pre-fair events as well as the adaptation of cutting-edge technology in the engagement of the narrative pageant, *The Cavalcade of the Golden West*. Enveloped in a nostalgic view of the frontier western narrative was a modern and complex technological production. Dubbed by the *Cavalcade* producers as "Third Dimensional Sound," the mathematical placement of speakers within moving set pieces and seventeen loudspeakers positioned among the audience was groundbreaking. I argue this method of sound placement was the precursor to surround sound that would later develop into the field of acoustical engineering among other technological recording concepts

In Chapter 5, a multi-varied analysis of specific ensembles, musicians, venues, and programming histories within their sonic spaces will be showcased as direct examples of how entertainment choices reflected the social and cultural consciousness of the GGIE era. This study is the first to investigate the music of the GGIE and how the wide breadth of musical arts programming was used as an integral tool by the federal government in the promotion and education of its political agenda. The era's issues of geopolitics and gender dichotomies unfolded within the Fair's grounds. The expanded role of women resulted in lectures, concert series, and special events which showcased local and international talent. Programming and performance reception of the following entities are presented in this case study: The Goldman

Band, Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, Sally Rand, Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, Kay Kyser, the San Francisco Symphony, Bing Crosby, Coolidge Quartet, and Nadia Boulanger.

Chapter 6 is a comprehensive look into the four categories of music sponsors: federal, civic, academic, and corporate. Unlike the previous San Francisco fairs of 1894 and 1915, the GGIE was a Depression-era fair that depended on the direct support of the federal government. The crucial support of WPA (FTP and FMP) in the form of musical venues, exhibits, ensembles and popular productions (*Swing Mikado*) is investigated. Cities and counties showcased their amateur, academic, club, and semi-professional musical ensembles at the fair, especially during "special event days." Academic institutions and educational organizations were well represented in the GGIE's programming. Music was a method of marketing and corporate-sponsored ensembles and musical events were programmed. A case study regarding International Business Machine's (IBM) "World Peace Day" programming, including a musical analysis of Vittorio Giannini's *The IBM Symphony* performed by the San Francisco Symphony is accomplished in this chapter.

Special event days and music festivals underwritten by GGIE management and corporate, academic, and civic sponsors were used as marketing ploys to attract audiences and to promote institutional missions. Chapter 7 explores how musical programming during special events served a method of political propaganda and protest during the wars in Asia and Europe. There are too many special events and festivals to cover in this work; therefore, a sample of the most historically significant and popular (five music-specific festivals in total, four in this chapter) will be

examined. The festivals explored in detail here are the 1939 California Composers Festival, the California Music Festival (1940), the Negro Music Festival (1939), and the Eisteddfod (1939).

In Chapter 8, I investigate the scope and level of foreign representatives' participation at the GGIE and the issues stemming from the ongoing war. Unlike the world's fairs of the nineteenth and early mid-twentieth centuries, the participating countries themselves mostly built the GGIE's foreign pavilions, and the emphasis in displaying cultures was on tourism, rather than cultural appropriation. Each country and territory's pavilions offered distinctive programming, including a formal dedication, opening ceremony, and programs. Existing musical programs (radio broadcasts or paper programs) are very rare, and when studied, they can provide invaluable insight into the events that occurred within the pavilions. Alternative investigative methods are required, including archival, ethnographic, and quantitative, in order to glean information regarding musical programming and the experience from the visitors' perspective, as well as the organizers' perspective. Various visiting ensembles from the Latin American and Pacific regions are investigated, including: The Philippine Constabulary Band, Chinese Village musicians and performers, The Takarazuka Ensemble, Lena Mechado and the Royal Hawaiians, Guatemalan Marimba Band, the Brazilian Orchestra, and Balinese Gamelan. In addition, this chapter explores for the first-time local Bay Area artists' participation in foreign pavilion performances.

The effect of turmoil in Europe and Asia in 1939 made travel difficult for

representatives from countries initially planning to attend the exposition. Several exhibition pavilions, performers, and ensembles were unable to return for the 1940 fair due to political and military conflicts in Europe and Asia. Although the primary reasons cited for the foreign music programming were entertainment and education, the participating nations and fair attendees could easily detect political messages and protest in every display, exemplified in the 1939 and 1940 "French Day" celebrations and support for the exiled Czechoslovakian government during the 1940 fair.

Chapter 9 is the first study dedicated expressly to the music written for the GGIE. A focused analysis (lyrical, textual, and harmonic) of selected examples from each category: popular, wind band, and western-art music will be conducted to examine how the music written for and about the GGIE reflects the social, political, and cultural consciousness of the Depression-era fair-attending public. Compiled by the author from various archival sources, the Golden Gate International Sheet Music Collection (GGIESMC) is composed of fifty-nine pieces works created as sheet music. In addition to the GGIESMC, three additional works dedicated to the GGIE from the western-classical tradition were uncovered: a cantata, a symphonic poem, and a march. Edwin Franko Goldman (1878–1956) composed the latter specifically for the GGIE, and most of the information about the work comes from an analysis of the Goldman Band Program Book (GBPB). This chapter will include a study of the GBPB within the context of the GGIE, and its contents will shed new insight into concert band programming at American fairs.

Chapter 10 focuses on the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) and the fight for the airwaves and solidification of American nationalism during the last weeks of the GGIE at the 1940 ASCAP concerts. ASCAP assembled its famous membership to present a highly publicized musical protest in the form of a two-part concert series at the Golden Gate International Exposition on Tuesday, September 24, 1940. ASCAP President Gene Buck announced that this music festival would be "the greatest group of creative talent ever in one spot in the history of the world."[48] The society's intention was to show their unification and strength to the American public and radio networks during a time of key contract negotiations. Using recordings and reviews, this chapter will shed new light on the issues of music licensing, performance rights organization history, musical protest, and the reaffirmation of the American popular music canon on the West Coast in the final years before the United States' involvement in WWII.

[48] *Carousel of American Music*, Music & Arts Program, 1997, CD2, track 1, ca. 1:35.

CHAPTER 2
THE ROLE OF MUSIC AT AMERICAN WOLRD'S FAIRS

The first modern-era European exposition, Great Britain's Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations in 1851, directly inspired American world's fairs. Hosted by Prince Albert on behalf of Britain, the goal of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations (commonly referred to as the Crystal Palace Exposition) was to display British technological advancements in the fields of technology and machinery alongside other nations' entries. Impresario P.T. Barnum (1810–1891) and politician Horace Greeley (1811–1872) saw the potential in building a "crystal palace of their own" for New York in 1853.[49] Although the Crystal Palace Exposition was not a designated world's fair, it set the precedent for the long-term interest in American-hosted exhibitions.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century, especially post-Civil War, the nation was reexamining what it meant to be American. The defining purpose of an exposition was to display a country's progress and future goals for the world; thus, a post-war American world's exposition would assume the role of conciliator and stand as a symbol of unification. During the Reconstruction Era (1865–1870s), politicians strove to create events that would build moments of unification and thus, the popularity of American world's and regional fairs began.[50] Starting with the 1876

[49] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle*, Fair America,* 1.

[50] Arguably, the first American massed spectacle was the Great National Peace Jubilee of 1869. Boston hosted the Great National Peace Jubilee in June 1869 to "commemorate the restoration of peace throughout the land." Bandmaster Patrick Gilmore was the key initiator of the festival and desired to mount a massed spectacle to present "the new era of brotherly love." See Horowitz, 16 for an in-depth analysis of the Great National Peace Jubilee; Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*

Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia, the United States would host more than seventy world's fairs between 1853 and 1984.

The American public's desire and fascination with regional exhibitions did not wane in the wake of larger world's fairs. In the case of the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition (CMIE),[51] the exposition planners believed that there was a large enough market for a regional exposition in San Francisco after the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois. In fact, the local management thought the CMIE would not have been as successful had it not been for the precedent set by the Columbian Exposition:

> The mere fact that one exposition has just closed is a good reason for opening another. The appetite of the American people for such things has been whetted: they have contracted the exposition habit, as it were, and thousands will visit the Midwinter who would not have thought of such a thing had they not already been to the Columbian.[52]

Like many American regional fairs, the CMIE relied heavily on the precedent set in place by the sanctioned world's fairs. There were enough potential fair attendees to mount multiple regional and world's fairs in the United States between 1853 and 1984.

American world exhibitions have introduced millions to innovative technology that improved the quality of life for millions of citizens and helped shape

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(New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001); and Gilmore's history of the event in Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, *History of the National Peace Jubilee and Great Music Festival: held in the city of Boston, June 1869, to commemorate the restoration of peace throughout the land* (Boston: Gilmore, 1871). A presentation of a massed spectacle of this type would not occur until the inaugural concert of the Chicago Columbian Exhibition where Theodore Thomas assembled "a 190-piece orchestra and fifty-seven hundred choristers" in "reputedly the largest structure in the world.," Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2005), 167.

[51] See Chapter 3 for more detailed information regarding the CMIE.

[52] Kirk Munroe, "San Francisco and its Midwinter Fair," *Harper's Weekly* 37, no. 1929 (December 9, 1893): 1181.

"the modern world."[53] In their book *Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States*, Robert Rydell, John Findling, and Kimberly Pelle state:

> Fairs have introduced generations of Americans to path breaking scientific and technological innovations like telephones, X Rays, infant incubators, television, moving walkways, asphalt, and plastics. The architecture and parklike [sic.] settings of world's fairs, along with their sometimes visionary schemes for public and private transportation, have influenced the ways our cities and small towns look and the way we behave in them. The importance of world's fairs is undeniable.[54]

World's fairs have facilitated dialogues across cultures and nations and are the focus for the dissemination of ideas, especially in eras that predate the telegraph, radio, and internet. Frank Morton Todd, author of the official record of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915, San Francisco), wrote that there is "hardly anything worthier of record, of analysis, and of study" than the history of an exposition because it is the record of the "interesting phases of the modern human drama": "So, if an exposition, which is "a collection of exhibits," deals mainly with the physical, it is dealing with one of the most potent elements of civilization. But it is also dealing with it spiritually, ethically, for the service and exaltation of Man."[55] The impact of a world's fair on American society, therefore, is difficult to deny. Technology, entertainment, and architecture introduced or created at a fair influenced every facet of American culture from radio, public works projects, transportation, food, and television to fine arts, music, Hollywood films, product merchandising,

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[53] Robert Rydell, "Forward," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, edited by TJ Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), vii.
[54] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 1–2.
[55] Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition: Being the Official History of the International Celebration held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and Construction of the Panama Canal,* vol. 1 (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1921), xv.

colloquialisms, and folklore.

Rydell, Findling, and Pelle categorize world's fairs into four distinct categories that include European expositions: Fairs in the Age of Industrialism's Advance (1851–1897); Fairs of the Imperial Era (1898–1916); Fairs Between the World Wars (1917–1940); and Fairs in the Atomic Age (1958–1984).[56] An additional fifth category, "Fairs in the Expo Age," should be defined to include the Tsukuba Expo of 1985 to the most current exhibition, the Milan Expo of 2015.[57]

World's fairs, international or domestic, were physical representations of projections of modernity and progress. The events presented society's articulated notions of nationalism and patriotism and projected its issues of cultural identity. The concept of nationalism[58] and self-identity is a major characteristic of modernity. Benedict Anderson attempts to define nationalism in his work, *Imagine Communities*, as "an imagined political community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign."[59] The modern sense of community and nationhood is predicated on defined markers of association: (1) citizens will never meet due to constraints such as geography or economics and (2) imaginary borders are created to create a common culture and a shared sense of identity. Expositions and fairs were platforms to express and reinforce this imagined community because they afforded methods with which to

[56] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 7–13.
[57] The 2020 world expo will take place in October 2020 in Dubai, United Arab Emirates.
[58] Enlightenment gave rise to nationalism, which in turn gave rise to secularization. When a common monarch no longer controlled villages, groups of like-minded people formed communities under the auspice of a unified state. Common religious goals, ethnic identifiers, and language became common unifiers.
[59] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 6.

compare, compete, and measure nations.

World's fairs became shared experiences for those in attendance and became a part of the historical legacy and myth building through the publication of printed souvenirs, press releases, and photo books that allowed Americans to experience the fair without attending. Those who did travel and attend the fair were participants in what Timothy Mitchell calls an "objective truth."[60] An exhibition visitor is a spectator who is manipulated through a series of exhibitions with guidebooks and information provided by the exposition architects in order to experience an objective truth created by the host country's culture. Historian Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo explains:

> World exhibitions were conscious universal representations of what was thought to be progress and modernity, and they were thus both the métier and the ideal rendition of the modern city. Such exhibitions aimed to be object lessons about those beliefs, and often indeed, their vestiges became the symbols of modern cities. But a late-nineteenth-century world's fair was also invariably a magnificent show, an "oasis of fantasy and fable at a time of crisis and impending violence.[61]

Expanding Tenorio-Trillo's statement, one could argue that every American world's fair, not just late-nineteenth-century fairs, was an "oasis of fantasy" during a period of turmoil, especially the Depression-era fairs of the 1930s. A further exploration of this concept of escapism and creation of fantasy, as it relates to the expositions held in San Francisco, can be found in Chapter 3. Because the focus of this study on the fairs of the 1930s, this chapter will present two subcategories within the broader "Fairs Between World Wars" that focus on the fairs of the 1920s and 1930s.

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[60] Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, 8.
[61] Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fair: Fairs Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1996), 2.

The subject of world's fair music (American and International) is an emerging line of inquiry within the musicological field. Music is a lens through which scholars can examine those in power as well as those who suffered systemic marginalization: women, those of color, and the economically disenfranchised. Focused musicological studies of exposition music are few, and the work accomplished by Raoul Camus, Karen Alquist, Leta Miller, Annegret Fauser,[62] Kiri Miller, and William Gibbons as well as other academic writings, including dissertations,[63] laid the foundation for this study. Each exposition could merit an entire thesis regarding the musical programming; thus, in order to address multiple American world's fairs, this chapter will provide a chronological survey that presents the overall role and methods of musical programming by utilizing selected world's fairs as case studies in order to explore the cultural, societal, and political issues of the era.[64]

Major musical leaders, instigators, impresarios, and famed ensembles were repeatedly hired and engaged for world's fairs, and the participation of these

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[62] Annegret Fauser's, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair*, is a detailed analysis of the history and music of the Paris World's Fair of 1889. Her work includes instruments and music technology that were in mechanical displays.

[63] William Gibbons, "'Yankee Doodle" and Nationalism, 1780–1920," in American Music, vol 26, no.2 (Summer, 2008): 246–274; Kiri Miller, "Americanism Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893," in *19th-Century Music*, 27/2 (Fall 2003): 137-155; Randy Charles Brittain, "Festival Jubilate, Op. 17 by Amy Cheney Beach (1867-1944): A Performing Edition" (Ph.D. Diss., University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 1994); Amanda Cannata, "Music and Structures of Identity at International Expositions in the Americas, 1875-1915" (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford University, 2014); Amy Taipale Canfield, "Discovering Woman: Women's Performances at the World's Columbian Exposition Chicago, 1893" (Ph.D. Diss., The Ohio State University, 2002).

[64] Because of the inherent nature of a survey, there will be, admittedly, omissions and overviews of fair programming and details. I attempt to include further and more in-depth reading suggestions that pertain to certain ensembles and/or fairs.

individuals shaped the legacy of American music making as well as defined the expectations of what constitutes a sonic representation of an American mass-spectacle. In addition to presenting the music programmed and performed at the various expositions, an investigation of the inclusion of non-sanctioned music and the impact that world's fairs had on the music scene of host cities will be undertaken. Displays of instruments under "machinery" or "inventions" are not a focus of this survey. American fair programming is a chain of events with each fair built upon those that preceded it. There must be historical precedence established by the American expositions in order to examine the Golden Gate International Exposition of 1939–1940.

Music and American World's Fairs

American world's fair musical programming has tended to be formulaic. Throughout the decades, fair organizers established a programming standard that met audience expectations. Four genres are evident in all fair musical programming prior to World War II: band (i.e., military, concert, and wind), western classical (i.e. opera, symphonic, organ), "popular" (i.e., ragtime, entertainers, Tin Pan Alley songs), and invited foreign participants (i.e., Chinese opera, Balinese gamelan, samba bands). All expositions have three levels of sponsored participants: professional, federal/governmental, and civic (school bands, local choruses, and children's groups). At the core of world's fair programming is the ability to generate funding by presenting audiences with in-demand entertainment.

The audience, typically thought of as passive, is in actuality a powerful entity in regard to musical programming. The standardization of programming was a direct result of the power of the patron. Audiences were also the most effective method of promotion; millions of people attended fairs, returning to their homes and promoting the music (e.g., sheet music, featured entertainers) performed during the exhibition.

World's fairs became a catalyst for the standardization of music and entertainment. Individual patrons became regional marketers who promoted spectacles, acts, and performance groups showcased at exhibitions and became mainstays in fair entertainment like the Wild West Show, Sally Rand, and Streets of Cairo. As in the case of the Philadelphia World's Fair, organizers sometimes misjudged their assumptions of what potential audiences would want to hear and experience. The western classical music programming famously failed at several fairs and forced those in power to adapt to the audiences' demands.[65] Conversely, at the Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940), the executive committee assumed that audiences would want "popular" programming and would not want symphonic programming by the San Francisco Symphony. After strong opposition of not having the hometown symphony involved in the GGIE, the committee was forced to create a symphonic series for 1939 and invited the symphony to have a more prominent role during the following year (see Chapter 5).

The complicated role of music changes throughout the individual fair histories. For example, fairs in the "Age of Industrialism's Advance" (1851–1897)

[65] See subsection on the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial.

and fairs of the "Imperial Era" (1898–1916) heavily relied on the educational and general morale-boosting properties of music while expositions that took place between the world wars incorporated more "popular" genres such as jazz and vaudeville. By studying the music of the world's fairs, one can gain an understanding of those in power at all levels: leaders (federal and civic politicians, fair organizers and programming directors, music clubs, women's organizations, music companies and promoters), participants (hierarchies among ensembles, visiting foreign artists, and solo musicians), and audiences (domestic and international).

Music was the sonic representation of the goals and visions of those in power and used as a tool for educating the masses as well as a means through which to disseminate political propaganda. The U.S. federal government sponsored bands, theater productions, and sheet music that promoted national policies and encouraged nation building (see Chapters 6, 7, and 9). Each ensemble (government-sponsored or not) at a world's fair plays a complicated role; audiences did not necessarily infer the same meaning that the organizers and those in power assumed that they would.

This "counter-hegemony" philosophy was very much evident in The Philippine Constabulary Band's participation at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair (the band also appeared later at the 1915 PPIE and at the GGIE). The Philippine Constabulary Band was supposed to represent the many facets of American foreign policy of the era. Ethnomusicologist Mary Talusan argues that the Philippine Constabulary Band was a successful manifestation of American colonial power and

an example of "benevolent assimilation."[66] And yet, the Filipinos and band members who aided the American colonial government in the world's fair "viewed the accomplishments of the PC Band in nationalist terms, emphasizing rather than obscuring Filipino musical traditions established at least a century prior to American rule."[67] American governmental forces could not control the audiences' or the performers' interpretations or inferences at world's fairs.

Impossible to confine within the walls of the expositions, music transcended the artificially created utopias and created a parallel narrative to the strictly programmed and authorized event. Music organizers were in control of deciding physical performance venues, thus passed judgment and granted approval of what type of music was appropriate for mass consumption. This delineation of performance space was never more apparent than at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[68] According to several sources, marginalized music not included in the organization of the 1893 fair could "be found on Stony Island Avenue and other thoroughfares leading to the Great White City."[69] In addition, world's fairs gave musicians working at the event the opportunity to work with local musicians and ensembles. While in residency at the 1939 GGIE, Benny Goodman, famous for his swing charts, presented a concert of western classical art music with the Budapest

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[66] Mary Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: The Philippine Constabulary Band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *Philippine Studies* 52, no. 4 (2004): 499.
[67] Ibid., 500.
[68] Further exploration of this dichotomous theory can be found in this chapter under the subheading: "The World's Columbian Exposition: Chicago, Illinois (1893)."
[69] *The Columbian Gallery: A Portfolio of Photographs from the World's Fair including the Chief Palaces, Interiors, Statuary, Architectural and Scenic Groups, Characters, Typical Exhibits, and Marvels of the Midway Plaisance: Correct and Graphic Descriptions with Each View* (Chicago: The Wener Company, 1894), n.p.

String Quartet at Mills College in Oakland. His percussionist, Lionel Hampton, went to San Francisco's jazz district to sit in and perform with local jazz musicians.[70] Attempts to create a distinct barrier between music "at the fair" and music performed "outside of the fairgrounds" were made, but this differentiation was difficult to control. Instances of music making on the edges of the fairgrounds or interactions with visiting artists and fairgoers often go unrecorded, but the impact of these interactions are retold in the biographies and personal reflections of musicians, both local and visiting.[71]

Fairs in the Age of Industrialism's Advance (1851–1897): Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition and The World's Columbian Exposition

The decades after the Civil War were tumultuous and tenuous for the recently reunited United States. The country's leaders sought to create a unified country based on carefully constructed concepts of American patriotism and nationalism. One method of creating nationhood was to mount regional and international expositions to create community and competitiveness. The United States, heavily dependent on Europe for not only cultural but also political relationships, struggled in the "quest for cultural identity."[72] Expositions would combat this relationship by displaying American-made innovations and cultural presentations (music, art, dance, and theater) that would rival those of the Old World.

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[70] See Chapter 5 for more detailed information regarding Goodman and Hampton's performances outside of the confines of the GGIE.
[71] Explored further in this chapter are the interactions between the fairgoer and entertainer.
[72] Marie McCarthy, "American Music Education as Reflected in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892–93," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education* 15, no. 2 (1994): 113.

Music was very much a byproduct of the political and cultural issues of American identity. The nation desired to have a firm musical tradition and be the sonic answer to the question of "What is American Music?" First, one must define what comprises "American Music" and then educate the populace based on the findings. Although the country attempted to distance itself from the Old World by creating a uniquely American sound, some institutions and composers still looked to European musical precedents.[73] New York had become the American cultural hub, and the National Conservatory of Music was established to "ground an American repertoire of symphonies and operas."[74]

European composers visited America and gave opinions, based upon their experiences back home, of what American music should be. Antonin Dvořák's (1841–1904) famous and controversial visit in October 1892 to New York is an example of the dominance and longevity of the Old World's control. Dvořák proclaimed his advocacy for American composers and asked them to look to their country's folk traditions of the African-American and Native American cultures. His *New World Symphony* was the result of blending slave songs, Native American imagery, and western harmonic and melodic structures. While some welcomed Dvořák's insight and grasped the historical importance of his symphony, others saw his "missionary presence" as intrusive.[75] The response by the Boston-based

[73] The groups disenfranchised by this choice were "The Other" and the other pseudonyms associated with the foreign or unknown, and the minority group within the majority culture is the internal "other." For example, in the post-Antebellum United States, the African-American community was considered the internal "other."
[74] Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall*, 6.
[75] Ibid., 7.

community of composers is well researched and will not be explored in this thesis,[76] but an example of a dissenting response from Amy Beach[77] is as follows:

> Without the slightest desire to question the beauty of the negro melodies of which [Dvořák] speaks so highly, or to disparage them on account of their source, I cannot help feeling justified in the belief that they are not fully typical of our country. The African population of the United States is far too small for its songs to be considered 'American.'[78]

The press and composer groups discussed the range of reasons why Dvořák's music was (or was not) American. Regardless of whether the musical community agreed with Dvořák, the dialogue surrounding the issue of defining American music forced a discussion surrounding twentieth-century nationhood building.

While musical leaders debated the intricacies of what made American music "American," there was a widespread concern to improve "the cultural life of urban areas…thus raising the level of musical life in the nation."[79] The rise of the Age of Industrialism and issues of modernity, compounded with the great influx of immigrants from the Old World, led to a general unsettled definition of American culture: with innovation and technological progress came destabilization in faith and culture. The nineteenth-century expositions were, to a certain extent, tools of colonial power and displays of modernity that served the rising middle class.

With a new socioeconomic group of people who and had leisure time, the middle class utilized music to educate the "uncultured." Marie McCarthy, whose

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[76] See Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America*; Judith Tick, ed., *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[77] Mrs. H.H.A. Beach (1867-1944) was the first well-known American female composer.
[78] Joseph Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall,* 7.
[79] McCarthy, "American Music Education as Reflected in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892–93": 116.

article "American Music Education as Reflected in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1892–93" focuses on the methodology of music education and programming during the Chicago World's Fair. McCarthy explains that to address the goal of "improving musical culture, some leaders prescribed education of the mass population"; some argued that "not only would popular music education enrich the fabric of musical culture into the twentieth century, but it would also serve to train patriotic American citizens and embrace "the immigrant population which is pouring over our country."[80] Teaching "good" music to children would benefit their education as well as that of the general populace by creating trained and patriotic citizens.[81] Conductor Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) was the most stalwart advocate of this philosophy and applied the methodology of programming European classical music at the fairs of 1876 (Philadelphia) and 1893 (Chicago) to morally uplift massed audiences.

The First World's Fair in the United States

The 1876 Philadelphia Centennial International Exhibition was the first major U.S. world's fair. On March 3, 1871, The United States Congress passed an act approving the designation of the city of Philadelphia as the host for this auspicious occasion. In order to celebrate the centennial of "American Independence," organizers wanted to hold an "International Exhibition of Arts, Manufactures, and

[80] Ibid, 120.
[81] "Although public schools had included music since 1838, its presence in the curriculum was still unstable and intermittent in the early 1890s. Music education literature from the years 1892–1893 is evidence of people challenging established attitudes and coming to a new awareness of the value of music in public education." Ibid., 119.

Products of the Soil and Mine."[82] The federal government and the state of Pennsylvania raised most of the funding for the fair, $11.5 million and $1.5 million, respectively.[83] On July 3, 1873, the President of the United States announced the exhibition to the world and the following governments accepted his invitation to exhibit:

> Argentine Republic; Austria-Hungary, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Chili [sic], China, Denmark, Egypt, France with Algeria, Germany, Great Britain with colonies, Queensland, New Zealand, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, India, Cape Colony, Bermuda, Jamaica, Hawaii, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Orange Free State, Peru, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunis, Turkey, and Venezuela.[84]

The fair was an attempt to "celebrate American patriotism; to highlight the virtues of stability and progress; to showcase the United States' industrial and agricultural products; and to herald America's growing influence in the 'global economy.'"[85] The fair also coincided with economic depression, reports of government scandals, and the struggling efforts of a country that ten years earlier was at war.[86]

During the six-month tenure of the fair (May through November), more than ten million people came to view the "thirty-thousands exhibitors from thirty-seven nations with over two hundred and fifty individual pavilions."[87] Fair organizers

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[82] Alfred Heller, "Philadelphia 1876," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2008): 52.
[83] Ezra Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 69.
[84] *The Official Catalogue of the International Exhibition, 1876: Complete in One Volume* (Philadelphia: John R. Nagle and Company, 1876), vii.
[85] Mary Jo Arnoldi, "The 1876 Centennial Exhibition," in *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, edited by Blanchard, Pascal, Gilles Boëtsch, and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep (Musée du quai Branly: ACTES SUD, 2012), 93.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

encouraged American orchestras and composers to participate, as is evident in the programming of the all-American musical programs at the exposition.

The German-born conductor Theodore Thomas (1835–1905) emerged on the musical scene as a prodigy violinist and conductor. The Thomas Orchestra was well known on the East Coast and was a "model of Germanic discipline and polish."[88] According to Joseph Horowitz, Thomas was "a supreme Gilded Age icon" who believed "a symphony orchestra shows the culture of a community."[89] Manifest Destiny ideology mirrored not only the goings-on in the political and social aspects of American life but also in music. Judith Tick adds that Thomas's career "exemplifies many issues that characterized American classical music life after 1850" including the importance of the transcontinental railroad that allowed groups to tour the entire country and fed the desire to "fuel territorial expansionism."[90] Thomas would prove to be an important figure in American world's fair history.

The Women's Centennial Committees and Women's Department of the Centennial Exposition were influential in the exhibition's musical programming. Establishing a precedent for women's roles in subsequent American fairs, the Centennial women's groups impacted the direction of the fair's musical objectives, while at the same time allowed a societal and politically marginalized group agency within a national event.[91] According to his posthumously published memoirs (edited by his second wife Rose Fay Thomas), Theodore Thomas was confident the "season

[88] Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall,* 35.
[89] Ibid, 36.
[90] Tick, *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion*, 270.
[91] For an in-depth analysis, see the subheading *The Role of Women in Fair Programming*.

would be a very profitable one" because the Women's Committees "promised to promote" the performance "by every means in their power" even though they could not "guarantee the concerts in any way."[92]

Civic and government leaders, including the President Ulysses S. Grant, attended the opening ceremonies on May 10, 1876. Thomas led his orchestra, which was "augmented to 150 players" alongside the "Grand Centennial Chorus of close to 1,000 Philadelphians, in front of an approximately 200,000 person crowd.[93] In addition to the *Centennial March* by Richard Wagner, which was very well received by the press and fair patrons, Thomas asked the committees to also provide commissions for American-created works by recommending composer Dudley Buck (1839–1909) and poet Sidney Lanier (1842–1881) to write a cantata, "Centennial Mediation of Columbia" (sung by baritone W. Whitney, chorus, and orchestra). Composer John Knowles Paine (1839–1906) and poet John Greenleaf Whittier (1807–1892) were engaged to compose the inaugural hymn, the "Centennial Hymn."[94] The two poets were products of the "Gilded Age" and "were good choices for the nostalgic centennial year."[95] The organizers of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair asked Paine to compose a march. The final musical selection was Handel's "Hallelujah Chorus" from the *Messiah*.[96] The commissioning of composers for

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[92] Ibid., 109.
[93] Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–190, 5*73.
[94] Abram Loft, "Richard Wagner, Theodore Thomas, and the American Centennial," in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 37, no. 2 (April, 1951): 186.
[95] Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905*, 71.
[96] Theodore Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, vol. 2, edited by George P. Upton, (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1905), 183, accessed October 20, 2016, https://archive.org/details/theodorethomasm02thomuoft.

world's fairs would become standard practice; examples from the 1939–1940 Golden Gate International Exposition will be explored throughout this dissertation.

Faced with a common occurrence at world's fairs—the competition for audiences—Thomas faced the blatant fact that audiences preferred "popular" programs in a more relaxed atmosphere than his "serious" classical symphonic offerings. The weather did not help efforts to popularize the evening concert series; the stifling humidity in the Philadelphia summer and the travel time away from the fairgrounds did not appeal to concertgoers. In addition, audiences had the option of seeing the great American bandmaster, Patrick Gilmore, performing free daytime concerts on the fairgrounds. Thomas resigned himself to the fact that "people go to a World's Fair [sic] to see and not to hear, to be amused, not educated."[97]

Manager John Travis Quigg[98] and Thomas began to disagree on the promotion and management of the concert series. According to Schabas, Quigg blamed Thomas's serious repertoire and the expectation that the audience would "remain seated during concerts" for weakened food and beverage sales for weakened ticket sales. Conversely, Thomas accused Quigg of "poor management" and even refused to perform, forcing Quigg to issue refunds.[99] Exasperated with the lack of funds, Thomas foolishly took on the financial responsibility for the concerts.[100] After a combination of factors ranging from low box office sales due to competition from

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[97] Ibid., 67.
[98] Quigg was native to Philadelphia and co-editior of the periodical, the *American Musician*.
[99] Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905,* 75–76.
[100] For a more detailed account of the Thomas's and Quigg's funding issues, see Schabas' work: *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

visiting composer Jacques Offenbach and the lack of interest for the concert series, Thomas was forced to cancel the remainder of the concerts in July. He declared bankruptcy after fronting the money for advance ticket sales and "his library was seized by the sheriff and auctioned for a pittance—to a supporter who gave everything back."[101] In his autobiography, Thomas devotes only one and a half pages to the Exhibition and does not mention Wagner's commission. He conducted the closing ceremonies on November 10 and programmed repeat performances of the opening ceremonies' program with several additions:

> "Inauguration March," Wagner; Chorale and fugue, Bach; Selection from the "Dettinger Te Deum," Handel (chorus and orchestra); Finale to Fifth Symphony, Beethoven; "Hallelujah Chorus," from the "Messiah," Handel (chorus); "America" (chorus and orchestra); Doxology, "Old Hundred" (chorus and orchestra)."[102]

Interestingly, Thomas chose to not perform the American-composed works from the Opening Ceremonies (cantata and hymn). Acknowledging the programming disaster that took place at the exhibition, Mrs. Gillespie and the Women's Centennial Committees would ask Thomas to perform a separate concert series at the Academy of Music in the fall of 1876 (September through November). This series gave Thomas the opportunity to assemble his "disbanded orchestra together again" and gave him "a new point of departure."[103] The conductor would continue to promote the potential of classically trained American orchestras and the value of "good" music for the masses throughout his career. His appointment as Musical Director of the Chicago Orchestra

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[101] *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall*, 169.
[102] Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, vol. 2, 183.
[103] Ibid., 122.

led to his involvement in America's second world's fair.

The World's Columbian Exposition: Chicago, Illinois (1893)

Most of the scholarly endeavors regarding world's fairs addresses the issues of hegemony and agency. Chicago's 1893 Columbia Exposition is the most studied and flagrant example of nineteenth-century hegemonic forces at work dealing with issues of class, gender, and race. According to ethnomusicologist Kiri Miller, the mission of the Chicago Exposition was to "represent the entire progress of human history, with American civilization as its culminating triumph."[104] There was pressure applied to make the Chicago World's Fair symbolize the apex of American society and culture, in essence, placing the "United States on trial before the world."[105] The Chicago Fair (May 1, 1893–October 20, 1893) contained three identifiers that reflect the general "American national attitude" of the era:

> (1) "The national character was partly one of contradiction in that insecurity and self-confidence competed for dominance within the public's mind"; (2) "In exhibiting the contradiction, the national character reflected the existence of discord bubbling down in the core of American life"; and (3) "Faith in the unprecedented promise life held for Americans on the threshold of the twentieth century."[106]

To lend gravitas to the event, the published material linked this fair to those of "Mecca, Jerusalem, Rome, and cities buried beneath the sands of time."[107]

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[104] Kiri Miller, "Americanism Musically: Nation, Evolution, and Public Education at the Columbian Exposition, 1893," in *19th-Century Music*, 27/2 (Fall 2003): 137.
[105] Daniel T. Miller, "The Columbian Exposition of 1893 and the American National Character," *The Journal of American Culture* 10, no. 2 (1987): 17.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, *The Photographic Panorama of the World's Fair Being a Magnificent Collection of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition and the Midway*

To combat the stereotype that Chicago was a city riddled with corruption at the edge of civilization—a "cattle show on the shores of Lake Michigan"[108]—the fair architects created a White City[109] in a European neo-classical style that reflected the lofty ideals of Chicago's future, linking the city, a symbol of America's expansion into the West, to historically significant European cities like Paris or London. The White City represented the epitome of culture, business, and the finest art that Western Europe and the United States had to offer, all presented in the heartland of America. The Chicago Columbian Exposition's architecture planning became the standard by which all subsequent American fairs were measured. The Golden Gate International Exposition was a product of an all-inclusive theme, a standard set by the architects of the 1893 Chicago fair.[110] Federal and local organizations typically built the largest themed spaces. This fair would demonstrate American ingenuity and technological advancements and proclaim the country as a cultural center that rivals the Old World.

Musical Programming

The exposition management's primary intent was to present the most elevated Western classical repertoire to the masses. Assuring backers that he would be more successful than at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, Thomas was appointed as

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Plaisance, Forming a Pictorial History of the Greatest Achievement of the Age (Springfield, Ohio: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1894).
[108] Rydell, Findling, Pelle, *Fair America*, 32.
[109] A team of architects designed different buildings on the fairground. The three main architectural designers were: John Welborn Root (who passed away before the fairgrounds were opened, 1850–1891), Daniel Burnham (1846–1912), and Frederick Law Olmstead (1822–1903).
[110] See Chapter 5.

the fair's musical director. He headed the music bureau that oversaw the fair's programming and wanted "serious" music performed that would "uplift" the masses.[111] His ultimate vision was to highlight the arrival of American music and "prove that American orchestras were worthy of the world stage."[112] According to American labor historian, Sandy Mazzola, "Thomas controlled the fate of the official music for the exposition."[113] As head of the Bureau of Music, Thomas issued the following goal projection on June 30, 1892:

1. To make a complete showing to the world of musical progress in this country in all grades and departments, from the lowest to the highest.
2. To bring before the people of the United States a full illustration of music in its highest forms, as exemplified by the most enlightened nations of the world.[114]

The categories of concerts dictated by the music bureau attempted to encapsulate all of Thomas's musical goals. The result was the following programming categories:

1. Popular orchestral concerts
2. Symphony concerts
3. Festivals, with chorus, and eminent soloists
4. Concerts by famous visiting orchestras, bands, and choral societies from other cities
5. Concerts by famous European or American artists and composers exhibiting their own works
6. Open air band concerts
7. Chamber concerts
8. Amateur concerts[115]

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[111] Susan Curtis, *Dancing to a Black Man's Tune: A Life of Scott Joplin* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994), 49.
[112] Patrick Warfield, "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble," in *American Music* 24, no.1 (2006): 46.
[113] Sandy Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *American Music* 4/4 (Winter 1986): 409.
[114] David M. Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *College Music Symposium* 24, no. 1: 82.
[115] Ibid.: 83.

The main result stemming from the eight categories of Thomas's devising was the contracted performances of America's top orchestras that performed traditional European masterworks alongside American-composed pieces. The Music Hall (2,000 seating capacity) and the Festival Hall (4,000 seating capacity) were both built to present the most "elevated" Western classical music to the masses. The Chicago Columbian Exposition "would be the capstone of Thomas's career"[116] and he was eager to present canonic works of the classical tradition to the American public.

In addition to his directorship, Thomas conducted the Exposition Orchestra, a group formed from the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and "expanded to 130 players,"[117] whose sole purpose was to perform at the exposition. Scheduled free-of-charge performances included daily noontime performances as well as "two evening concerts of lighter music with a split orchestra."[118] Ticketed performances included five "all-Wagner concerts" as well as specific concerts by European composers "Schubert, Brahms, Beethoven, Joachim Raff, and Schumann."[119] The Exposition Orchestra only devoted three concerts exclusively to living American composers. Those whose works performed at those concerts were: John Knowles Paine, George Whitefield Chadwick, Edward MacDowell, Arthur Foote, George Bristow, Templeton Strong, Arthur Bird, Charles Converse, Frederick Grant Gleason, Henry Schoenfeld, Harry Rowe Shelly, and Arthur Whiting.[120] According to historian David

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[116] Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall,* 167.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition": 83.
[120] Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905,* 199.

Guion, thirty-four featured composers had their works performed at the Fair: twelve Germans or Austrians, fifteen Americans, and seven from other countries.[121]

Bands and orchestras funded by the expositions would become standard musical offerings. Thomas viewed light or popular music with "tolerance rather than approval."[122] "Popular" concerts by Thomas did not contain popular folk songs or current popular songs of the day. Rather, the term "popular" meant excerpts from concertos, symphonies, and operas. Historian Rossiter Johnston explains that "these concerts were to consist of music in a lighter and more popular vein, but still of a high character."[123] Thomas argued in favor of western classical programming over "popular" throughout his career, famously stating:

> I have never wished to pose as an educator or philanthropist, except in so far as I might help the public to get beyond certain so-called "popular music"—which represents nothing more than sweet sentimentalism and rhythm, on the level of the dime novel. Nor has it been a fad of mine, as some people have imagined, to persevere for half a century and insist upon preserving the unity of a programme. If anything, it has been a fixed principle, and the determination to be associated with something worthy and to represent something to which a man need not be ashamed of devoting his life, which have actuated me.[124]

With his directorship of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the Philadelphia and Chicago World's Fairs, Thomas wielded a great influence within a critical era of American music. With attendance totals for each fair in the millions, Thomas performed a critical role in shaping the cultural and popular memory for the average

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[121] Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition": 83.
[122] Ibid., 84.
[123] Ibid.
[124] Horowitz, "*Classical Music in America*," in *Music in the USA: A Documentary Companion*, edited by Judith Tick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 276.

American. Patrick Warfield points out that Thomas's efforts to "define a new canon of serious music for the American public" is viewed as one of the origin points for modern-day musical genre designations.[125] Expanding on Warfield's argument, I suggest that Thomas's musical outlook set up a dialectic that pitted "popular" versus "classical" music, thus forming a hierarchy within world's fair music that was evident in every subsequent American fair. Regardless of Thomas's views on "light" music, those popular orchestral concerts sold more tickets than his more serious symphonic concerts.

Although Thomas included a wide range of musical levels and genres, the blatant fact was that white performers performed white-composed music in the White City. To hear ragtime or music by minority cultural groups, fair patrons had to leave the confines of the White City for the Midway.[126] Chicago's entertainment zone, the Midway Plaisance, was composed of one-square mile and deliberately placed away from the White City (literally banished to the backside of the property). It is reasonable to deduce that Thomas's view on "light" or "popular" music is one reason that the Midway's music neither had an overseeing music bureau nor was it taken as earnestly as the more "serious" music he programmed in the White City. The Midway had a separate admission charge and overseen by the fair's Department of Ethnology.[127] The region was devoted entirely to entertainment, the sensational, and curious.[128]

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[125] Warfield, "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble," 55.
[126] See this chapter's subcategory "The Midway."
[127] Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition": 418.
[128] Ibid.

The Role of Women in the 1893 Fair Programming

Nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century women's roles were heavily designated within codified gender spheres. Excluded for the most part from traditional positions of power (governmental, legal, and social), women explored newfound agency at American world's fairs. As cited above, women were at the forefront of the musical programming and funding at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876. Ezra Schabas, author of *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905*, includes a quote from the *New York Times*[129] of Thomas exclaiming, "art and culture in this country can look for support and encouragement only to the women! The majority of men are only taken along."[130]

The 1893 Chicago Exposition was the first fair to designate a Woman's Building completely controlled and administered by women.[131] Located "on the outskirts of the White City," the Woman's Building contained "the first world's fair structure planned to house women's exhibits exclusively."[132] Theodore Thomas conducted the musical program for the opening ceremonies of the Women's Building. The May 1 performance had a majority of women composers on the program: Amy (Mrs. H. H. A.) Beach ("Jubilate" for mixed chorus and orchestra); Frau Ingeborg von Bronsart ("Grand March" for orchestra); and Miss Frances Ellicott ("Dramatic

[129] January 31, 1876.
[130] Schabas, *Theodore Thomas: America's Conductor and Builder of Orchestras, 1835–1905,* 71.
[131] Mary Pepchinski, "Woman's Buildings at European and American World's Fairs, 1893–1939," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail Markwyn, eds. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 187.
[132] Ibid.

Overture" for orchestra).[133] Beach had composed *Festival Jubilate*, op. 17 especially for the exposition. According to Mary Pepchinski, the inclusion of a designated "women's building" or "women's divisions" was not novel to the Chicago Fair. Gendered buildings, or what Pepchinski defines as "a pavilion devoted to exhibiting women's work and, most important, to exploring feminine ideals," however, would be included in "as many as seven world and national fairs held in U.S. cities as well as fourteen that were organized in European nations."[134]

Wind Band Music

Wind band music was by far the most popular musical genre at the Chicago fair, drawing large audiences. At this exposition, a specific performance venue that rivaled the size and gravitas of the spaces built for Thomas' orchestra was not granted to bands, despite the latter's popularity. The architectural locations of the band performances reflect this ambiguity: deemed worthy enough to have specially erected bandstands throughout the White City but not important enough to have designated indoor venue like Festival Hall. Bands performed "near important buildings... a number were also constructed close to the lakefront" as well as positions on the Midway.[135] This could be due in part to a myriad of reasons; free performances outdoors allowed more patrons to hear than inside a venue with a capped number of seats. Another reason could be the volume of a band concert versus an orchestral

[133] Thomas, *Theodore Thomas: A Musical Autobiography*, vol. 2, 282.
[134] Ibid., 188.
[135] Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition": 410.

performance.

John Philip Sousa (1854–1932) brought his ensemble to perform on a sixty-day contract. Following the sudden death of Patrick Gilmore in 1892, Sousa became the leading American bandmaster. As one of the most famous of the Chicago world's fair bands, Sousa made the autonomous programming choice to intersperse orchestra excerpts with his own (and fellow band members') to educate the masses.[136] Sousa's programming was famous for the sole goal of "entertaining my public;"[137] thus, Sousa received criticism from the leading orchestra musicians and conductors as well as his wind band peers. The latter did not universally embrace his concept of the role of wind band music. Whereas Sousa incorporated famous tunes from the era, his band peers such as Michael Brand, the leader of the Cincinnati (Military) Band, firmly stated that his band did not play "popular" music but only standard European classics: "It is prostituting the sacred art of music to play such rot as 'After the Ball,' 'Annie Rooney,' and some of the other drivel that people fancy they like. I can smoke bad cigars and drink bad beer, but by Gemini I can't stand and won't play bad music."[138] The struggle to define the role of wind band music was very much apparent, not only at the 1893 Chicago fair but also throughout subsequent American fair programming up to the 1930s and beyond.

During the 1890s, wind band performance practice and methodologies were

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[136] Patrick Gilmore passed away in 1892 and Sousa greatly admired and respected the legendary bandmaster. The Gilmore Band continued performing (Victor Herbert directed the ensemble for some time). The Sousa Band soon eclipsed the Gilmore Band as the preeminent American band.
[137] John Philip Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music* (Boston, M.A.: Hale, Cushman & Flint, 1941), 132.
[138] Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition": 416.

solidified, and a repertoire list developed. Excerpts from the western classical canon were adapted for symphonic wind bands. The role of the bandleader and bandsmen, especially Sousa and his band members, were influential in the emerging genre by writing compositions and performance manuals that laid the foundation for defining the field. Leading bandleaders recruited elite professional musicians and often used their time with famous ensembles to train and advance their musical careers. For example, the trombone soloist who performed at the Chicago world's fair, Arthur Pryor (1867–1942), joined Sousa's band in 1892 and "later became assistant conductor of the famed band."[139]After the death of his father, bandmaster Samuel Pryor, Arthur Pryor left Sousa's band in 1902 and "took over the reorganized Pryor band." His first concert as a bandleader was on November 15, 1903 at the Majestic Theater in New York.[140] The Pryor Band "became an American institution" and Arthur composed "some 300 compositions, including marches, novelties, tone poems and three light operas."[141]

Sousa was an influential and popular bandleader but his presence at the world's fair did not sit well with Thomas. Sousa's band manager, David Blakely (also the manager for the Gilmore Band, Theodore Thomas Orchestra, the Strauss Orchestra of Vienna, and the United States Marine Band's tours),[142] negotiated the ensemble's initial fair contract. Reporters instigated and encouraged a feud between

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[139] "Arthur Pryor," *The Billboard* (unknown author), June 27, 1942, 25.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid. Pryor published a performance theory manual for band marches and based his articulation instructions and march style performance practice methods on Sousa's instructions.
[142] Paul Edmund Brierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 2006), 17.

Thomas, with his lofty aims of serious classical music programming, and Sousa who wished to entertain audiences with "good" music. A reporter commented, "Sousa's band has been playing at the World's Fair where it has met with more popular favor than Thomas' orchestra."[143] According to many sources, the quality of performance between the Sousa Band and the symphonic offerings were equal. Florian Mueller, oboist for the Chicago Symphony from 1927–1956 explained that when he played in the Sousa Band he was also performing with the Chicago Symphony "and I didn't notice that there was any decrease in the quality of performance of the Sousa Band from the Chicago Symphony and vice versa."[144]

Sousa thought Thomas to be "one of the greatest conductors who ever lived" and he was "pleased to compare Thomas's career to his own."[145] Sousa respected and admired Thomas and his ambition to create the best musical product to present to American audiences:

> Thomas had a highly organized symphony orchestra with traditional instrumentation. I [have] a highly organized wind band with an instrumentation without precedent. Each of us was reaching an end, but through different methods. He gave Wagner, Liszt, and Tchaikowsky, in the belief that he was educating his public; I gave Wagner, Liszt and Tchaikowsky with the hope that I was entertaining my public.[146]

Sousa understood the fundamental difference between Thomas's philosophies regarding the role of music and his own. Warfield attributes Sousa's success not only to his choice of "skillful programming" in the variety of styles of works performed

[143] Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition": 408.
[144] David Whitwell, *The Sousa Oral History Project* (Austin, Texas: Whitwell Publishing, 2010), 65.
[145] Sousa, *Marching Along: Recollections of Men, Women, and Music*, 130.
[146] Ibid., 132.

that garnered more audience support but also Thomas' more traditional performance choices.[147] At the Chicago World's Fair, the audience shared Sousa's philosophical viewpoint and the band performances outsold the classical symphonic concerts.

Entertainment Zones and Issues of Exhibiting Culture

The architecture of the world fairs, both European and American, usually included designated "entertainment" zones on the peripheral edges of the fairgrounds. The 1893 Chicago Fair set a precedent for a separately named entertainment area, "The Midway." By the 1901 Buffalo Fair, members of the public were submitting suggestions like "The Rush, The Hive, The Web, The Pike, The Gala, The Rio Grande, The Palais Royale, The Rib, Midway Parade," as well as "New Jerusalem, The Isthmus of the Pan, Queerway," and "Quizway."[148] The entertainment zones manufactured a unique sense of reality that was steeped in nineteenth-century morals and fantasies. "Colonial" and "primitive" cultures put "on display" in small villages where observers could view peoples from other parts of the world.[149] Historian James Gilbert explains the nineteenth-century American fascination with the "exotic":

> This enclosure of anthropology and mass amusement, particularly in the American fairs, inside a single zone was not accidental. It suggests, on the contrary, the mutual attraction of exoticism and fantasy, the aesthetic of difference and discovery in a special place where the planners of the fairs consigned elements that did not fit in their celebrations of high culture,

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[147] Warfield, "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble": 55.
[148] New York Heritage Digital Collections, "To Boom It: George Bleistein Elected Permanent Chairman of the Pan-American Publicity Committee," *Buffalo Express*, March 25, 1899, Scrapbook, vol. 3, 25. http://nyheritage.nnyln.net/cdm/compoundobject/collection/VHB001/id/2718/rec/1.
[149] James Gilbert, *Whose Fair?: Experience, Memory, and the History of the Great St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), 20.

European or American nationalism, and science.[150]

The entertainment zones of the fairs of "Age of Industrialism's Advance" (1851–1897) and the "Imperial Era" (1898–1916) differ greatly from the "Fairs of the 1920s and 1930s" (explored in Chapter 4).

Displays of cultures and peoples situate the authorities in a place of power; in this instance the American fair designer, within colonial power structures, solidified visitors' "notions of their racial superiority."[151] Cultural anthropologists, sociologists, and curatorial scholars have devoted a wealth of research to investigate this phenomenon of exhibiting cultures. The origin of exhibiting and displaying people and cultures derives from the Victorian-era European desire to categorize, control, and bring "colonial order" to the world.[152] Timothy Mitchell points to the Panorama spectacles (recreations of entire towns and landscapes) that became increasingly popular as European imperial powers expanded across the world as the precursor to modern world expositions.[153] These spectacles "set up the world as a picture" where an entire culture could be confidently encapsulated, examined, and scrutinized objectively.[154] Edward Said's notion of "us" versus the "Other" allows space between the viewer and object. Foreign pavilions and amusement zones were expressions of colonization and modernity. By displaying cultures other than that of the host, comparisons would inevitable favorably show Western superiority over the rest of the world's people. Evident in almost every exhibition, the "popularization of

[150] Ibid., 17.
[151] John Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), 25.
[152] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, 7.
[153] Ibid., 6.
[154] Ibid.

knowledge and colonial indoctrination went hand in hand."[155]

Any discussion of an exhibition should detail the line (albeit blurred) between reality and fantasy. Timothy Mitchell formulates and develops the idea of "strange objectiveness" as a distinction between the "real" and "simulated" caused by the "external reality."[156] Mitchell further explains this uniquely European phenomenon that produces a "simulated" and "world-as-exposition" distorted sense of reality when he recounts an Egyptian and Arab delegation's visit to the *Exposition Universalle* of 1889 in Paris. There, the visitors and scholars noticed how much Europeans, in general, liked to stare at things and people;[157] one noted, "one of the beliefs of the Europeans is that the gaze has no effect."[158] Although Europeans were meeting "real Orientals," they preferred to see the realization of promised stereotypes.

Popular attractions at exposition fairgrounds were stage shows and building replicas. According to Mitchell, places like "exhibitions, museums, and other spectacles" were not only manifestations of colonialism, "but the means of its production, by their technique of rendering history, progress, culture and empire in 'objective' form."[159] Mitchell's "objective gaze" concept sets the physical exhibition space as a dual location: one that can be viewed as the role of the observer (fair patron) and second, as the observed "Other" (enclosed behind a fence or placed in a simulated setting). The inherent desire to go to zoos, the theater, sideshows,

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[155] Volker Barth, "Exotic People in Universal Exhibitions and World's Fairs (1851–1937)," in *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, edited by Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boetsch, and Nanette Jacomijn Snoep (Paris, France: Arles: Actes Sud, 2011), 189.
[156] Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt*, 7.
[157] Ibid., 5.
[158] Ibid., 2.
[159] Ibid., 7.

museums, etc. is rooted in this theory of objectiveness that made the exhibitions "not just exhibitions of the world, but the world itself ordered up as though it were an endless exhibition."[160]

Both the Chicago and St. Louis (1904) fairs placed the villages in an evolutionary sequence, which implies that the music of those villages was teleological. Social anthropologist Burton Benedict explains that these "villages of living peoples were placed in the fairgrounds in what were supposed to be evolutionary sequences from the most 'primitive,' usually shown as pygmies or Philippine Igorots (supposed head-hunters) to the more 'advanced' who approximated Euro-American physical type and culture."[161] In the *Portfolio of Photographs of the Chicago World's Fair*, a caption underneath an image of British Columbia Totem Poles reflects the "scientific" racism of the fair planners:

> The view above affords an interesting study of the characteristics of the aborigines. It is, to speak scientifically, the Ethnographical exhibit of the department of Anthropology. The display is on the border of the South Pond. It not only embraces the habits, customs and manners of many savage tribes, but also affords an insight into their religious beliefs and their superstitions. In the view presented may be noted the huts which form dwellings for some of the Indians of British Columbia.[162]

American Studies historian John Findling states that "If a Midway exhibit was from a 'civilized' country, then 'things' like music, food, or crafts were the focus of attention; if the exhibit was from a 'primitive' country (or colony), then people were

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[160] Ibid.
[161] Burton Benedict, *The Anthology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915*, 30.
[162] *The Columbian Gallery: A Portfolio of Photographs from the World's Fair including the Chief Palaces, Interiors, Statuary, Architectural and Scenic Groups, Characters, Typical Exhibits, and Marvels of the Midway Plaisance: Correct and Graphic Descriptions with Each View*, n.p.

the focus."[163] The juxtaposition of (what was considered) the most "primitive" of the displays, the Samoan Village (also called the South Sea Islander Village), next to the Vienna Cafe[164] was designed to physically prove Anglo superiority.[165] The display of people and their daily rituals underlined then-prevalent ethnic stereotypes and bias.[166]

There are many studies devoted to the issues of displaying humans but very few investigate the experience of those on display. Volker Barth combats the assumption that the individuals who were part of the ethnic displays were passive entities, relegated to living in "absolute isolation and total ignorance of the world around them."[167] He states, "For many, the chance to stay in Europe or the United States after the exhibition was a powerful motivation for temporarily playing the part given to them. Others were paid for their services or demanded a salary."[168] Localized efforts by those being exhibited to demand payment were sometimes recorded. For instance, Filipinos at the Ghent Exposition in 1913, "complained that they had not been paid for eight months."[169] Unfortunately, those exhibited were not given many chances to describe their experiences. At this date, very few era-related newspaper articles or memoirs mention the post-exposition lives of those who participated in the "living dioramas" of the 1870s–1920s fairs.

The effects of the architectural organization of an entertainment zone were

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[163] Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs*, 27.
[164] Fritz Scheel and his Imperial Vienna Prater Orchestra performed in this exhibit. See Chapter 3 for more information.
[165] Ibid., 25.
[166] Benedict, *The Anthology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of* 1915, 28.
[167] Barth, "Exotic People in Universal Exhibitions and World's Fairs (1851–1937)," 197.
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.

remarkable, creating a synthesized global community where (unplanned by exposition organizers) the exchange of ideas occurred. World's fairs were platforms that encouraged cultural transmission where multidirectional appropriation and assimilative practices could occur. Proponents for cultural transmission, such as Jeremy Waldron, suggest that cultural pluralism is not a product of nature but of politics. This concept is very much prevalent at world's fairs where policy defined the location of exhibits as well as the people who viewed them. Waldron's argument asserts that "cultures borrow from each other" and this cross-cultural exchange is evident in all of a society's manifestations: science, literature, art, music, etc.[170] Issues of cultural appropriation, or "the taking—from a culture that is not one's own—of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artifacts, history and ways of knowledge"[171] is very much evident at the world's fairs, especially at the foreign pavilion sections.[172] Deriving meaning from their surroundings, the expositions and foreign displays in entertainment zones greatly influenced the work of western composers.

The zones and foreign pavilions introduced western composers, performers, and historians to musical techniques, instruments, performance techniques, genres, and styles. This introduction greatly influenced renowned musicians, thus creating a

[170] Bruce H. Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds., *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 9.
[171] Ibid., 1.
[172] For more in-depth analysis and definitions of cultural appropriation, pluralism, and multiculturalism, see Bruce H. Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds., "Introduction to Cultural Appropriation: A Framework for Analysis," in *Borrowed Power* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Lornell Nasar and Anne K. Rasmussen, *The Music of Multicultural America: Performance, Identity and Community in the United States* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 2016); Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Ricard Zapata-Barrero, eds., *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism: Debating the Dividing Lines* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016).

distinctive marker of the cross-cultural musical exchange that occurred at expositions. Contrary to the exposition organizers' desires (especially in the fairs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries) to create designations of "western" versus "other" and "good" versus "popular" music, the patrons themselves had unbridled autonomy over what interested and influenced their individual taste. At the 1889 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris, Claude Debussy (1862–1918) famously heard a Javanese gamelan[173] from Jogyakarta and a Chinese traveling theater from Cochin, China. The former influenced his 1889 *Fantasie* where he used themes he heard at the exposition; the influence of Asian cultures is also manifest in Debussy's use of pentatonic scales throughout much of his music, most famously his piano etudes.[174] Debussy also attended another fair in 1900 where he heard a Balinese gamelan. Similarly, composer Henry Cowell (1897–1965) introduced Lou Harrison (1917–2003) to gamelan in his world music course.[175] Harrison remembered hearing a Balinese gamelan at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition and that performance contributed to a lifelong fascination with music from Asia and the greater Pacific region.[176]

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[173] According to Linda Burman-Hall, the gamelan ensemble "consists of a set of 6–75 metallophone instruments with the same range as a western orchestra." The gamelan can also include other instruments such as "drums, wooden xylophone, bamboo flute, zither, spike-fiddle, vocal soloists, choir, etc.). Linda Burman-Hall, "254E. Asian Resonances Guest Lecture-Demonstration," handout, Spring 2012.
[174] Richard Mueller, "Javanese Influence on Debussy's 'Fantaisie' and Beyond,'" in *19th-Century Music*, 10.2 (Fall 1986), 157.
[175] Harrison's roommate also had record collection with a variety of music choices including gamelan.
[176] Harrison's experience at the GGIE is explored in Chapter 7.

The Midway Plaisance Music

At the Midway, nineteenth-century Americans and foreign visitors could gawk at the exotic, watch dances from faraway lands, and hear new musical genres (ragtime) deemed too foreign and popular to be included in the White City's concert halls designed for western classical programming, such as Theodore Thomas had in mind.[177] Fair organizers and architects placed most of the "popular" and minority musical genres outside the confines of the majestic White City and relegated them to the Midway. American Indian and African-American groups were located on that mile-long strip and, in fact, the Midway was the only performance venue that presented black artists and composers. During this era, the Native and African-American cultures were generally thought to be the equivalent of the peasant cultures of Western Europe; thus, their music was classified as a source of American "folk music."[178] The public's opinion of Native Americans had them relegated to an "enemy within" that was "primitive" and "dying."[179] Music heard in the staged rituals was performed for the public.

The African-American representation at the Chicago fair was minimal at best. According to Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, the fair's organizing committee ignored

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[177] For further readings of the history and music performance and programming at Chicago's Columbian Exposition see John E. Findling, *Chicago's Great World's Fairs* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1994); David M. Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition," in *College Music Symposium* 24, no. 1:81–96; Paul Edmund Brierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006); Charles A. Kennedy, "When Cairo Met Main Street: Little Egypt, Salome Dancers, and the World's Fairs of 1893 and 1904," in *Music and Culture in America 1861-1918*, ed. Michael Saffle. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998): 271-298; Susan Curtis, *Dancing to a Black Man's Tune: A Life of Scott Joplin* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1994).
[178] Curtis, *Dancing to a Black Man's Tune: A Life of Scott Joplin*, 48.
[179] Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939 (*New York: Manchester University Press, 1988), 100.

black activists and after heated requests by African-Americans, the organizers planned a day for "black artists and musicians to display their works or to perform their compositions."[180] Unfortunately, the Chicago Fair was not the only American fair to exclude the African-American community. Discrimination against minorities would continue into the fairs of the 1930s, famously at the 1933 fair in Chicago where African-American workers were promised jobs but were in reality "virtually absent" and those who were present were given menial labor positions.[181] A positive aspect of hosting the fair in Chicago in 1893 was the fact that the fair greatly influenced the young Scott Joplin. Although scholars cannot conclude that Joplin performed within the fairgrounds, it is common knowledge that he was in Chicago during the fair. The Midway introduced ragtime to audiences and in turn, influenced a subsequent popular explosion of the genre that led to the development of jazz.

The official pictorial souvenir of the Chicago Fair, *The Columbian Gallery: A Portfolio of Photographs from the World's Fair*, includes images of musicians and musical scenes. Underneath a portrait of a violinist in a traditional outfit the caption reads:

> Musician from arctic region—How odd it seems to find a musician among the visitors who have come to us from the frozen north. This one is named Peter Pollisher, an Esquimaux whose home is in northern Labrador, a region which the geographers tell is among the most uninviting as an abode for civilized man…. Peter Pollisher may never be such a player as Paganini, but even poor music is a blessing in an Arctic Home.[182]

Aside from an attempt of comparison to Paganini, the authors do not comment on his

[180] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 39.
[181] Ibid., 83.
[182] *The Columbian Gallery,* n.p.

playing or the type of pieces in his repertoire but rather degrade his stereotyped homeland. These pictorial examples are valuable because of the rare images of visiting nineteenth-century musicians but are rife with racist and sweeping remarks.

Critics, mostly newspapermen, viewed the Midway as a mish-mash of the world's music and called it the "most awful cacophony."[183] A period monograph authored by Julian Ralph (1853–1903) details and critiques the various types of music one would have heard on the Midway:

> There are two or three authentic and awful bagpipers caterwauling attention to one of the side-shows [sic]… Then there are a Turkish orchestra and an Egyptian orchestra and an Algerian orchestra all of the same model, comprising a giant mandolin and a violin played like a cello, and drums beaten by hand. Yea, there is a Chinese orchestra; nay, there are two Chinese orchestras—one in the theatre, and one outside calling attention to the performance—and each more terrible than the other… The Javanese orchestra is more condoling [sic], consisting of mild flutes and an assortment of, as it were, zithers, and a large, so to speak, violin; but they were all soft and inoffensive instruments.[184]

Ralph's rhetoric reinforces racist objectification of the "other" by placing value judgments on the sonic byproducts of the cultures on display. He completes his emphasis on the "terrible" music offered on the Midway by unrefined and uncivilized cultures with the following statement: "All the same, the lover of what the civilized modern man means by music will get little good out of the barbarous bands."[185] The difference between the White City and the Midway was not only reflected in the architecture and participants but also by the music which juxtaposed the "modern"

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[183] Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition": 92.
[184] Julian Ralph, *Harper's Chicago and the World's Fair: The Chapters on the Exposition Being Collated from Official Sources and Approved by the Department of Publicity and Promotion of the World's Columbian Exposition* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1893), 741.
[185] Ibid.

and "civilized" with the "barbarous."

Foreign performers from exhibits were not the only ones captured in time; people of low socio-economic classes were considered a novelty. One of the byproducts of the rise of American Industrialism was class warfare, compounded by economic depressions and issues of modernity. Racism compounded with nationalism justified Western-European and Anglo superiority not only by genealogical means but also by socioeconomic class. According to Robert Rydell, nationalism "coincided with racism in obscuring class divisions within white society" and the expositions lent legitimacy "offered to a nation torn by class conflict."[186] Rydell posits that the exposition's inclusion of scientific racism "served to reinforce the implicit acquiescence by lower-class whites in the conclusions reached by the upper class" about how American society should be segregated, thus directly affecting the foundation of American society. Music not confined to the White City at the Chicago fair highlights issues of class warfare. Issues of immigrant communities, including the scarcity and competition for labor and harshness of poverty, were commodified and sold as a souvenir. Capturing the musical life surrounding the world's fair exemplifies the distinct delineation of the levels of what fair organizers presented as an artistic hierarchy.

Besides the Ferris Wheel, the most popular Midway attraction was Cairo Street, also named Little Egypt. The first iteration of Cairo Street was *Rue du Caire* at

[186] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 236.

the 1889 Paris Exposition.[187] According to Mitchell's previously discussed notions of "world-as-exposition," Cairo Street blurred reality and fantasy for visitors. Cultural historian Charles Kennedy points out that "American audiences in their enthusiasm to see dancing did not distinguish between the Cairene, Algerian, Turkish or Persian performers"[188] and these performances took place at "The Egyptian Theater" that "ran continuous performance[s] from 10am to 10pm and there were also dancing troupes at the Persian, Turkish, and Algerian Theater."[189] The Algerian village presented a "traditional handkerchief dance" while the Turkish presented "folk dances of various countries under Ottoman rule."[190] The most popular performances were on Cairo Street, presented by "professional Egyptian dancers" or *ghawazi* who "performed a dance that feature[d] virtually no footwork but much shoulder shaking and 'rhythmical, then spasmodic, movement of the abdominal region.'"[191] The dance was called many names: *cooch*, *couchee-couchee*, *houchie-couchie*, *hootchy-coochy*, etc. and commonly now known as "belly dancing."

Fascinated by the entertainment factor and less concerned about issues of representing the authentic, the hootchy-kootchy dance was provocative for the average American taste and underlined the sensual stereotype of the exotic and "mysterious" Egypt. The sensuous dancing girls riled the women's groups and

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[187] *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894).
[188] Kennedy, "When Cairo Met Main Street: Little Egypt, Salome Dancers, and the World's Fairs of 1893 and 1904": 275.
[189] Ibid., 272.
[190] Larry Hamberlin, "Visions of Salome: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol 29, no. 3 (Fall 2006): 646.
[191] Ibid.

appalled conservative parties and was thereafter known as "the dance that women turned away from."[192] While the women averted their gaze, the woman dancer was left to be gazed upon as a fetishized exoticized physical representation of the colonized East by male "colonizers."[193] Theater managers understood the possible fortune in exotic dancing and countered that the provocative dancing was under the auspices of "anthropological study."[194]

The hootchie-cootchie introduced at the Chicago fair would spark a musical trend in all things "Little Egypt" that would lead to the "Salomania" craze of 1907.[195] Composers of the era picked up the cultural terminology of the *houchie-couchie* and used different aspects of the dance music such as minor key, drums, and rhythmic beat in their compositions. In addition, Little Egypt ceased to be a pavilion/village but rather a physical space. Instead, it became a physical embodiment of an experience; Little Egypt was personified.[196] Little Egypt would become a gendered character in popular music that was the basis of cautionary tales of relationships.

Musicologist Larry Hamberlin's article, "Visions of Salome: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920," explores the manifestations and representations of *Salome*[197] in American musical productions (see Chapter 3 for

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[192] Ibid.: 647.
[193] The Little Egypt dance.
[194] Kennedy, "When Cairo Met Main Street: Little Egypt, Salome Dancers, and the World's Fairs of 1893 and 1904": 276.
[195] Hamberlin, "Visions of Salome: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920": 645.
[196] Ibid., 633.
[197] *Salomé*, an 1892 play by Oscar Wilde and subsequently the title of Richard Strauss's 1905–6 opera is about the biblical characters, King Herod and John the Baptist. King Herod's stepdaughter, *Salome,* wishes to be with King Herod's prisoner, John the Baptist. After being refused by the latter, she requests that he is put to death because only in death will he truly be hers. King Herod agrees to this arrangement only if she dances for him. After performing the "Dance of the Seven Veils," John is

Little Egypt at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894). In addition, Hamberlin stresses that American audiences inferred different meanings from the exotic female representation of the East. While both European and American viewers fetishized the exotic, thus projecting colonial and imperialist subjectivity on the East, American audiences were aware of this projection.[198]

Chicago's Conclusion

Thomas's period as musical director was tenuous. Although both the Festival Hall and the Music Hall were aesthetically pleasing, the acoustics left much to be desired. Thomas battled the poor acoustics in the Music Hall until he moved the orchestra performances to the Festival Hall. Discouraged by the poorly attended paid-admission concerts and the political feuding with the press and the Bureau of Music, Thomas decided to resign. In his resignation letter, dated August 1, 1893, Thomas explained the shift of public sentiment towards entertainment from concert hall masterpieces to amusement:

> My suggestion is that for the remainder of the Fair music shall not figure as an art at all, but be treated on the basis of an amusement. More of this class of music is undoubtedly needed at the Fair…. If this plan is followed there will be no further need of the services of the musical director... and I herewith tender my resignation as musical director of the World's Columbian Exposition.[199]

Joseph Horowitz cites the cumulative effect that led to Thomas's resignation as

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executed and his head served to her on a silver platter. *Salome*, driven mad by her quest for subjugation, finds herself asking why John doesn't respond to her. The curtain falls right after Salome kisses the decapitated head.

[198] Hamberlin, "Visions of Salome: The Femme Fatale in American Popular Songs before 1920": 633.

[199] Mazzola, "Bands and Orchestras at the World's Columbian Exposition": 413.

damaging "the combative optimist in Thomas" forever.[200] The public's tastes and choices of music were shifting. After Thomas resigned, the Exposition Orchestra split into two ensembles and additional wind bands were hired to fulfill the remainder of the contract.

Together, the White City and Midway portrayed and represented the musical taste, perception, and reception of the American public during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Thomas's programming of symphonic concerts in the neoclassical White City represented the grand illusion of lofty American ideals and the country's desires of recognition as a cultural center by Western Europe. The Midway, banished to the backside of the property, was ironically the most popular and profitable attraction of the fair. The legacy of "one of the most successful and famous amusement areas of any of the world's fairs" not only "established a pattern for mass entertainment" but also influenced the establishment of American amusement parks.[201] Midway entertainment and exhibits satiated the visitors' curiosity and served as an outlet for amusement of the fair-going public. Although the White City and the Midway's buildings no longer exist, the legacy and impact of the music performed and programmed there greatly influenced the soundscape of American music and musical identity.

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[200] Horowitz, *Classical Music in America: A History of its Rise and Fall*, 169.
[201] Findling and Pelle, eds. *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1990), 127.

Fairs of the Imperial Era (1898–1916): Pan-American and Louisiana Purchase Exposition

By the twentieth century, the United States had become a colonizing power. With the victories in the Spanish-American (1898) and Philippine-American Wars (1899–1902), the United States' territories spanned not only North America but also across the Pacific. The former colony had become a colonizer. According to Nicholas Dirks, colonialism is a "cultural project of control" where the two parties (the colonized and colonizer) acknowledge the disproportionate relationship.[202] In the twentieth century, the United States assumed the role of colonizer and positioned itself at world's fairs as an example of "the inexorable and universal forces of science, progress, rationality, and modernity."[203] The process of American colonialism mirrored the well-established methods of European powers: geography and identity, closely tied to what is considered "the other." Demarking and identifying what are "foreign" or "colonizable" is the first step in the colonizing action."[204]

Buffalo, New York, hosted the first American world's fair of the twentieth century. Held from May 1 through November 2, 1901, the Pan-American Exposition, with the goal to present "commercial well being and good understanding among the American Republics" through trade with Latin America,[205] showcased new technology such as alternating current power and X-ray machines. Organizers

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[202] Nicholas B. Dirks, ed., "Introduction," in *Colonialism and Culture* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 4.
[203] Dirks, ed., 7.
[204] Ibid., 6.
[205] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 48.

arranged "villages of Africans, Eskimos and Amerindians" that "were devised as an 'educational experience.'"[206] Marketed as the epicenter for domestic trade (the Great Lakes) and international trade (Latin America and Europe), the city of Buffalo, New York was awarded next world's fair location.[207]

As early as March 1899, organizers and exhibition supporters were assuring potential audiences that "music will, of course, be a great feature of the Pan-American Exposition" and that it is "probable that the great bands and orchestras of the country will be heard." The article continued to assure readers that even "local musicians will likewise be given a share of entertaining the music lovers."[208]

F.C.M. Lautz, the music committee director, was cautious but supportive of musical funding for the exhibition. Lautz declared, "There have been many inquiries from musicians and bands all over the country." Learning from Chicago's mistakes during the months leading up to the opening ceremonies, Lutz knew "an enormous expense for music is possible, unless care is taken." [209] Chicago spent a total of "$300,000 for music, with little results."[210] The Music Committee was comprised of seven members[211] and the local newspapers covered issues such as admission fee and

[206] Barth, "Exotic People in Universal Exhibitions and World's Fairs (1851–1937)," 193.
[207] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 48.
[208] "To Boom It: George Bleistein Elected Permanent Chairman of the Pan-American Publicity Committee," *Buffalo Commercial*, March 25, 1899, Scrapbook, vol. 3, 25, http://nyheritage.nnyln.net/cdm/compoundobject/collection/VHB001/id/2718/rec/1.
[209] "Worry Will Soon End," in *Express*, March 29, 1899, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library. Pan-American Exposition Scrapbooks, digital collection, Scrapbook, vol. 3, 39.
[210] Ibid.
[211] "Directors: The Pan-American Exposition Board Held a Meeting," *Buffalo Commercial*, March 28, 1899, 35, Scrapbook, vol. 3, 25, http://nyheritage.nnyln.net/cdm/compoundobject/collection/VHB001/id/2718/rec/1.

"how much music to have at the exposition."[212] Debates ensued about whether music at the exhibition would be free or whether "a nominal admission" should be charged as well as the desire for "a large building" and "several large band stands."[213]

Musical programming centered around famous entertainment ensembles including the famed John Philip Sousa Band. Slated to perform during the exposition's tenure with a run from June 10 to July 17, Sousa's band performed to sold-out audiences. Newspapers heralded the March King's arrival by announcing the "plan for a grand consolidated band concert of all the bands on the grounds under Sousa's leadership."[214] The 65th and 74th Regimental Bands, in addition to the Pacheco, Royal Bavarian, "and other bands now at the exposition," would unify and perform for a performance promised to be "one of the grandest treats of the entire exposition."[215] Another performance venue was the Esplanade and Band Stand. This "popular place of assemblage" showcased "band concerts and military drills" and could accommodate "250,000 people."[216] Sousa's first engagement was at the West Bandstand in the Esplanade at 3 o'clock and a repeat performance at 8 o'clock.[217]

According to the press, the most requested piece of the Sousa repertoire was "Zamona" by William Loraine.[218] This ABA form instrumental work was described

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[212] "Amended Plan," *Buffalo Commercial*, May 2, 1899, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library. Pan-American Exposition Scrapbooks, digital collection, Scrapbook, vol. 3, 39.
[213] Ibid.
[214] "Musical Prospects," Scrapbook, vol. 12, 26.
[215] Ibid.
[216] C.D. Arnold, *Official Views of Pan-American Exposition* (Buffalo, NY: The Matthews-Northrup, 1901).
[217] "Sousa's Manager Here," *Courier*, Pan-American Exposition Buffalo N.Y.: Newspaper Clippings, June 5, 1901–June 23, 1901, Scrapbook, vol. 12, 41.
[218] A recording of this piece is housed at the Recorded Sound Section, Library of Congress. Inclusion of the recording in the National Jukebox, courtesy of Sony Music Entertainment,

as a "charming intermezzo." In the September 15, 1901 article in the *Times*, the columnist mentions that Sousa often plays "Zamona" after a performance of "Salome" (by Loraine).[219] The "Salome Craze," mentioned in the subsection of the 1893 Chicago Fair, was still evident at the 1901 Fair. The pieces were "instantaneous hits in every section of the country where they have been played."[220]

The Pan-American Exposition offered free organ recitals, which would become a popular fair programming trend (and popular at the 1939–1940 GGIE). Invited guest organists performed in the Temple of Music and their programs announced in the local press. A sample program performed at the exposition by a thirty-year-old Philadelphia resident, Russell King Miller, included *Suite Gothique* by Leon Boellmann; Pavane (Byrd); Sarabande and Fryne (Couperin); Largo (Handel); Lamentation (Guilmant); Theme, varied (Dubois); Finale, op. III (Joseph Rheinberger). In addition to this program, Miller included a composition of his own creation, the *Festival March*.[221] The review of Miller's performance was very positive, and he performed Guilmant's "Lamentation" "with rare skill and understanding."[222]

The Pan-American Exposition fairgoers' buoyant mood darkened with the assassination of President William McKinley in the Music Temple on September 6, 1901. After a speech at the fair, President McKinley was performing a greeting line in

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http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/recordings/detail/id/5805/autoplay/true.
[219] "William Loraine," *Times*, September 15, 1901, Scrapbook, vol. 20, 130.
[220] Ibid.
[221] "Organ Recitals," Unknown, Buffalo & Erie County Public Library Scrapbook, vol. 12, 26.
[222] "Fine Organ Recital," *Courier*, Pan-American Exposition Buffalo N.Y.: Newspaper Clippings, June 5, 1901–June 23, 1901, Scrapbook, vol. 12, 41.

the Temple of Music when an anarchist, Leon F. Czolgosz, shot him in the chest.[223] McKinley died of gangrene six days later and people flocked to the fairgrounds to see the site of the shooting. Even though there were crowds, the fair's somber closure occurred on November 2 and reported a $3 million.[224]

Louisiana Purchase Exposition: St. Louis, Missouri (1904)

At 1,272 acres, the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was twice the size of the 1893 Chicago Fair and was billed as the "most spectacular fair the country had seen yet."[225] Emphasis placed on the progress of man was expressed through the intense and elaborate anthropological presence at the fair, evidenced in the simultaneous 1904 Olympic Games that exhibited physical superiority alongside the fair exhibits' projection of racial superiority.[226] Millions of visitors were exposed to innovative technology and displays from the newly empowered colonial America.

The Exposition Company placed heavy emphasis on the music programmed at the fair, evidenced in the $450,000 budget set aside for hiring bands.[227] George Markham, a local to St. Louis, was appointed music adviser; he, in turn, appointed

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[223] Lewis L. Gould, ed., "William McKinley: Death of the President," University of Virginia: The Miller Center, accessed November 13, 2016, http://millercenter.org/president/biography/mckinley-death-of-the-president.
[224] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 52. Federal Bank of Minneapolis https://www.minneapolisfed.org/.
[225] Ibid.
[226] For more information regarding the 1904 Olympic Games, see Mark Dyreson, "The Playing Fields of Progress: American Athletic Nationalism and the 1904 Olympics," *Gateway Heritage* 16, no. 2 (1995): 18-37.
[227] J. Kent McAnally, "The Haskell (Institute) Indian Band in 1904: The World's Fair and Beyond," in *Journal of Band Research*, vol.3, no.2 (Spring 1996): 2.

George Stewart[228] as Manager of the Bureau and Ernest Kroeger who was responsible "for the musical programming at the Exposition."[229] When asked about his insights into fair musical programming, Theodore Thomas echoed his statement: "Give plenty of military band music out-of-doors, as people do not go to expositions to be educated but to be amused."[230] The organizers understood the importance of meeting audience demands but also sought to present the best quality music in order to "edify and educate" as well as "entertain."[231] The music of the St. Louis fair exhibited the popularity of wind bands; organizers booked more than fifteen different bands including the top ensembles in the country. The "most important engagement" for the Sousa Band was the St. Louis World's Fair.[232] Solidifying his success as the premiere American wind band, the Sousa Band performed at least twice daily during their 1904 fair contract.[233] Originally contracted to perform for four weeks from April 20–May 27, the Sousa Band was so popular that the fair management agreed upon a week extension (concluding on June 4).

J. Kent McAnally's study on the Haskell Indian Band presents an excellent case for the way in which specialized and regional participation created a wide-ranging effect within exposition and fair histories. The Haskell Indian Band, under the direction of Dennison Wheelock, was the only Indian band that was "engaged as a

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[228] George Stewart would be appointed to head the Music Department at the 1915 PPIE.
[229] John Hylton, "The Music of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," *College Music Symposium* 31 (1991): 59.
[230] Warfield, "Making the Band: The Formation of John Philip Sousa's Ensemble": 55.
[231] Hylton, "The Music of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition," 60.
[232] Brierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 28.
[233] Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 154.

musical attraction by the Exposition company."[234] With a contracted engagement that included twice-a-day performances "from noon to 2 p.m. and from 8 p.m. to 10 p.m. in the Plaza St. Louis," the band's engagement lasted from June 13 to 25.[235]

The St. Louis fair organizers touted the fact that America was now a colonial power. Volker Barth articulates the role of those exhibited as byproducts of colonization; the "conquered" people were placed in an exhibition space and "visibly and gratefully accepted and silently approved of their status of colonized people."[236] The Philippine Reservation was the main entertainment attraction: "Close by, the Filipino village covered almost twenty hectares (fifty acres) around Arrowhead lake. One thousand two hundred Filipinos, guarded by a large contingent of soldiers, helped to familiarize the public with the newly conquered colony."[237] Visitors and even leading scientists of the era treated the Filipino exhibit as an *in-situ* reconstructed reality of the newest American colony. The tradition of utilizing exhibited peoples and villages for a comparative study is not new to the 1904 Fair, but the role of comparative musicology coincided with the emergence of the female professional.

A poignant example of this shift is the participation of Frances Densmore (1867–1957) who spent time "studying the music of the 'wild people'" of the Philippine Reservation.[238] Densmore attempted to articulate the similarities between

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[234] McAnally, "The Haskell (Institute) Indian Band in 1904: The World's Fair and Beyond," 10.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Barth, "Exotic People in Universal Exhibitions and World's Fairs (1851–1937)," 197.
[237] Ibid., 192.
[238] Krystyn R. Moon, "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis World's Fair: Frances Densmore and the Racialization of Music," *American Music* 28, no. 2 (2010): 191.

Native American and Filipino musical traditions.[239] Krystyn Moon explains the mindset of the early Euro-American comparative musicologists and ethnographers:

> Determined to help save the music of the residents on the Reservation and the peoples that they represented more generally, Densmore became convinced that their traditions represented early examples in the evolution of music and perhaps were, what she would later write in an article for American Anthropologist, "the very near beginning of musical expression."[240]

Utilizing science to explain the differences between the colonized and Western society was inherently a part of Densmore's analysis, but she also believed her work would help educate everyday Americans. In a letter dated September 29, 1929, she wrote, "I am deeply impressed by the incorrect information about Indians which is used in schools."[241] She was not the only ethnographer to "capture" the "dying" communities and her influential study shaped how future scholars would view "Filipino ethnolinguistic groups by incorporating Filipino music into a racialized musical hierarchy."[242]

Juxtaposed with the village representing the primitive colonized people was the Philippine Constabulary Band. Previously mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Band was "hailed as one of the crowning cultural achievements of American colonial rule" at the 1904 Fair.[243] Tulsan argues that the Band was a successful representation of American imperialist efforts to civilize the "primitives of the Philippines" by

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[239] Ibid., 192–3.
[240] Ibid., 192.
[241] Frances Densmore, "September 20, 1929, Letter from Frances Densmore to E.E. Slosson," Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 7091, Box 39, Fol. 4.
[242] Moon, "The Quest for Music's Origin at the St. Louis World's Fair: Frances Densmore and the Racialization of Music," 206.
[243] Talusan, "Music, Race, and Imperialism: The Philippine Constabulary Band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," 499.

"benevolent assimilation."[244] Coinciding with the visual presentation of "primitive" versus "assimilated" was the display of agency of the musicians of the Band as well as Filipino "elites" who viewed their participation "in nationalist terms" by "emphasizing rather than obscuring Filipino musical traditions established at least a century prior to American rule."[245]

By the twentieth century, the European military band genre, by the ways of colonization and international trade, had become a part of the colonized countries' constructed history, or as Talusan articulates it, as "domesticated and naturalized" practices.[246] Founded in 1901 by Secretary of the Philippine Commission, William H. Taft, the Philippine Constabulary band was directed by Lt. Walter H. Loving, the only African-American musician afforded a directorship role at the 1904 Fair[247]. The original members, according to Talusan were "descended from a long line of small town band musicians or were former members of regimental bands under Spanish rule."[248] At eighty members, the Band was the "largest at the Fair"[249] and very popular and would be a fixture at subsequent fairs, including both San Francisco fairs (see Chapter 3).

The St. Louis Fair was a financial success and "attracted about twenty million people" to the fairgrounds.[250] The fair's impact was immediate, spurring interest in mounting exhibitions on the West Coast and thus continuing the "utopian dimension

[244] Ibid., 499–500.
[245] Ibid., 500.
[246] Ibid., 501.
[247] Loving retired at the rank of lieutenant-colonel.
[248] Ibid., 506.
[249] Ibid., 503.
[250] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 36.

to American Imperialism."[251] Civic leaders in San Francisco began planning a world's fair in their city. Explored in detail in Chapter 3, San Francisco's original plan for an exposition date was thwarted by the devastating 1906 earthquake. San Francisco would eventually sponsor the first West Coast world's fair, the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (PPIE) in 1915.

The Fairs of the 1920s and 1930s

World War I interrupted the influx of grandiose American World's fairs. The fairs that took place between World War I and II were vehicles to reexamine issues of modernity and America's new role as a world power. The overarching category set forth by Rydell, Findling, and Pelle of "Fairs Between the World Wars" should include the subcategories that designate the decades of the 1920s and 1930s. Regional exposition events were held throughout the country (none designated as international or world expositions) in the 1920s: the American Historical Review and Motion Picture Exposition (Los Angeles, California, 1923), French Exposition (New York City, 1924), California's Diamond Jubilee (San Francisco, California, 1925), Sesquicentennial Exposition (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1926), and Pacific Southwest Exposition (1928).

After the First World War, "ethnic shows" at expositions changed. Ironically, "visitors seemed to adopt greater distance" from the exhibited subjects even though

[251] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 183.

"they got closer to the participants;"[252] this closeness was not only physical (fair-goer versus village member) but also political (America as colonizer). "Villages" were relegated to sideshow acts, thus "emphasizing the burlesque image of the savage" whereas "the colonial and scientific spheres" became the displayed content.[253] The gap between the colonized and the colonizer was justified under the Eugenics Record Office (ERO).[254] Authors of the book, *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, highlight the cultural impact of the proponents of eugenics in American society: freak shows, sideshow acts, and Wild West shows all incorporated an "assimilated eugenic, anti-miscegenation philosophy."[255]

1930s American Fairs & the Search for the "Average American"

The fairs of the 1930s (see Chapter 1) were large-scale experiments of modernism and amalgamations of utopian-nationalistic civic endeavors. The veritable fact that the concept of multiple American world's fairs presented during this decade of societal, political, and economic strife underlines the importance of such an event. President Franklin Roosevelt supported the notion of world's fairs from the start of his term. Rydell points out that both Depression-era presidents Roosevelt and Hoover were raised during an era of many world expositions and both "had worked to promote the 1915 San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition as a

[252] Blanchard, Boetsch, and Snoep, eds. "Introduction," *Human Zoos: The Invention of the Savage*, 43.
[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid., 44.

launching pad for America's economic expansion across the Pacific Rim."[256] In fact, the President was an early proponent of the concurrent American world's fairs concept—San Francisco (February 18, 1939–September 29, 1940) and New York (April 30, 1939–October 31, 1940). For the first time in the United States' history, simultaneous world's fairs would be held. According to Roosevelt, the concurrent bi-coastal fairs would be a physical representation of American ingenuity and progress stretching coast-to-coast.

The study of 1930s fairs is not as heavily researched as those from the late-nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Within the past ten years, historians have gradually directed studies towards the six Depression-era American fairs because of their importance in nation-building, economic recovery, venues for innovation, federal and civic policy propaganda and, in the case of the GGIE, possible solutions for peace. Historian Robert Rydell argues that the fairs held in the 1930s—Chicago (1933–4), San Diego (1935–6), Dallas (1936), Cleveland (1936–7), San Francisco (1939–40), and New York (1939–40)—should not be ranked according to importance, but rather viewed as a collection of events that "helped Americans find their way out of the Great Depression."[257] The 1930s American fairs "were anything but sideshows" and during the decade, "scarcely a year went by in the United States without a world's fair that required close collaboration between the federal government and state and local political and business leaders."[258] Efforts to rebuild

[256] Robert Rydell and Laura Schiavo, eds. *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, 2.
[257] Ibid., 1.
[258] Ibid., 2.

economies, nation-building, and general morale boosting became the role of Depression-era fairs.

Americans were looking for solutions and to form a collective identity; thus, the decade became one that, according to cultural historian Warren Susman, replaced ideals paramount to the "American Identity" (such as the individualism) with new concepts such as the "average" (the "Average American" and the "Average Family").[259] The citizens were seen as a collective unit, referenced as the "People," and according to Susman, the concept of "unity seemed crucial"[260] because it "suggest[s] that a basic unity underpinned the social and cultural structure of America" where "divisions within society seemed superficial."[261] The "era of the average" also ushered in the American Institute of Public Opinion, established by George Gallup (1935), where "a method of polling" "enabled all Americans to know what average or typical Americans thought were leading issues of the day."[262] The individual was becoming a collective and massed spectacle allowed millions of Americans to experience entertainment, innovations, exhibits, food, etc. simultaneously.

California and the Popularity of "Folk"

During the decades of the Great Depression, the citizens of San Francisco were struggling alongside the rest of the nation. Jobs were scarce and conflicts with

[259] Warren Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York, NY: Pantheon Books, 1984), 212.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid., 217.

unions flared during the years leading up to the GGIE. Thousands of migrants from the rest of the country, especially those escaping the Dust Bowl, poured into the state seeking the promise of jobs and a better life. By 1940, over 200,000 people had entered the state that already had a low job rate.[263]

California had built its reputation on being a fairy tale Eden, evident in the marketing that propagated the myth of its healing properties, mild winters, and fruit-laden lands.[264] Although those who arrived in California found the mild winters to be true, jobs were few and far between. Californians responded to this influx of migrants with violence in the form of vigilantes and systematic police violence, especially against laborers from Mexico. Roosevelt's administration attempted to provide basic shelter and amenities for the migrants (mainly from the Midwest), creating the Resettlement Administration's camps. Famously depicted in the 1939 American epic *Grapes of Wrath*, John Steinbeck's Joad family discovers systematic violence and hardship once reaching the "promised land" of California and the lack of resources the Resettlement Camps provided for those seeking aid.

During the 1930s, compounded by the economic crisis, was the increase in union control and power. The rise of the Popular Front, a political group composed of left-wing (anti-fascist and socialists), had gained popularity during the decade, especially on the West Coast. The San Francisco Bay Area was the primary American

[263] "Mass Exodus from The Plains," Public Broadcasting Service: The American Experience, accessed October 16, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/general-article/dustbowl-mass-exodus-plains/.
[264] See Chapters 3 and 4 for the role of marketing and promotion in Californian tourism and identity.

shipping port for the Pacific and relied on the longshoremen's union to ensure trade continuity.

The Longshoremen's union leader, Harry Bridges (an Australian), was a dynamic leader who became leader of the "CIO's [Congress of Industrial Organizations] regional director, and the longshoremen's union became the base for a 'march inland,' organizing warehousing, packing-shed, food-processing, and agricultural workers."[265] Professor of American Studies and English Michael Denning attributes Bridges' unifying union-led success as the "heart of the California Popular Front."[266] In 1934, violence erupted during the San Francisco General Strike, supported by the longshoremen's union, and resulted in four fatalities and a massive riot that made national headlines.

San Francisco had become the epicenter of the labor conflict and artists rallied in support of the protesters. The most well-known piece of protest music that supported the General Strike of 1934 was *Waterfront 1934* by California composer Lou Harrison's (1917-2003) percussion composition, performed in a boxing ring in front the Ferry Building located on the San Francisco waterfront. Given the stark reality and consequences of the Depression, tumultuous world political situation, and divisiveness in national politics, it is no mistake that the 1930s saw the revival of the "folk" and the creation of American cultural standardization. Historians have dedicated studies to the rise in popularity of folk in all aspects of American life

[265] Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Brooklyn, NY: Verso, 1997), 17.
[266] Ibid.

(music, art, politics, etc.) and the creation of the mythic folk hero in the American consciousness. The decade saw the standardization of the national anthem[267] as well as the popularity of other patriotic songs such as Irving Berlin's "God Bless America" (1938).[268]

Federally Supported Music: WPA, FTP, and FMP

The most famous musical endeavor of the Works Public Administration and Federal Music Project (FMP) directive was the collection of folk songs by now-famous American composers, cultural anthropologists, and early ethnomusicologists such as Alan Lomax (1915-2002), Ruth Crawford Seeger (1901-1953), and Charles Seeger (1886-1979). The New Deal projects that focused on the arts (Federal Theatre Project, Federal Art Project, Federal Writers;' Project, and Federal Music Project) supported many artists, especially those who worked at the GGIE.[269] Susman states that the American public had a "fascination with the folk and its culture, past and present, aided many to find a kind of collective identification with all of America and its people."[270] The collection of folk materials not only impacted the musical soundscape of the 1930s but it also provided sonic-identity for those most affected by the Depression, those of the labor classes.

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[267] "Herbert Hoover's endorsement of a U.S. congressional bill on 3 March 1931 gave Key's song its official status as the United States' national anthem." See Mark Clague, ed., *Star Spangled Songbook* (Ann Arbor: Star Spangled Music Foundation, 2015), vii.
[268] See Chapter 10 "Radio Enchains Music" for more information regarding "God Bless America." See also Sheryl Kaskowitz, *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
[269] Leta Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 216.
[270] Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth* Century, 205.

The budding folk genre directly spoke to real-life experiences and tapped into the heart of the American consciousness. Susman writes, "There were, at the same time, efforts made to collect and preserve folk material from the past and an interest in the songs being created by singers in the present out of their own real experiences—not songs from Tin Pan Alley, but songs that came from the farms and mines, from the men on the road and the workers on strike."[271] The collections of historical musical materials (i.e., lullabies, war songs, songs of the Appalachia, etc.) were not solely the basis of "folk"—newly composed pieces were included within the genre. For example, Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger[272] composed songs that supported unions and "wrote two ballads"[273] about the aforementioned West Coast CIO regional director and "folk hero" and "emblem of the militant and incorruptible labor leader" Harry Bridges.[274] The creation of the mythic folk is not immune to the 1930s, so it is no surprise that Guthrie's famous "This Land is Your Land" (1940) was incorporated into American contemporary popular culture as an example of "folk" music.

"Ballad for Americans"

American folk music tapped into a carefully constructed history that resulted in a collective experience comprised of laborers as well as Americans from the

[271] Ibid.
[272] Woody Guthrie (July 1912–1967) and Pete Seeger (May 3, 1919–January 27, 2014) were both singer-songwriters.
[273] Denning mistakenly attributes both ballads to Guthrie. "Ballad of Harry Bridges" (1942) is attributed to Guthrie while "Song for Bridges" (1941) was written and composed by Pete Seeger and the Almanac Singers.
[274] Denning, *The Cultural Front: The Laboring of American Culture in the Twentieth Century,* 17.

middle and upper classes. An example of a WPA-sponsored musical endeavor that captured the goal of inclusiveness and happened to be performed at the GGIE was the "Ballad for Americans" (1939). Lyricist John La Touche (1914–1956) and composer Earl Robinson (1910–1991) originally wrote the piece for the Federal Theater Project's 1939 production, *Sing for Your Supper*. The piece was very popular after Paul Robeson (1898–1976) performed it and later after Bing Crosby (1903–1977) popularized the song on the radio and through an album release.

The "operatic folk cantata"[275] highlights the fortitude of the American people throughout the country's history, starting with the Revolutionary War while periodically questioning the makeup of an American citizen, including questions regarding race, religion, and ethnicity. The self-probing solo vocalist recites the question, "Am I an American," while answering: "I'm just an Irish, Jewish, Italian/French and English, Spanish, Russian, Chinese, Polish/Scotch, Hungarian, Swedish, Finnish, Greek and Turk and Czech." This optimistic soliloquy attempts to capture the multicultural and multiracial composition concludes with a final question and answer: "Who are you?/America! America!" The cantata surpassed individual ideology, articulating in music the desire to unify during a tenuous political climate as well as becoming "a message of unity" during the 1940 national elections.[276]

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[275] Ben Shapiro, "'Ballad for Americans' Sent 'Message of Unit' in 1940 Presidential Race," NPR "Special Series: Radio Diaries," November 5, 2015, accessed April 10, 2017, http://www.npr.org/2015/11/05/454907651/ballad-for-americans-sent-a-message-of-unity-during-1940-presidential-race.
[276] Ibid.

A two-hundred-member chorus and the Federal Symphony Orchestra of Northern California under the baton of director Nathan Abas[277] (1896–1980) performed the "Ballad for Americans" at the GGIE on September 20, 1940. Historian Peter Gough attributes the inclusion of the "Ballad for America" at the fair as "a request from George Creel, the United States Commissioner."[278] The cantata was well received by the "3,500 fair-goers" in attendance and became the "single most requested aspect of the Federal One projects."[279] The question "Who are you?" was at the basis of the 1930s American psyche and music was a method of catharsis.

Although Susman's research solely analyzes the New York World's Fair, I argue that both the New York and San Francisco fairs shared the desire to appeal to the new American collective identity, "The People," by servicing the "two sides of the same people, of the Average America."[280] Contradictory at first glance, the "Average American" on the one hand was directed to seek answers to current issues with modernity and technology (which Susman defines as "Mathematics") while also finding solace in escapism and nostalgia (what Susman articulates as "Dreams"). This articulation of the dual-sided American 1930s consciousness pits "ideological Dreams" against "the harsher realities of its Mathematics,"[281] or in other terms, "Nostalgia" against "Modernity."

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[277] Netherlands-born Abas served as the San Francisco Symphony Concertmaster for the 1931–32 season.
[278] Peter Gough, *Sounds of the New Deal: The Federal Music Project in the West* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2015), 158.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Susman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century*, 213.
[281] Ibid.

The official themes of the 1930s fairs reflect the dual nature of American consciousness; out of the six major 1930s American world's fairs, two fairs focused on modernity and the future (New York's "World of Tomorrow" and Chicago's "A Century of Progress") while the remaining four fairs concentrated on region and national progress of the present (San Diego's "California Pacific International Exposition"; Dallas's "Texas Centennial Exposition"; Cleveland's "Great Lakes Exposition"; and San Francisco's "Golden Gate International Exposition"). Rydell argues that the 1930s expositions "used modernistic idioms to advance the imperial ambitions of exposition sponsors (both corporations and national governments)."[282] A physical representation of this dual nature of thematic goals is evident in the architectural differences between the fairs in San Francisco and New York that occurred in the final year of the decade. The centerpiece of New York's Trylon and Cyclon (an orb and triangular spear) contrasted drastically with San Francisco's art deco focal point, the Tower of the Sun. Even though both fairs' contemporaneous organizational bodies differed in their methods of promoting and realizing their respective massed spectacles, they both desired to not only appeal to but also to educate the "Average American."

Conclusion

World's fairs are outward projections of a society's goals of progress and

[282] Robert Rydell, "Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair by Andrew Shanken (review)," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23, no.1 (2016): 110.

modernity. American fairs allow insight into political matters, issues of class, race, and gender, colonialist philosophies, and opportunities (or the lack of them) for marginalized populations to express agency within U.S. society. Music was very much a by-product of the political and cultural issues of American identity.

Expositions became a catalyst for the standardization of music and entertainment. Though at times passive participants, audiences proved to be a powerful entity that dictated programming choices. The standardization of programming was a direct result of the power of the patron. Audiences were also the most effective method of promotion. Popular musical figures were in demand at expositions and wielded a great amount of power in creating uniquely "American" music as well as shaping the sonic representation of a nation. Programming choices by Theodore Thomas, John Philip Sousa, Patrick Gilmore, Women's committees, and other civic organizers controlled and nurtured the music heard by millions of domestic and foreign fairgoers.

CHAPTER 3
SAN FRANCSICO IS A FAIR CITY

Distance, to coin a phrase, lends enchantment, yet one suspects the record of early music in San Francisco needs no remoteness to lend it color. Of all the fantastic American tall tales ever told, the early history of this city ranks among the tallest and most fantastic.[283] *—Alfred Frankenstein*

The city of San Francisco, with its picturesque bayside setting and nickname "Paris of the West," has hosted many spectacles including three large-scale fairs: The California Midwinter International Exposition (1894), The Panama-Pacific International Exposition (1915), and The Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940).[284][285] In 1894, San Francisco was the eighth-largest city west of Chicago and the cultural capital of the West; by 1939, the city was the American trade hub for Asian and Pacific markets. The forty-nine years that separate the first and last exposition highlight the cultural and political development of the city and underline California's important role in nation building. The music programmed, written for, and performed at the fairs serves as a focused pivot point through which scholars can gain insight into nineteenth- and twentieth-century societal issues such as class, culture, and race. The distinctive cultural epochs of the three fair tenures (1894, 1915, and 1939) emphasize the development of a unique Californian identity within the

[283] Alfred Frankenstein, "An Anthology of Music Criticism," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 9, 1939.
[284] The "Paris of the West" nickname came about in the post-Gold Rush civic development era of 1860 to the 1880s.
[285] Before the CMIE, San Francisco was the location for a fair, although it was not given the status of an exposition or world's fair. Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco had hosted a celebratory regional fair in the fall of 1857. The fair was so popular that it was held annually from 1857–1899. See Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 137.

broader context of American geopolitics.

Although each fair was a unique reflection of its respective era, two critical similarities must be addressed. First, and most importantly, is the fact that all three San Francisco-hosted fairs were held during periods of nationwide economic recessions. The California Midwinter International Exposition (hereafter CMIE) took place after the Panic of 1893 and the PPIE during The Great Financial Crisis of 1914.[286] The Great Depression shaped the role and purpose of 1930s American fairs, especially the GGIE and concurrent New York World's Fair (see Chapters 4 and 5). The second similarity is that all three fairs occurred in the years leading up to or during the war; the PPIE took place during World War I[287] and the GGIE during

[286] This study focuses on the fairs hosted by San Francisco, but I would be remiss to not point out that the concurrent or preceding regional fairs hosted by the City of San Diego (Panama-California Exposition of 1915 and the California Pacific International Exposition 1935) took place during both the PPIE and GGIE. In 1909, the City of San Diego began planning for an exposition to celebrate the completion of the Panama Canal. With the more powerful city of San Francisco submitting a bid to host a similar fair, it seemed that the state was very much divided. When New Orleans desired to also host a fair, the two Californian cities compromised: San Francisco would be awarded the congressional recognition of a world's fair while supporting the regional concurrent exposition in San Diego. According to Rydell, the animosity between the two cities died down after San Francisco sent some international exhibits to San Diego after the PPIE closed. Even though two cities in California hosted concurrent fairs, there was enough diversified interest to make both events successful. The San Diego's fair theme differed greatly from the PPIE. Rydell points out that the Panama-California Exposition promoters chose to focus on the future and "science of man" in order to promote "a New Deal in Education and the humanization of science." See Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 209.

The 1935 California Pacific International Exposition was not a world's fair but rather a well-attended regional exposition (approximately 6.7 million visitors) that defined and articulated concepts including, but not limited to, western identity and California's past and relationship with Latin American cultures. For more information regarding both San Diego fairs, see David Marshall and Iris Engstrand, "San Diego's 1935-1936 Exposition: A Pictorial Essay," *The Journal of San Diego History* 55: 177-90; Matthew Bokovoy, "San Diego 1935–1936," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, edited by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2008); Matthew Bokovoy, "San Diego's Expositions as "Islands on the Land,' 1915, 1935: Southwestern Culture, Race, and Class in Southern California" (PhD diss., Temple University, 1999). Robert Rydell dedicates a comparative chapter of the 1915 San Diego and San Francisco expositions in *All the World's a Fair*.

[287] The United States tried to remain neutral from the official start of WWI on July 28, 1914 until the declaration of war on Germany on April 6, 1917. WWI would officially cease on November 11, 1918.

World War II[288] (both pre-American involvement). The California Midwinter Exposition slightly predated the Spanish-American war.[289]

Whether or not the PPIE and GGIE were successful in their lofty idealistic goals, both fairs were public demonstrations for peace. In the *Official Guide: Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, the organizers address the impending war in their introductory statement:

> The Panama-Pacific International Exposition was expected to be a powerful factor in the extension of universal brotherhood and world-peace; especially as its date changed to coincide with the century of peace between English-speaking nations. There is a grim irony in the fact that on the eve of its opening there broke out what may prove to be the greatest war in history.[290]

Although this statement was written before the opening of the exposition "at a time when the end of the European war cannot even be guessed at,"[291] the guidebook authors turned the conflict into positive marketing by assuring potential audiences that the war would not affect "the physical beauty, the educational value, the plans for the entertainment and amusement of visitors."[292] The possibility of war was presented as a positive influence on the impending fair. The guidebook's authors attempt to calm fairgoers by issuing the following statement:

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[288] "The Marco-Polo Bridge," also known as "The July 7th Incident," solidified the war between Japan and China on July 7, 1937. September 1, 1949, the official start of WWII, is marked as Hitler's invasion of Poland. The United States remained neutral until the attack on Pearl Harbor and officially declared war on the Empire of Japan on December 8, 1941 and Germany on December 11, 1941.
[289] The U.S. declared war with Spain in April 1898. With the takeover of the Philippine Islands, Guam, Puerto Rico, and protectorate over Cuba and the annexation of Hawaii, this short-lived war catapulted the U.S. into a major world power and realized the empirical desires set in place during the PPIE. Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 45.
[290] *Official Guide: Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, "Introductory" (San Francisco: Walgreens, Co., 1915): 9, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs).
[291] Ibid., 11.
[292] Ibid.

> [The war's] effect on the exposition is already seen to be this: It will very largely increase attendance; it will very largely increase the exhibits by the manufacturers and producers of the United States, of Canada, of South America, of the Orient, of Australia and of the European nations not at war. There seems no reason to fear any serious loss of exhibits on the part of the nations actually at war, nor any reason to expect any change in their plans for the exposition.[293]

The authors finish with a one-sentence caveat: "But even should some loss of exhibits occur, they cannot now be such as to affect perceptibly the scope, interest or commercial importance of the exposition."[294] Mounting an exposition during a financial crisis and an impending war greatly influenced the heightened importance of nationalism and, especially in the case of the GGIE, escapism.

The goal of creating a dream-like suspension of reality is evident in the execution and planning of each of the three San Francisco expositions (and arguably, any American fair). Geographically distant from Washington D.C. and with the impending wars in Europe (both WWI and WWII, respectively), San Francisco enticed visitors to each of the three expositions utilizing the same thematic material: fair weather, picturesque geography of the Bay Area, American Western ideals, and the unique relationship with the countries that lie to the East of the American continent.[295]

The city of San Francisco assumed the simultaneous identity of a frontier and cosmopolitan municipality. In her monograph, *Making San Francisco American:*

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[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid.
[295] Historically, all three San Francisco expositions have had impressive representation from the Chinese and Japanese communities that had been active city business leaders and citizens since the 1840s. Both communities' involvement in the fairs will be explored in the sub-section that correlates to each fair.

Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906, Barbara Berglund explains the uniqueness of the San Francisco's demographic composition as "…a place where people pushed and pulled by multiple trajectories encountered each other and established relations along a continuum ranging from conflict, coercion, and exploitation to friendship, sexual liaison, and marriage."[296] The PPIE *Guidebook* reinforces Berglund's observation by stating that San Francisco, "The City Loved Around the World," was at "once representatively Western and the most cosmopolitan city in the world."[297] This dichotomy of identities is at the core of San Francisco and California's cultural history and will be further explored throughout this dissertation (see Chapter 4).

Predating the annexation of California by the United States, the region (Alta California) was different than other Spanish Territories.[298] According to historian and sociologist Frank Wilson Blackmar (1854–1931), this unique quality can be attributed to California's "isolated position" and the concomitant difficulty of communication. The result was "an independent spirit not observed elsewhere in the Spanish Americas."[299] Unlike other American cities, San Francisco was not only set apart geographically but also commercially: the city was founded on commercial trade

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[296] Barbara Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906,* 2.
[297] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition*: 68.
[298] California history is nuanced and complicated. This work cannot delve into the intricacies of the State's history but there are many scholars who have contributed work within the California studies field. For information regarding pre-contact and the Spanish Colonial and Mexican eras, see Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, eds., *Lands of Promise and Despair: Chronicles of Early California 1535-1846* (Berkeley, California: Heyday Books, 2001); Antonio Maria Osio, *The History of Alta California: A Memoir of Mexican California*, trans., ed., and ann. by Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz (Madison, Wisconsion: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996).
[299] Frank Wilson Blackmar, *Spanish Colonization in the Southwest* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1890), 255.

"rather than agricultural or industrial" endeavors.[300] Many authors and scholars attempt have attempted to articulate the uniqueness of the Californian identity, especially what the PPIE organizers proclaimed as a "typically Western...broadness of mind and purpose, that care-free atmosphere and happy hospitality so often met within the '"Rugged"' West."[301] Extolling the physical beauty of the City, the PPIE *Guidebook* not only urges people to visit the fair but also champions a trip to the city:

> In beauty of location and natural attractions San Francisco stands supreme among American cities. Situated upon the point of a peninsula, surrounded on three sides by ocean and bay…San Francisco charms the imagination and appeals to the soul.
> Momentarily leaving the exposition itself out of the question, the visitor in 1915 will find a world of interest and information in San Francisco that can not [sic] be duplicated elsewhere... [302]

The PPIE *Guidebook* showcased not only San Francisco but also the entire state and Pacific Coast by urging visitors to take in the surrounding Bay Area cities (Oakland, Alameda, and San Mateo) as well as take automobile tours to Calaveras County and Yosemite and train trips to Oregon and Washington. The back cover of the *Guidebook* is a colored advertisement for the State proclaiming, "California and Pacific Coast Nature's Exposition and All-The-Year Vacation Ground on Your Visit—See It All."[303] Promoted as America's Eden, California's marketing was a meticulously constructed illusion.

The architecture of the fairs greatly supported the suspension of reality by creating a physical space set apart from the everyday world. All three fairs occurred

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[300] Berglund, *Making San Francisco American: Cultural Frontiers in the Urban West, 1846–1906*, 11.
[301] Ibid. The concept of Western-identity is further explored Chapter 4.
[302] Ibid., 70.
[303] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition*: back cover.

in man-made locales created for fantasy-making: the CMIE in Golden Gate Park, the PPIE in the present-day Marina District, and the GGIE in Treasure Island.[304] The development of electricity and the artistic designs of illuminating the exposition architecture were points of interest for the visitor, in addition to the paint and color schemes. PPIE organizers used colored lights to evoke a fantastic experience for their audience: "At night the concealed light will make the exposition seem indeed a dream city, even to the eyes that have been wearied by the glories of the day."[305] The CMIE centerpiece was a Tower of Electricity while the PPIE patron was promised the novelty of hidden lighting:

> At the Panama-Pacific International Exposition the modern method of indirect or concealed lighting will be developed to its highest degree of perfection. It will be almost literally true that while no exposition has ever been so well lighted as this will be, yet the visitor will never see a light. Buildings and grounds will glow apparently by their own illuminosity.[306]

Assuring visitors of a unique nighttime experience allowed continued entertainment once the sun set. Interestingly, the PPIE's *Guidebook* assures the visitors that the illuminations would be present in the daytime as well:

> Neither at day nor at night will there be any of the painful glare familiar to visitors at previous expositions. The soft and beautiful tones of color used in the buildings themselves will make them restful and pleasant to the eye, even under the strong California sunshine.[307]

Both the PPIE and GGIE hired lighting artists who chose specific colors to reflect the respective themes and create a cohesive architectural image. The PPIE's fairground structures followed an eight hued palate:

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[304] See Chapter 4 for in-depth information on the GGIE's planning and architecture.
[305] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition,* 25.
[306] Ibid., 23.
[307] Ibid., 25.

> French green for garden lattices, etc.; deep cerulean blue for recessed panels and vaulted ceilings; and orange-pink for flag-poles; a pinkish-red with a dash of brown for the background of colonnades; golden burnt-orange for small domes and mouldings [sic]; terra cotta for domes; gold for statuary, and verde-antique for urns and vases.
> The buildings proper are of an old ivory tint, colored after the famous Travertine marble.[308]

Even the more than four million square feet of roads were built to "conform to the general color scheme."[309] Lighting and overall cohesion were so important to the 1939 GGIE that the Exposition Board even hired specific color artists, A.F. Dickerson and Jesse E. Stanton, to select the official thematic hues.[310] The GGIE lighting designer, A.F. Dickerson and Color Architect, Jesse E. Stanton created a lighting scheme that reflected GGIE's "official palate of color."[311] The nineteen chosen colors were "drawn from the coloring of the Pacific shores" and examples include: "China Clipper blue," "Hawaiian emerald green," "Southern Cross blue," and "Imperial Dragon red."[312] Interviews with GGIE attendees revealed that most of them recalled vividly the colored fountains and nighttime lighting.[313]

While architecture and illuminations created physical representations of fantasy, music created a sonic world that delineated the escape the expositions provided from the everyday. Music played a key role in realizing statehood and

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[308] Ibid.
[309] Ibid., 52.
[310] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 42. The nineteen official colors were: "Exposition ivory"; "Sun of the Dawn yellow"; "Pagoda yellow"; "California ecru"; "Old Mission fawn"; "Santa Barbara taupe"; "Polynesian brown"; "Santa Clara apricot"; "Pebble Beach coral"; "Imperial Dragon red"; "Death Valley mauve"; "Evening Star blue"; "Pacific blue"; "Southern Cross blue"; "Del Monte blue"; "China Clipper blue"; "Hawaiian emerald green"; "Ming jade green (light and dark)"; and "Treasure Island gold."
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Interviews conducted in 2013 and 2015.

nationhood during the times of crisis and uncertainty of each exposition. In *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War*, musicologist Leta Miller devotes a chapter to investigating and comparing the music of the two world's fairs (PPIE and GGIE). The detailed comparative analysis of the musical programming of the two fairs highlights the shifting musical taste and the role of music during the twenty-four years that separate the fairs. This musical and historical survey chapter builds upon Miller's detailed work by including the 1894 CMIE within the already established comparative narrative. There are many similarities in musical programming that span the San Francisco expositions' tenures. The ensembles that performed at the 1894 exposition are listed in the PPIE's musical programming and were reimagined at the GGIE.

California Midwinter International Exposition, 1894

The city's historical legacy of pomp and promotion can be traced to an enterprising newspaper editor by the name of Michael Harry de Young (1849–1925). In 1893, U.S. President Benjamin Harrison appointed de Young, the sole proprietor and editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle,* to be a national commissioner to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition.[314] The Panic of 1893 hit the nation and San Franciscans (who now lived in a city of approximately 300,000 inhabitants) struggled

[314] "De Young was the official Commissioner of the California Exhibits and vice president of the National Commission at the Columbian Exposition." Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan, "San Francisco 1894," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Co., 2008), 128.

with failing banks, labor disputes, and unemployment.[315] The economic recession of the 1890s displaced thousands of workers and de Young saw the opportunity to aid San Francisco financially by reusing the Chicago World's Fair's exhibits and already-made set pieces. His goal was to contribute to the general civic economic recovery by creating jobs and generating income for the city and at the same time promoting the city as a potential opportunity for commerce and trade.

There were many positive aspects to hosting a fair in San Francisco: the exhibits were already in the United States and paid for, West Coasters would be able to view exhibits from Chicago (which was a three-and-a-half-day trip by train), and the event would bring tourists to the city. If Chicago could host a fair in their harsh winter, then California could host it in their milder cold season. More importantly, the Midwinter Exhibition would be the first American-sponsored fair west of the Mississippi.

San Francisco was the largest city in California, a relatively new state at only forty-four years old, and still very much removed geographically from the nation's capital (akin to Chicago's citizens' desire to present their city as a cultural hub of the Midwest.)[316] California wanted to showcase its many merits so the CMIE would be an attempt to promote the state as a destination and untapped resource for trade and business. Exposition management viewed the prospect of hosting an exposition during hard times, not only financially but also seasonally during a typically "hard" time of year (winter) as a positive endeavor for San Francisco. Quoted in *Harper's*

[315] Ibid.
[316] See Chpater 1 and 2.

Weekly, exposition management answered the objection of hosting a fair during winter and a depression by stating:

> The harder the times, the more need there is for us to advertise California and her resources, the more need for us to provide work for those out of employment, and to keep money in circulation. Those who travel most and farthest are those who can afford to spend the money. To attract such people we mean to make San Francisco the focal-point of this winter's tourist travel from all parts of the world. Thus shall wealth be distributed where it is most needed, and, in the course of time, all things shall again be well with us.[317]

The citizens of San Francisco and California supported the exposition company's optimism by raising $500,000 through subscriptions.[318]

Californian organizers wished to create an exposition that would strive to be an international congress of ideas and architecture, even though the CMIE was a regional fair. Rather than depending solely on local talent to aid in managing and promoting the CMIE, the exposition company hired a fair manager who had experience in not only American fairs but also international expositions who "came here to help the Californians make their show."[319] Herr R. Cornely, overseen by the executive committee, would organize and arrange the planning and building of the CMIE.[320] As a European politician, Cornely opened "the first exposition of sports held in Europe" and became a fixture at almost every European exposition.[321] The

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[317] Kirk Munroe, "San Francisco and its Midwinter Fair," *Harper's Weekly*, December 9, 1893, vol. 37: 1181.
[318] The cost would be equivalent to approximately $14,599,234.50 in 2018 currency. U.S. Inflation Rate "Equivalency Calculator," accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.in2013dollars.com/.
[319] "A Plan Proposed. The Midwinter Exposition Outlined: A Committee to Govern. The Space and Buildings in Golden Gate Park–Something of Cornely, The Projector.," *The Morning Call* [San Francisco, CA], June 29, 1893, 4.
[320] Cornley was born in 1849 in Roldick "near Aix-la-Chapelle," married Countess de Lanoy-Clervauz, and his personal history included fighting in the Franco-Prussian war and election to mayor of Cleves "in Rhenish, Prussia." Ibid.
[321] "A Plan Proposed," 4.

newspapers called Cornely one of the "hardest workers for the California Midwinter International Exposition" who could be "depended upon to push the project as rapidly as it can be done with safety."[322] Because of Cornley's relationship with European participants, foreign participants pledged to exhibit and in June 1893 planners predicted, "in this way California will get the cream of the World's Fair."[323] This regional fair would have the support and the determination to be successful and as one newspaper wrote:

> Every indication at the present time is that the exposition will be a phenomenal success and that the people have determined to show that when they put their hand to the plow they do not look back. California will be absolutely astonished at what she can do when she tries.[324]

The San Francisco Midwinter Fair would set itself apart from Chicago by presenting "the resources of our own coast, from Alaska to Patagonia, together with those of Japan, China, and the Islands of the Pacific, as the world has never seen."[325] Promoting California's proximity to Latin America and the Pacific region, exposition promoters were assuring potential audiences that what their fair had to offer was novel. This promotion of a unique "Californian identity" would be the basis for every subsequent California exposition and very much the foundation for the GGIE's promotional propagation. Explored further in Chapter 4, the "Pacifica" theme, chosen for the GGIE, would be a marked departure from previous American fairs.

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[322] Ibid.
[323] "Success in View: The California Midwinter Exposition Four of the Buildings, The Executive Committee to Meet on Wednesday to Perfect the Plans of the Work," *The San Francisco Call*, July 2, 1893, 10.
[324] "What Shall We Call It?" *The San Francisco Chronicl*e, June 30, 1893, 6.
[325] Success in View: The California Midwinter Exposition Four of the Buildings, The Executive Committee to Meet on Wednesday to Perfect the Plans of the Work," 10.

Inevitably, there were naysayers. The main issue was that relatively new and beautifully landscaped Golden Gate Park, approximately 200 acres, would be partially razed in order to build the fairgrounds and the promised jobs would only go to union members.[326] Understandably, Golden Gate Park Superintendent John McLaren fought against holding the exposition in the park, "claiming the damage to the natural setting would take decades to reverse." Indeed, the park's topography would greatly change. On July 10, 1893, McLaren and the other detractors were overruled, and Golden Gate Park was chosen as the exposition fairgrounds.[327] Built around a large quadrangle, a series of courts and over a hundred buildings were erected. The Palace of Fine Arts, built out of brick and stone with an Egyptian motif, was a permanent structure that is still in use today.[328] The rest of the structures were fashioned after the construction techniques from Chicago's World's Fair: a combination of plaster and horsehair shaped around wood and wire mesh frames.[329] These buildings were meant to be temporary and their size was meant to impress, especially the 133,000 square feet the Moorish-style Mechanical Arts Building that had 14,000 feet of glass windows.

Although the Midwinter Exposition was a direct byproduct of the Chicago's World's Fair, the San Francisco architects[330] found that Chicago's "White City"

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[326] Workers made $2 per day–more than the average weekly paycheck of $7.50.
[327] "Golden Gate Park," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 25, 1893, 4.
[328] This building became the first DeYoung Museum.
[329] James R. Smith, "SF's First World's Fair," in *Guidelines: Newsletter for San Francisco City Guides and Sponsors*, n.d., accessed August 31, 2016, http://www.sfcityguides.org/public_guidelines.html?article=349&submitted=TRUE&srch_text=&submitted2=&topic=Events.
[330] Local architects who contributed to the planning of the CMIE are A. Page Brown (Administration

vision of European grandeur and neoclassical style did not reflect the desires of the California fair organizers. The consensus was to design the fair in a Spanish Renaissance style rather than build a "White City." The architecture would evoke California's mythologized past, thus creating a physical environment that differentiated the CMIE from the Chicago fair. The result would be a hybrid of architectural styles that evoked exoticism with that of the familiar: from the Administration Building with an ornate Victorian and Moorish-style building to the Indian temple inspired Mechanical Arts Building, and a mission-style Agricultural and Horticultural Building.

One of the most popular attractions at the CMIE was the Japanese Village, later named the Japanese Tea Garden, which is still in operation today.[331] For the admission price of 25 cents, the visitor would be able to experience a "correct representation of Japanese architecture and landscape gardening" in addition to a theater "where the famous dancing girls and still more famous acrobats perform."[332] Much to the horror of the San Francisco Japanese community, seventy-five *Jinrikishas* (a small cart pulled by a person or animal, also known as a rickshaw) were in service to ferry fair visitors around the fairgrounds. Pulled by "Germans dressed as Japanese," the Japanese community "strongly protested the use of the man-pulled

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Building, Manufactures and Liberal Arts and Festival Hall); Samuel Newson (Horticultural and Agricultural Building); C. C. McDougall (Fine Arts Building); Edmond S. Swain (Mechanics Art Building). *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, CA. First Edition* (San Francisco: George Spaulding & Co., 1894): 28.

[331] Makoto Hagiwara, the proprietor of the Japanese Tea Garden, was credited with placing fortunes inside cookies.

[332] *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, CA*: 115.

carts, considering it an insult in California where horses were abundant."[333] This published protest from the Japanese community is one of the rare examples from the period that expresses issues with representation from the viewpoint of a minority group.

DeYoung beckoned east-coasters and Midwesterners with images of orange-laden fields bathed in the golden sun to The California Midwinter International Exposition (also named the "1894 Midwinter Fair" or the "Midwinter Exposition"). As a marketing ploy, the exposition planners posted California weather reports in national train depots that provided service to San Francisco, extolling the virtues of a mild western winter that contrasted with the colder climates back East. Promoters believed that many people "would come to California simply for the sake of escaping the harsh eastern winters."[334] The weather-related properties of California were enhancing the constructed fantasy image that would be projected through the media to the rest of the nation.

The "Midwinter Exposition" ran from January 27 to July 5.[335] Its opening ceremony attracted approximately 72,000 people, which was San Francisco's largest public gathering at that time. A street parade led by General Dickinson commenced at 10 a.m. and included four regiments of the California National Guard, the U.S. Infantry, army troops based in the Presidio, societies, fair officials, two troops of cavalry, and the audience listened "to the stirring music of numerous bands and

[333] James Smith, "SF's First World's Fair."
[334] John T. Rosinski, "The California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894" (M.A. Thesis, San Jose State University, 1977), 8.
[335] Ironically, the CMIE was set to begin on January 1 but due to rain it was postponed until January 27.

cheered as the long line of men marched by."[336]

Speeches by California's Republican Governor Henry Markham and Director-General deYoung extolled the pending success of the CMIE as well as the promise of California's future and the state's place within America's nation-building. DeYoung "spoke glowingly of California's natural resources and predicted that she would, with increasing development, become the greatest Empire State or country on the face of the globe."[337] Markham's speech echoed de Young's bravado by pointing out that California's "pluck, nerve, energy and persistence" would create a successful fair "short of the great international displays at Paris and Chicago."[338]

The CMIE is considered an overlooked fair, or as anthropologist Burton Benedict calls it, a "forgotten fair." Burton claims that the fair "had little long-term impact" and the organizers' "feeble pretensions at being an international exposition" were overstated.[339] I take issue with Burton's statement and consider the CMIE of great historical importance mainly because it was the first event that articulated the unique cultural manifestations of the State of California's business, trade, and art to the rest of the nation and the larger global community. One newspaper advertised the CMIE exhibits as offering opportunities to experience "a number of features peculiar to the Pacific Coast."[340] The CMIE not only included countries with cultural and

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[336] "Midwinter Fair," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 1, 1894, 8.
[337] Ibid.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan, "Review of Burton Benedict, *The Fantastic Fair: The Story of the California Midwinter International Exposition, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, 1894,*" *California History* 73, no. 4 (Winter 1994/1995): 325–6.
[340] "The Midwinter Fair," *The Indianapolis Journal*, January 28, 1891, 10.

historical ties to California (i.e., China, Japan, and Australia)[341] but also was the first American exposition to display Russian goods.[342] The primary directive of the CMIE was to set California apart from the rest of the United States, especially Chicago, and would be replicated in every subsequent Californian world's fair.

Music of the CMIE

Music at the exposition served a dual purpose: to entertain and attract audiences, and to educate the educational purpose: Six months before the CMIE's opening, de Young and the Board planned for "hundreds of thousands of people" who would be repeat visitors and would want to see "the illuminations and other special features, such as the music furnished by orchestras and singing societies" that would "draw large numbers."[343] The opening ceremonies placed music at the forefront with the hiring of both a Midwinter Fair Band and a Midwinter Fair Orchestra in addition to many other musical ensembles. At the formal opening ceremonies on January 27, the Midwinter Fair Band performed "a medley of airs of all nations" followed by a choral performance by "300 voices, lifting in splendid harmony the strains of 'America.'"[344] Mrs. DeYoung opened the exposition with a push of an electric button after a performance by the Iowa State Band. The official opening was followed by the sound of "steam whistles," cannon shots, the "Star Spangled Banner," and "the deep

[341] Countries later considered part of the Pacific Rim region.
[342] John Rosinski, "The California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894," 39.
[343] "The Midwinter International Exposition of California and Why it Will be a Success," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1893: 6.
[344] *"The Midwinter Fair," The Indianapolis Journal*, January 28, 1894, 10.

roar from thousands of human throats."[345]

DeYoung's committee booked famous musical ensembles and stage productions that were at Chicago's exposition. Exhibitors, entertainers, and concessionaires were eager to present at the CMIE because it would add additional revenue, especially those visiting from foreign countries that had already shipped their materials to the United States. Many of the exhibits were those from Chicago such as The Esquimaux (Eskimo Village), various Native American tribal exhibits, and the South Sea Islanders. All three of San Francisco fairs had a designated entertainment area: The Joy Zone (California Midwinter Exposition), Midway (Panama-Pacific International Exposition), and Gayway (Golden Gate International Exposition). The Joy Zone, modeled after the Midway Plaisance in Chicago, displayed the bizarre and exotic.[346] Fair project manager Cornely, known for being a "believer in fountains, colored lights, music, shows, boating, etc., for the amusement of the public,"[347] made sure that the entertainment was at the forefront of the planning.

The ties between the Chicago fair and the CMIE were made stronger with the contract of Fritz Scheel (1852–1907) who brought fifty musicians from the Chicago fair to perform at the Midwinter Exposition.[348] The Vienna Prater was the area designated for the European exhibits and the assigned performance space for Scheel's

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[345] Ibid.
[346] The role and history of the entertainment zone in world's fairs is explained in Chapter 1.
[347] "Success in View: The California Midwinter Exposition Four of the Buildings, The Executive Committee to Meet on Wednesday to Perfect the Plans of the Work," *The San Francisco Call*, July 2, 1893: 10.
[348] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War*, 33.

Imperial Vienna Prater Orchestra. Modeled after the large public park in Vienna, Austria, the Vienna Prater exhibit was the largest of the foreign exhibitors and "covered ninety-two thousand square feet of exhibition space."[349] San Francisco's demand for professional quality musicianship led to the creation of Scheel's "concert series with his Imperial Vienna Prater Orchestra" followed by a "symphony series with an orchestra of sixty" on the fairgrounds.[350] The Vienna Prater was very successful and was even advertised in another exhibit publication, *The MidWinter Appeal and Journal of Forty-Nine*, with a black and white image and the following text:

> The Vienna Prater, the only place of amusement at the exposition.
> The imperial Vienna Prater Orchestra, Court Director, Fritz Scheel.
> String Concert and Military Concert Daily from 3 to 11 p.m. at the
> Kaiser Franz Joseph Hall--Midwinter Fair. [351]

The impact of Scheel's presentation of high-level performances crossed the divide between fantasy (fairgrounds) and reality (civic life) with the creation of a musical society (the Metropolitan Music Society, or MMS) and its successor, the San Francisco Symphony Society (SFSS)[352] that would inevitably lead to the establishment of the San Francisco Symphony. The CMIE was the catalyst that helped to shape San Francisco's cultural and musical scene. Scheel's appearance at

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[349] Rosinski, "The California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894," 43.
[350] Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart" in *Music, American Made: Essays in Honor of John Graziano*, John Koegel, ed. (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2011), 164.
[351] *The Midwinter Appeal and Journal of Forty-Nine* 1, no. 7. ('49 Mining Camp, California Midwinter Fair, Saturday, February 17, 1894): 4. Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[352] Ibid.

the CMIE solidified the City's desire to have a "resident orchestra."[353] Scheel's legacy as the "model of inspired conducting" has "swelled to mythic proportions and future conductors were measured against his standard."[354]

John Philip Sousa and his touring band were engaged for a thirty-six-day tenure at the CMIE after a thirty-eight-day booking at the Chicago World's Fair (see Chapter 2). According to musicologist Paul Brierley, the 1893 and 1894 seasons were paramount to the formation of Sousa's fame and legacy. Blakely, Sousa's band manager, "was convinced that the band had already achieved the goal of becoming one of the finest in the world," a claim supported by the high-profile bookings during this era.[355] Performance contracts previously reserved for the Patrick Gilmore Band, "including that at the Chicago World's Fair and the 1893 St. Louis Exposition" were being "inherited" by Sousa.[356]

As one of the finest bandleaders in America at the time, Sousa encountered prejudice from Scheel and his Imperial Orchestra of Germany.[357] Sousa had already, and quite publicly, spoken out in support of wind band music and battled Theodore Thomas's issues of elitist prejudice against "popular" versus "classical" music in Chicago.[358] Facing similar issues at the CMIE, Sousa and his band "strongly resented the condescension they encountered" from Scheel and his ensemble.[359] Scheel's and

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[353] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 33.
[354] Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart," 163–4.
[355] Paul Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 19.
[356] Ibid.
[357] Ibid., 19–20.
[358] See Chapter 1.
[359] Bierley, *The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa*, 20.

Sousa's ensembles were scheduled to perform on the same program. The latter's performance of the overture from *William Tell* was so inspiring that "shortly thereafter Scheel's flugelhorn soloist, Franz Helle" joined the Sousa Band as a "star soloist."[360] Issues of hierarchy and "western classical" vs. "popular" prejudice came to a head at the CMIE and would be a constant issue throughout the fair programming for the PPIE and GGIE.

The most popular and controversial attraction brought from Chicago was Cairo Street (see Chapter 2); the living diorama portrayed an essentialized street of Egypt complete with camel rides and staged Egyptian temple rituals. The controversial "Streets of Cairo" belly dancers met the same resistance from women's leagues and conservatives as in Chicago. Men watched Little Egypt "doing her hootchy-kootchy dance" while "women remained outside scandalized."[361] In the amateur journal *The Midwinter Appeal and Journal of Forty-Nine*, published and disseminated in the CMIE '49 Mining Camp Exhibit,[362] a column is dedicated to the "oriental dances" and describes them as "abominable, low, and vulgar."[363] *The Midwinter Appeal* also included an article on its front page titled "A Wild Night: The '49 Camp and the Streets of Cairo." This article not only relays a firsthand account of the Cairo exhibit but also relays the details of the popularity of the popular song craze

[360] Ibid.
[361] James Smith, "SF's First World's Fair."
[362] A popular exhibit that recreated the essence of a Gold Rush era mining camp that included performances of "La Palma," "this dance has the suggestiveness of the Oriental dance with the grace and dreamy music of Spain." *The Midwinter Appeal and Journal of Forty-Nine* ('49 Mining Camp, California Midwinter Fair 1, no. 2, Sunday, January 14, 1894, 2, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[363] Ibid.

based on this exhibit (see Chapter 2). The Count de Vermont,[364] the proprietor of the Turkish Theater and Village, hosted a party at the Turkish Theatre where they witnessed the "Wiggle Dance."[365] The author notes in the article that as the patrons left the Theatre, they sang "Oh the Midway, the Midway, The Midway Plaisance, etc."[366] The echoes of Chicago's musical influence permeated the day-to-day experience of the CMIE fairgoers.

San Francisco's Japanese and Chinese Community Performance Representation

The Chinese and Japanese communities are a part of the historical narrative of the City of San Francisco and were not only represented at the CMIE, but also at the PPIE and GGIE. The Chinese community of San Francisco had grown out of the influx of workers in the Gold Rush and the shortage of labor for the ever-expanding railways. The Chinese who arrived in San Francisco to seek their fortunes from the Gold Rush, mainly from the province of Guangdong,[367] were "initially welcomed by the cosmopolitan populace"[368] but were quickly discriminated against once the

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[364] "The prosperity of Count de Vermont is a subject one approaches with enthusiasm. Out of the Turkish Concession, he has made money; some say $30,000. Taking advantage of the brilliant anticipations rife prior to the opening of the great show he disposed of his space at most profitable rates and after paying all expenses returns with that handsome surplus. Besides the lump sum he has made, he drew on hundred a week for his services, and no one connected with the Fair has had more amusement out of his stay in town. He has lived luxuriously, gave dinners and has every reason to congratulate himself on coming to California." *The Wave* XIII, no.1, San Francisco, California, July 7, 1894: 8, accessed September 14, 2016, https://archive.org/stream/wave13unse/wave13unse_djvu.txt.
[365] *The Midwinter Appeal and Journal of Forty-Nine* ('49 Mining Camp, California Midwinter Fair, 1 no. 9 Saturday, March 3, 1894, 1, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 3.
[368] Mina Yang, "Orientalism and the Music of Asian Immigrant Communities in California, 1924–1945": 390.

fortunes promised did not materialize. Scholars have devoted monographs to the important and defining role of Chinese-American railroad workers in America's pursuit of Manifest Destiny. Thousands of lives were lost building the Central Pacific Railroad that connected the east coast to California.

Facing discrimination at the local and federal level, the Chinese immigrants (mostly single men) to San Francisco established the largest Chinatown in the United States. The principal community outside of Mainland China[369] made their homes in San Francisco and created, according to Mina Yang, as "a city within a city" that contained "the majority of the Chinese population."[370] Stereotypes of Chinatown as dirty and full of crime and opium dens plagued the San Francisco Chinese; guides would even lead tours to San Francisco's Chinatown and staged opium dens as an "attraction."[371] Both the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce and the Chinatown merchants were in on the ploy, agreeing to "manufacture and disseminate images of the exotic Orient that people expected to see."[372]

The Chinese Exclusion Act was the first to limit American immigration based on ethnicity, effectively halting Chinese immigration between 1882 and 1892. The Geary Act, an extension of the 1882 Act, required Chinese residents to register and prove their residency; if they did not, then the non-registrant would face deportation.

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[369] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 3. In-depth census reports and facts can be found in Miller's 2012 work.
[370] Yang, "Orientalism and the Music of Asian Immigrant Communities in California, 1924–1945": 391.
[371] These were not unlike the tours of Harlem that would take place in the 1920s and 1930s where white audiences could "experience" the dangerous and tantalizing black clubs that performed "Jungle" music.
[372] Yang, "Orientalism and the Music of Asian Immigrant Communities in California, 1924–1945," 391.

Anti-Chinese Leagues were established with the express purpose of barring Chinese laborers and the enforcing the "deportation of Chinese laborers from the city of San Francisco."[373]

At the time of the CMIE, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882[374] was recently renewed (in 1892) and renamed by Congress as the Geary Act. The CMIE exhibition was a platform for the Chinese community of San Francisco to display Chinese culture and art. San Francisco's successful Chinese community sponsored a several-thousand-foot Chinese Building built for $12,000. In addition to the main CMIE buildings, special concessions were chosen and "one of the first special concessions made was to the Chinese 'Six Companies' of San Francisco."[375] Managed by the "owners of the well-known bazaar at 731 Market Street," the building included a ninety-foot-tall pagoda that "affords a good view of the Exposition grounds."[376] Inside the pavilion, there was a Chinese theater that the local Chinese community patronized. The guidebook urges visitors to visit the theater because "after the fashion of Chinese plays…. The actors hold high rank in their profession in their native country, and are the best ever seen in San Francisco."[377] The dichotomy of presenting a cultural community's artistic and cultural endeavors and the actuality of blatant racism and a misrepresentation of the Other shifted and changed by the era of the

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[373] "Anti-Chinese League," *Morning Call* [San Francisco], June 29, 1893: 4.
[374] President Chester Arthur signed the Chinese Exclusion Act effectively restricting immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years. This act would be the first American law written restricting a racial group from immigrating to the U.S. Congress repealed the Act in 1943.
[375] "Midwinter Fair: This Is The Opening Day," *Los Angeles Times*, January 1, 1894, 24.
[376] *Official Guide to the California Midwinter Exposition in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, CA.*: 102. Other accounts list the pagoda to be only 75 feet high.
[377] Ibid., 102.

1939 GGIE (see Chapter 8).

California's Japanese community began to develop in the 1890s. The Japanese government pre-screened the émigrés and allowed highly educated family men to establish residency in the United States.[378] With a larger community in Hawaii, Miller outlines the gradual influx of Japanese immigrants to California as follows, "In 1890 there were only 2,039 Japanese on the U.S. mainland; two decades later there were more than 72,000. Among these, 4,500 lived in San Francisco, about half the number of Chinese residents in the city in the same year."[379] The Japanese community's level of presentation and involvement in San Francisco fairs would parallel the gradual increase of immigrants: from the CMIE's localized and regionally sponsored exhibit to the largest and most expensive pavilion at the 1939 GGIE.[380] Further investigation into California and San Francisco's Asian communities' representation will be explored throughout this dissertation.[381]

Venues and Performance Politics

A large Festival Hall was constructed to house "amusements, entertainments, festivals, congresses and public gatherings of various nature" as well as house offices for the Midwinter Fair Guard, Exposition managers, and owners of concessions.[382] The dimensions of the building were 141 feet by 133 feet "with an average height of

[378] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 4.
[379] Ibid.
[380] See Chapter 4 for an in-depth explanation of the Japanese, Japanese-American, Chinese, and Chinese-American participation at the GGIE.
[381] Additional information on the music making of Bay Area Asian communities is explained later in this chapter.
[382] Ibid., 57.

72 feet" and it was described as "rectangular in form, with a flat roof, surmounted by a second smaller rectangular elevation, containing the skylights through which the interior is lighted."[383] Above the main doors hung a frieze with figures representing "Music, Dance, Oratory and Athletics," reflecting the multi-functional purpose of the Hall.[384] The seating capacity was 6,000 people with a 60-foot wide stage.[385]

The large performance spaces, typically reserved for western classical music, did not have a hometown symphony to perform on its stage. San Francisco had a tumultuous history of attempting to establish a professional orchestra despite the community's immense interest to sponsor one. Walter Damrosch once declared San Francisco to be a city that "is naturally and temperamentally a *musical* city…what it needs is a good orchestra."[386] Both Leta Miller and Larry Rothe have devoted in-depth studies on the history of the San Francisco Symphony and dive into the issues of performance politics and urban planning.[387] Miller explains the lack of "a professional orchestra, a symbol of an elite and sophisticated urban culture, had been a glaring embarrassment to San Franciscans"[388] and this void was even more apparent in the years leading up to the PPIE. Fair visitors had to be placated with out-of-state and foreign ensembles.

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[383] Ibid.
[384] Ibid.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Damrosch was quoted in 1901. This quote comes from Larry Rothe's monograph celebrating the San Francisco Symphony's Centennial, *Music for a City, Music for the World: 100 Years with the San Francisco Symphony* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2011), 17.
[387] For information regarding the history of the San Francisco Symphony, see Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War* and Larry Rothe, *Music for a City, Music for the World.*
[388] Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart," 163.

CMIE Conclusion

De Young's exposition attracted over more than 2 million visitors and deemed a financial success. When the exposition closed on July 4, 1894, it had garnered "$1,260,112.19 in revenues, as against $1,193,260.70 in expenditures, netting a profit of $66,851.49" without any aid from "federal, state, or local government sources."[389] The total includes neither the revenue that the city and state gained from the influx of tourists nor the acquisition of the Fine Arts building, "the city's first municipal museum," and "the Japanese Tea Gardens, several works of statuary, and an improved water and electrical system."[390] In addition, the current Music Concourse where the Golden Gate Park Band performs is a surviving structure from the fair. The CMIE advertised the possibilities the city and state held for future trade, business, and cultural endeavors.

Panama-Pacific International Exposition, 1915

Buoyed by the success of the 1894 Midwinter Exposition, by 1904, the city of San Francisco wished to host an international exposition and shrewdly capitalized on the United States' new endeavor in Latin America. In 1904, the U.S. took over the Panama Canal contract from the French and would eventually complete the 44-mile man-made lock canal system that would link the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Panama Canal was the largest man-made modern project to date; the American dream

[389] Arthur Chandler and Marvin Nathan, *The Fantastic Fair: The Story of The California Midwinter International Exposition: Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, 1894* (San Francisco: Pogo Press, 1993), 132.
[390] Ibid.

of manifest destiny and the control of the access between the oceans harkened back to the original explorers' quest of seeking an inland water route. The exposition company began to make plans to create a world's fair that would celebrate the eventual completion of the Panama Canal on August 15, 1914.

The plan was put on hold when the 1906 earthquake occurred on Wednesday, April 18, 1906. More devastating than the early morning quake were the resulting fires that started by "overturned stoves, ruptured gas mains, and broken electrical wires."[391] Firefighters were hampered in their effort to fight the fires because although the city had "three outlying major reservoirs and nine smaller distribution reservoirs," the earthquake damaged the distribution pipes. The city was surrounded on three sides by water but the firefighting crews had difficulty pumping water from the bay because of "logistical inconveniences and broken hoses [and] also by mismatched couplings (a result of differing federal and municipal standards)."[392] Desperately seeking a solution, the fire department decided to create firebreaks by first using explosives and then gunpowder.[393] In her book, Leta Miller gives a detailed account of the quake: "Inexperienced workers placed explosives in unwise locations, blasted the wrong sides of walls, accidentally set wooden buildings ablaze instead of collapsing them, and generally acted without any coherent or informed plan."[394] The result of the misuse of gunpowder was catastrophic for a densely built lumber built city; approximately five square miles of the city centered were burned to

[391] Philip Fradkin, *The Great Earthquake and Firestorms of 1906: How San Francisco Nearly Destroyed Itself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 72.
[392] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 17.
[393] Fradkin, *The Great Earthquake and Firestorms of 1906*, 75.
[394] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 17.

the ground. Facing a horrendous and devastating fire, the survivors made their way to open ground, thousands set up a tent city in Golden Gate Park, which was the location of the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition.

The result of the 1906 earthquake on the musical life of the city was twofold. On the one hand, the earthquake was devastating; concert calendars were halted, the Grand Opera House and other performance venues lay in ruins.[395] On the other, the immigrant and religious communities of San Francisco contributed resources to rebuilding the music of the city, from the Chinese leaders building music venues in Chinatown to the German-Jewish community raising funds for western classical ensembles.[396] Musical institutions were established during the ensuing civic reconstruction period. One of the most important post-earthquake musical group establishments was the Musical Association. This was the body that founded the San Francisco Symphony in December 1909 and which opened the San Francisco Symphony's first concert on December 8, 1911.[397]

The city started the healing and rebuilding process as soon as the fires ceased.[398] In 1911, President William Howard Taft approved a Congressional request to make San Francisco an official exposition site.[399] The host city finalists were: San Francisco, San Diego, and New Orleans. The latter city had lobbied Congress hard for the fair, and had a "strong claim by virtue of being the closest American port to the

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[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid., 162.
[397] Ibid., 163.
[398] For more information on the Chinese community of San Francisco, see Nancy Rao's work.
[399] Raoul Camus, "Music at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," in *Music, American Made: Essays in Honor of John Graziano*, John Koegel, ed. (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2011), 92.

canal."[400] In order to secure the bid and ensure that San Francisco was the winning California city, San Francisco supported San Diego's bid for a "smaller regional exposition."[401] The Panama-California Exposition, a regional fair, was held on four hundred acres in Balboa Park.[402] According to Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, most of southern California's residents were recent immigrants and the Panama California Exposition attempted to "reinvent history to help build an urban identity for the city."[403] This resulted in both a financially successful fair and the creation of Balboa Park.

Fair organizers wished to celebrate the imminent completion of the Panama Canal and showcase San Francisco's rebuilding efforts. In his article, "Music at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition," musicologist Raoul Camus explains that the host committee sought to create a fair proposal that would not only celebrate the newly completed Panama Canal but also promote the newly rebuilt city of San Francisco by organizing "a truly international exposition to surpass all its predecessors featuring progress in all aspects of human activity: technology, horticulture, manufacturing, and the arts."[404] The PPIE would be the first world's exposition hosted in San Francisco and would be a physical manifestation of the city's goals for the future and a celebration of its past.

The technological feat of the Panama Canal propelled the emphasis on modernity and progress at the PPIE. In *Empire on Display: San Francisco's Panama-*

[400] Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America*, 63.
[401] Ibid., 63–4.
[402] Ibid., 68.
[403] Ibid., 69.
[404] Camus, "Music at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915," 92.

Pacific International Exposition of 1915, Sarah Moore posits that the completion of the Panama Canal emphasized San Francisco's position as "the gateway between East and West" and that the PPIE "celebrated America's new empire with a heady sense of ownership over the Western Hemisphere."[405] With the country newly empowered by the successful outcome of the Spanish-American war, the PPIE was a wartime exposition. The fair would play a "defining role in European and world affairs, the exposition provided evidence—visual, spatial, geographical, cartographical, and ideological—of the efficacy and efficiency of America's imperial ambitions and accomplishments, both within and beyond its national borders."[406]

On February 15, 1911, President William Howard Taft and Congress signed a resolution granting San Francisco as a world's fair site that would celebrate the national celebration of the Panama Canal's completion.[407] The President was present to turn "the first spadeful of earth" to symbolically start the construction process on October 14, 1911. On February 2, 1912, President Taft "issued the official proclamation of the celebration, inviting all the nations of the earth to join therein."[408] To the fair organizers and the citizens of San Francisco, the PPIE was the physical embodiment of modernity, progress, and human achievement. Rebuilding a city decimated by natural tragedy and human error made the PPIE even more of a symbol of American ingenuity and perseverance.

Located on 635 acres in San Francisco's Marina District, a fairytale land

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[405] Sarah J. Moore, *Empire on Display: San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013), 4.
[406] Ibid., 4.
[407] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition,* "Introductory": 17.
[408] Ibid.

complete with a tower composed of hanging jewels designed by architect Bernard Maybeck.[409] The entire fairgrounds were meant to be temporary—the only surviving building to date is the Palace of Fine Arts.[410] Like the CMIE's Electric Tower, the Tower of Jewels was a centerpiece edifice that became a defining symbol of the exposition. The exposition ran from February 20 until December 4, 1915. The opening day citizens' march started at 6 am and around 150,000 people participated in the exposition's opening ceremony.[411]

San Francisco dedicated their every effort to present the city as a newly rebuilt and resilient fantasyland. The exhibition would not only present the most modern technology but also serve the community in an educational capacity. In no other place would there be "possible such exhaustive comparisons of physical excellence" where large numbers of people could share a collective experience. The Exposition, according to fair chronicler Frank Todd, "does an educational work the university itself can not do; and here was service of humanity that might well engage the best efforts of the community's ablest men."[412] Music would be the sonic representation of the organizers' goal to present an exhibition that would educate and create "moral uplift" of the masses while at the same time be entertaining.

The most complete historical account of the PPIE is a five-volume chronicle

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[409] Bernard Maybeck (1862–1957) was an American architect who designed buildings for the 1893 Chicago World's Fair, CMIE, and other buildings in the Bay Area that have been added to the National Register of Historic Places.
[410] Rebuilt in the 1960s, the Palace of Fine arts is a popular tourist attraction and was home to the Exploratorium Museum before its relocation to Pier X in 2014.
[411] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 49.
[412] Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition; Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal*, vol.1 (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921), xiv-xv.

by Frank Morton Todd.[413] Todd's extensive and detailed account pays great attention to the music performed and programmed at the PPIE. His multi-volume official account recounts the fair's critical reception and organizational methods and some firsthand accounts of the fair.

The PPIE was the most well-known San Francisco fair to date and has been subjected to detailed scholarship within the last decade.[414] This renewed interest coincided in part with the anniversary of the PPIE's centennial recently celebrated by curated museum exhibitions, a lighting ceremony of a large "1915" fashioned to the Ferry Building's tower, and sponsored lectures, books,[415] and discussions by Bay Area regional institutions.[416] The primary goal of the centennial celebrations was to introduce new audiences to the historical significance of the PPIE, thus reaffirming California's cultural and historical importance in the twenty-first century.

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[413] Ibid., vol. 1, xv.

[414] Burton Benedict, Marjorie Dobkin, Gray A. Brechin, Elizabeth Armstrong, and George Starr, *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley, CA: Lowie Museum of Anthropology, 1983).; Rydell, Findling, and Pelle, *Fair America;* Moore, *Empire on Display*; Sarah Moore, "Manliness and the New American Empire at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition," in *Gendering the Fair: Histories of Women and Gender at World's Fairs*, Tracey Jean Boisseau and Abigail M. Markwyn eds. (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2010); Abigail M. Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2014); "Encountering 'Woman' on Fairgrounds of 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition," in *Gendering the Fair.*

[415] An example of the most recent published monograph is architectural historian Laura Ackley's *San Francisco's Jewel City: The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, 2015).

[416] The City of San Francisco, The Bancroft Library, San Francisco Railway Museum, de Young Museum, The San Francisco Conservatory of Flowers, The Chinese Historical Society of America Museum, The California Historical Society, The Oakland Museum of California, and Palace of Fine Arts. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco hosted an exhibition at the DeYoung Museum from October 17, 2015–January 10, 2016 entitled "Jewel City: Art From San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition." The exhibit, and the smaller display at the San Francisco International Airport, focused on the masterworks displayed at the PPIE. The four-hundred-page exhibition companion text, J*ewel City: Art From San Francisco's Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, underlined the influential importance of the PPIE for the California arts community.

Music of the PPIE

The music programmed reflected the desire to promote American-created musical talent and yet, most of the highly anticipated classically trained talent was of European origin. San Francisco, situated at the edge of the western frontier, was the perfect physical representation of America's manifest destiny but the city was still seeking artistic approval from across the Atlantic. Music was one of the main focal points of the PPIE and a "satisfying" and "financially worthwhile aspect" of the event.[417] Todd dedicated an entire chapter of his five-volume history to the "nine and a half months of music," asserting that the "music was of [sic] the soul of the place, a permeating beauty, like the color or the statutory or the illuminations."[418] The inclusion of music was so important to the exposition organizers that they appropriated $665,000 to the music budget.[419] In 1913, the Exposition president appointed J.B. Levison[420] as a "Committee of One on Music" in order to avoid conflict over musical programming.[421] Levison was tasked with musical programming that would be "a business problem of magnitude, as well as an art problem."[422] He nominated Dr. George E. Stewart as Musical Director and the President created the appointment on March 4, 1913. Stewart's expertise and

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[417] Frank Morton Todd, *The Story of the Exposition,* vol. 2*,* 56.
[418] Ibid., 404.
[419] Ibid., 56.
[420] Leta Miller includes a brief biographical note on Levison: "Jacob Bertha "Jake" Levison, a member of the Musical Association's Executive Committee" was "an amateur flautist who had played under Scheel." Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart," 179.
[421] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 56–7.
[422] Ibid., 56.

successful involvement in the music at the St. Louis Exposition, in addition to his "acquaintance with the most eminent living musicians, conductors and composers,"[423] made him a strong candidate to oversee the PPIE's music.

Learning from the past programming mistakes of Theodore Thomas and the 1893 Exposition organizers, the Music Department decided to hire a multitude of ensembles and artists from a myriad of genres. This included the top bandleaders of the era such as John Philip Sousa, Victor Herbert, and Patrick Conway, to famous classical composers and performers such as Camille Saint-Saëns, Karl Muck, and Ignacy Jan Paderewski.[424] Providing musical offerings free of charge (or at reduced cost) was an important aspect of the fair planning, which Todd noticed and he was satiated by the quantity and quality of the fair's music:

> Music attended all the public functions and pervaded the entire life of the Exposition, and a great and satisfying abundance of it was as free as the sight of the sculptures or the palaces, or the colors that spread themselves in succession over the gardens. Never before had programs been attempted of such variety, covering in a consistent manner such a wide range of musical production.[425]

The public had access to music provided "lavishly" without admission fees at band concerts and "late in the year" free concerts at the Festival Hall.[426] The Exposition Orchestra performed at the Yellowstone venue throughout the fair for an admission fee (although some concerts were free of charge).

The Music Department was a powerful entity at the PPIE. As the consummate authority that decided what was "good" music appropriate for the masses, the

[423] Ibid., 57.
[424] Ibid., 405.
[425] Ibid., 404.
[426] Ibid., 56.

Department's musical choices were the sole factor in programming and filtered what type of music was presented to the massed audiences. Todd states, "The policy of the Exposition in regard to music was that only good music should be rendered, but that did not mean music of such character that no one but the musical virtuoso could enjoy it."[427] Stewart's policy mandated that "serious symphonic compositions" should not be presented on a pedestal to a "limited cult," but rather there would be "great military bands" and "music that would appeal to all classes not trash for that purpose, but good, popular compositions, and especially things that were new."[428] As a result, the soundscape of the PPIE and surrounding areas was filled with music. According to Todd, "you heard it wherever you went—on the Zone, at the Fillmore Street entrance, in the Court of the Universe, in the Music Concourse."[429] The PPIE *Guidebook* designates a section to music that reads:

> The music at the exposition will consist of concerts by the greatest military bands of the world and by the exposition orchestra of eighty members, under conductors of international fame; of concerts by leading musical organizations of the United States and Canada; of organ recitals by the world's greatest organists and of miscellaneous concerts, recitals, festivals and tournaments by visiting organizations of many kinds.[430]

"Classical," in all its many manifestations and meanings (e.g., wind band, opera excerpts, and symphonic), was the most dominant genre programmed and funded, evident in the creation of the Exposition Orchestra, Band, Chorus, and organ recitals. With so many different ensembles performing, the exposition set aside funding to

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[427] Ibid., 405.
[428] Ibid., 57.
[429] Ibid., 404.
[430] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition:* 53, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.

build specific performance spaces within the confines of the fairgrounds.

Hail! California

Music accompanied the pageantry and enhanced the ceremonial presentations, performances, but none was as important or famous as the opening day celebrations that included a commission for Amy Beach. The PPIE organizers commissioned Beach (Mrs. H. H. A. Beach) to write a work to commemorate the PPIE.[431] Set to a poem by Wendell Phillips Stafford, *Panama Hymn* (op.74), the instrumentation called for a "mixed chorus, organ, or piano."[432]

On May 21, the elder Charles-Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921) arrived in San Francisco and Todd claims that his arrival "was one of the greatest musical episodes in the history of the city and the West."[433] San Franciscan audiences greeted Saint-Saëns warmly and his seventeen-minute work's instrumentation included a "combined Exposition Orchestra, Sousa's band, and the organ (played by Alexander Sabin)" for a total of "150 players in all."[434] The single-movement "symphonic episode" was based on images conjured from the mythic Californian past. Miller outlines in her work Saint-Saëns's intent to create a piece that would not only "evoke California's land of flowers, the bustle of the fair, the melodies of Spanish settlers" and the construction of the Panama Canal but also include the "Marseillaise" and

[431] Refer to Chapter 2 for Beach's participation at the 1893 Chicago Fair.
[432] "Amy Beach at the Panama Pacific International Exposition," San Francisco Public Library Art, Music and Recreation Center, [Blog], October 12, 2008, accessed November 18, 2016, http://sfplamr.blogspot.com/2008/10/amy-beach-at-panama-pacific.html.
[433] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, 406.
[434] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 257.

"Star-Spangled Banner."[435] In a retrospective, the fact that the Exposition Orchestra, Sousa's band, and Camille Saint-Saëns collaborated to present *Hail, California* at each of the three Saint-Saëns concerts[436] is a poignant moment in music history: two famous leaders of the respective genres, symphonic and wind band, performed on one stage.

While at the PPIE, Camille Saint-Saëns was introduced to new musical traditions, much like Debussy and other Western composers before him (see Chapter 2), although his recorded interactive experience did not occur on the fairgrounds. Saint-Saëns' earlier works had evoked the "east" and "orient," but this was his first trip to San Francisco's Chinatown. Miller attributes the trip to nearby Chinatown by Saint-Saëns and local composer Redfern Mason as "an embrace of musical diversity unusual for its time."[437] The history of composers influenced by Asian resonances during world's fairs is common but, in this instance, the narrative of musical multicultural intersections occurring during the fair's tenure and *outside* the fairgrounds is unusual.

Sonic Spaces: Festival Hall, Old Faithful Inn, and Bandstands

Two large performance spaces for western art music, band, and organ recitals were built. The PPIE's Festival Hall had a seating capacity of 3,000. It was built at a cost of $270,000 to house a theater "with the usual foyer arrangement" in addition to

[435] "Saint-Saens Brings Muse to This City," *San Francisco Examiner*, May 22, 1915, 5.
[436] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 257.
[437] Ibid.

the "second largest pipe organ with the very latest improvements."[438] The 57,400 square feet Festival Hall was not only built for performances but also included "numerous meeting rooms and assemblage rooms."[439] Organ music was well liked, as exemplified by the popularity and number of performers and recitals with over 130 organists[440] who performed on the world's largest organ in the world.[441] The $40,231 Austin Organ Company (Hartford, Connecticut) built the PPIE organ and shipped it via train to San Francisco in "five box cars."[442] The movable four-manual electronic console organ[443] occupied a custom chamber ("44 feet 6 ½ inches wide, 20 feet deep and 50 feet high") and was made of "six distinct parts: great organ, swell organ, choir organ, solo organ, echo organ and pedal organ."[444] The officially appointed

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[438] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition:* 32–3.
[439] Ibid., 33.
[440] Todd lists the guest organists (all men but one) in his *Official History* (vol. 2, 409) as Wallace A. Sabin, Clarence Eddy, Alfred Chaplin-Bayley, John Doane, Otto Fleissner, Uda Waldrop, Mrs. Annette Stoddard, Archibald Sessions, Ray Hastings, J.Percival Davis, Bruce Gordon Kingsley, Robert W. Stevens, Louis Eaton, Dr. Frank W. Chase, Warren D. Allen, John J. McClellan, Richard Keys Biggs, Frederick Chubb, Fred W. Goodrich, H.B. Jepson, James T. Quarles, Palmer Christian, Albert D. Jordan, Sydney Durst, Arthur Blakely, Archibald T. Davidson, Hamlin Hunt, George W. Andrews, Samuel Baldwin, Clarence Dickinson, Ernest Kroeger, Charles Heinroth, W. K. Gomph, Dr. M.W.O'Connell, Charles Galloway, Daniel Philippi, J.Warren Andrews, Summer Salter, T. Tertius Noble, James D.D. Comey, Lucien Becker, Harold Gregson, Lynwood Farnam, Frank S. Adams, Harry L. Vibbard, Edwin H. Lemare, Harry F. Schenuit, Arthur S. Hyde, Benjamin Moore, and Will C. MacFarlane.
[441] Currently, the organ built for the PPIE resides in storage underneath San Francisco City Hall. After the PPIE, the organ was moved to the Palace of Fine Arts Building (the only surviving building from the PPIE) and played until the 1989 Loma Prieta Earthquake. Damaged, the organ was disassembled and placed in storage. For more information, see Ben Marks, "Pulling Out All the Stops to Save a 40-Ton, 100-Year-Old World's Fair Pipe Organ," *Collectors Weekly*, accessed June 16, 2016, http://www.collectorsweekly.com/articles/saving-a-worlds-fair-pipe-organ. The Friends of the Exposition Organ has historical information as well as proposals for the future of the organ: "Exposition Organ - The Citizens' Committee to Preserve The San Francisco Municipal Pipe Organ," accessed June 10, 2016, http://expositionorgan.org/.
[442] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 59.
[443] "The largest pipe of the main instrument was the 32 CCCC of the pedal double open diapason, a pipe 32 feet long, which weighed over 1,300 pounds…There were, in addition, a 32-foot metal stop and a 32-foot reed…Over 30,000 feet of ebony, walnut, birch, maple, pine, whitewood and cherry was used in the building of this instrument," Ibid.
[444] Ibid.

Exposition Organist was Wallace A. Sabin, a San Franciscan.[445] According to Todd, there were a total of 368 organ recitals performed at the PPIE for an admittance fee of ten-cents.[446] Hailing from London, organist Edwin H. Lemare was engaged for one hundred recitals that were so successful that he was re-engaged "to give a recital every day until the gates closed."[447] A photo by Cardunell-Vincent Company, "A Noonday Organ Recital," included in Todd's official history, shows a photo taken from the vantage point of a performer. Organist Lemare is at the console and the entire Festival Hall is full—there is not an empty seat for a midday recital.[448] When the organ was moved to the Civic Center's Exposition Auditorium post-PPIE (at the expense of $11,930),[449] Lemare "was engaged by the city as official organist."[450] There, Lemare performed from Easter Sunday 1917 until his last concert on June 25, 1921. His position was tenuous, facing declining audiences and a nervous breakdown from "public humiliation." A ballot measure by the San Francisco voters in November 1920 decreased the organist's salary. Lemare left and was not replaced.[451]

Festival Hall was the venue where the best American symphony of the era, the Boston Symphony Orchestra (BSO) conducted by Dr. Karl Muck (1859–1940) performed thirteen concerts.[452] Leta Miller points out that the BSO "attracted about fifty thousand people and generated a ticket income of $75,000," thus proving the

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[445] Ibid., 409.
[446] Ibid., 405.
[447] Ibid., 409.
[448] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 406-7.
[449] Ibid., 59.
[450] Ibid., 409.
[451] Information regarding Lemare's tenure as City organist can be found in Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 250–1.
[452] Ibid., 405.

importance of this musical event. With the San Francisco Symphony in its infancy,[453] the grandeur and celebrity power of the BSO was a significant draw for Bay Area and Californian audiences. Todd exclaims:

> It was one of those "epoch making" events. Music journals throughout the country were unreserved in their favorable comment, and the music world was convinced that the Exposition had become one of the great centers of production. It is a significant fact that there never was such attendance at symphony concerts for so long a series of consecutive days.[454]

On Sunday, May 23, the BSO performed Camille Saint-Saëns's *Symphony No. 3 in c Minor for Orchestra and Organ*. With the composer in the audience of four thousand, the applause was deafening and was "one of the thrilling, inspiring episodes of the Exposition year."[455]

The second hall, the Old Faithful Inn, was located inside the Union Pacific Railroad's concession, the 2,000-seat Yellowstone Park replica. The stage and support facilities (music library, performers' accommodations, and lockers) were the result of an agreement between the Exposition Company and the Union Pacific Railroad, which underwrote "half the expense of the Exposition Orchestra."[456] The Old Faithful Inn, known as "a great place of resort for music-lovers" and the orchestra that performed there "was one of the finest ever brought together in the

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[453] Fritz Scheel set the precedent for quality professional orchestral performances at the San Francisco fairs with his Imperial Vienna Prater Orchestra at the CMIE. As mentioned previously, his tenure in San Francisco started the dialogue to establish a local professional orchestra. Henry Hadley conducted the San Francisco Symphony's long-awaited opening concert on December 8, 1911. On the history of the San Francisco Symphony, see Larry Rothe, *Music for a City, Music for the World: 100 Years with the San Francisco Symphony* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2011); Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart" in *Music, American Made*, John Koegel, ed. (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2011): 161–192; Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From the 1906 Quake to the Second World War,* chapter 2.
[454] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 406.
[455] Ibid.
[456] Ibid. 56.

West."[457] The Exposition Orchestra performed 575 times.[458] Five hundred of these performances were given in the Old Faithful Inn and twenty-five in Festival Hall.[459]

The Exposition Orchestra was the "central structure of the Exposition musical theme" and "without it none of the great choral performances would have been possible."[460] Assembled as early as 1914, the Exposition Orchestra was comprised of "the best players in San Francisco" and the section leaders were appropriated from "about 15 of the most famous symphony performers in the country."[461] The non-local performers were "players from New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago" and according to Miller, "thirty-two of its eighty members currently played in the Symphony [San Francisco], six had played in that organization in previous years, and five had been members of the People's Philharmonic." The People's Philharmonic was a semi-professional orchestra founded in 1923 by Herbert Fox.[462] San Franciscan Victor de Gomez managed the Exposition Orchestra and Max Bendix conducted it.[463] Henry Hadley, the San Francisco Symphony conductor, had apparently expected to be asked to conduct the Exposition Orchestra but he was at odds with Levison. Bendix was otherwise engaged.[464] Bendix had a long history with orchestral performances at world's fairs. He served as concertmaster of the Theodore Thomas Orchestra, the Chicago Symphony, and the 1893 Columbian Exposition Orchestra.

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[457] Ibid., 58.
[458] Ibid., 405.
[459] Ibid.
[460] Ibid.
[461] Ibid., 59.
[462] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 179.
[463] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 59.
[464] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 179.

He had conducted the official orchestra at the 1904 fair in St. Louis. He understood what a fair-going audience expected as well as what the role of an Exposition Orchestra should be. Miller states that "The Exposition Orchestra's aim was in part social uplift," an opportunity to bring what the organizers considered "good" music to a mass audience.[465] Todd assures his readers that the ensemble "was built to approximate the standards of the great symphony orchestras of Europe and America."[466]

The Exposition Orchestra was well received by music goers and reviewers alike but that could not prevent the less than expected attendance numbers for the Sunday afternoon concerts. A reason for the drop in attendance put forth by Miller was "probably less the extra charge (25–50 cents) than the reluctance of out-of-town visitors to take several hours away from outdoor attractions to hear a concert of highbrow music."[467] But if that was the case, then what factor would explain the sold-out audience for the BSO concert series that was more expensive? The BSO concert series was a special event and people came to the fair expressly to attend. The Exposition Orchestra was engaged for the entire run of the fair and people probably would not plan to expressly see them perform like the BSO. Miller surmises that perhaps the "largely local" audience demonstrated "its ennui in regards to Hadley's symphony" and wished to show support for the Boston Symphony Orchestra over the

[465] Ibid.
[466] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 59.
[467] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 180. According to Miller, the average attendance was between 600 and 1,000 people.

San Francisco Symphony.[468] Regardless of audience counts, the tenure of the Exposition Orchestra can be viewed as much more successful than those of the previous world's fairs of 1893 and 1904.

The Music Department, echoing Theodore Thomas's desire to prove that American music could rival that of Europe, programmed all-American and all-San Franciscan composition festivals. In August, an all-American composer festival was presented; the composers conducted their own works and the participants included George W. Chadwick, W. J. McCoy, Mabel Daniels, Carl Busch, Mrs. H. H. A. Beach, Horatio Parker, and Ernest R. Kroeger.[469] Miller points out that two of the composers on the all-American composer program were women (Mabel Davis and Amy Beach).[470] A concert performed on November 14 by the Exposition Orchestra presented all local San Franciscan composers: Albert Elkus, Mary Carr-Moore, and and Ulderico Marcelli.[471] The conscientious inclusion of American and regional and local composers allowed audiences to hear contemporary works. Many patrons appreciated the quality of the Exposition Orchestra and the presence of American composers conducting "their own compositions" on the programs.[472] Two decades later, the GGIE would echo this type of programming, which will be examined further in Chapter 7.

The choral offerings were varied and many and special music festivals were presented, including an Autumn Festival where the Exposition Chorus performed

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[468] Ibid.
[469] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition,* vol. 2, 408.
[470] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 258.
[471] Ibid.
[472] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition,* vol. 2, 405.

Felix Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and Giuseppe Verdi's *Manzoni Requiem*.[473] The 300-voice chorus under the direction of Wallace A. Sabin "sang the official Exposition hymn at the Opening Day exercises, and the Hallelujah Chorus at the close."[474]

The Exposition Band, comprised of local San Francisco musicians and organized by Charles H. Cassasa,[475] performed sixty concerts in the Old Faithful Inn.[476] Of the many bands present at the PPIE, Todd acknowledges that the Exposition Band "had the honor of doing the most and hardest work" because the ensemble had "to be in several places at once, and nearly succeeded, in attendance on almost every function that music could alleviate."[477]

There were four outdoor bandstands built to meet the demand for entertainment and general sonic festivities. The Musical Concourse was a rectangular space measuring "200 by 350 feet" that could seat 11,000 people with a circular bandstand "with a diameter of 41 feet" that could "accommodate a band of 102 pieces."[478] The second bandstand was "the Moorish structure on the north-and-south axis of the Court of the Universe" and could accommodate a "band of eighty-six pieces."[479] The third bandstand was located "near the Fillmore Street entrance" and could seat ninety musicians. There was a stand in the Zone area as well (not included in Todd's total of four bandstands) as the "great coffered orchestral niche formed by

[473] Ibid.
[474] Ibid.
[475] Ibid., 407.
[476] Ibid., 405.
[477] Ibid., 407.
[478] Ibid., 58.
[479] Ibid.

the half-dome at the southern side of the Court of the Four Seasons."[480]

Multiple touring bands were hired to perform and, most importantly, the majority of the band music was presented free of charge, allowing every stratum of socioeconomic society (at least those who could afford the fair admission) a chance to listen to the best bands of the era. The most famous of the ensembles was the John Philip Sousa Band. After their participation in the previous world's fairs of 1893 and 1904 and the extensive domestic and international tours,[481] the Sousa Band had become synonymous with American spectacles. Sousa's band performed for nine weeks at the Court of the Universe.[482] The musical quality of the Sousa Band impressed not only domestic but international musicians. James Melichar, a professional saxophonist from Bohemia, was able to hear a performance of Sousa's at the PPIE. He states:

> I first heard the Sousa Band sometime in late June 1915 when I decided to spend a Sunday at the Panama–Pacific Exposition held in San Francisco... I had only been in the United States for 8 months at that time…and after hearing the Sousa Band my ambition arose to be a band man.[483]

In the official history, Todd lists out the multitude of band music available to the attendees:

> Bands were playing somewhere about the grounds, wither [sic] at the Fillmore Street entrance, the Musical Concourse, one of the central courts, on the Marina, or in the Zone Plaza, apparently at all hours—at least not many hours ever elapsed between band concerts for nearly ten months, and the public

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[480] Ibid.
[481] "Sousa's Band toured the U.S. annually (1892–1931) in addition to making four European tours (1900, 1901, 1903, and 1905) and one round-the-world tour [1910–11]." Craig B. Parker, "Sousa's Band in the South Pacific," paper presented at the American Musicological Society Annual Meeting, San Francisco, CA, November 12, 2011.
[482] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 407.
[483] David Whitwell, *The Sousa Oral History Project* (Austin: Whitwell Publishing, 2010), 17.

heard them without charge.[484]

The music performed was based on classical symphonic works; for instance, operatic aria excerpts or preludes of canonical masterworks. In addition to classical excerpts and arrangements, military bands performed marches and "popular" songs. Band music was not purely for entertainment and guest conductor Emil Mollenhauer used it in an educational capacity. In the late summer months, Mollenhauer led "educational concerts" of works "of the masters as have been transcribed for military bands." It is important to note, the music of the "masters" were not of American origin. Rather, the "national music of all Europe was represented."[485]

Ensembles that performed at the CMIE, such as the Philippine Constabulary Band (see Chapter 2), were rehired for the PPIE.[486] The presence of civic and school bands, typically used in world's fair musical programming is very much evident at the PPIE (and later at the GGIE).[487] The bands that "visited from time to time" were "The Luther College Concert Band, the University of Wisconsin 1st Regimental Band, the Ford Motor Band, the Arizona First Infantry Band, the University of California Cadets' Band, the Portland Police Band, the Columbia Park Boys' Band and the Australian Boys' Band."[488] The pattern of rehiring successful ensembles from previous fairs can be found in almost every American world's fair programming. For instance, Sousa's band participated in the American world's fairs of 1876, 1893, 1894

[484] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 407.
[485] Ibid., 408.
[486] See Chapter 2 for the history of the Philippine Constabulary Band and its director, Captain Walter Loving.
[487] Since the last San Francisco fair in 1894, the University of California was established in the city of Berkeley. UCB's participation at the PPIE will increase immensely in the planning of the 1939 GGIE.
[488] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 407.

(CMIE), and now the PPIE.

The outpouring of support for music presented by the many bands surprised even the Music Department and created a rivalry amongst several PPIE Departments. The Music Department organized a massed band concert to be held in Festival Hall for an admittance fee (payable to the Department) of twenty-five cents. The actual concert occurred in the Court of the Universe to a sold-out audience. The popularity of the performance came to the attention of the Department of Special Events that "cast its covetous eye on the program and demanded a repetition of it."[489] According to Todd, the Department of Special Events convinced the Department of Music that the Court of the Universe could accommodate more patrons than the 4,000 capacity Festival Hall. Thus, the location change would "help swell the gate receipts by so much."[490] Because of the Exposition management, according to Todd, decisions were made "based on the promise of extending benefits to the largest number of people," the massed band concert was repeated by "several bands conducted by some famous leader directing 200 or 250 artists at once."[491] The massed band concerts at the PPIE would be a precursor to the sold-out audiences of Benny Goodman's band at the GGIE. What was a surprise to fair management at the PPIE was a fundamental programming decision by the 1939 GGIE management. The potential revenue due to the increased attendance numbers because of star-powered and entertainment spectacle would be a marketing ploy that would be as successful, if not more so, at

[489] Ibid., 409.
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.

the GGIE.

Wartime Fair Musical Programming

The tense geopolitical climate during the PPIE's tenure affected musical programming.[492] A wartime world's fair sets itself apart from a peacetime event; world's fairs were nationalistic, but wartime fairs were even more so.[493] The exhibitors and countries that exhibited wielded an incredible level of power at the PPIE. The federal government did not fund the PPIE but the Exposition Company welcomed domestic participation:

> The international effect of such hospitality, extended to official and commercial representatives of foreign governments, in promoting cordial international feeling, it would be impossible to measure or define, but that it has had a real and valuable result in the larger human relationships no one at all familiar with the life of the little cosmopolitan colony assembled at San Francisco in 1915 can doubt.[494]

The simulated semblance of peace and inclusivity could not be restricted to the fairgrounds while WWI raged an ocean away.

Coming to terms with the reality that their countries were at war, European musicians and performers used the public platform of the PPIE to garner support for

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[492] The affects of war would influence the GGIE as well, see Chapters 4 and 8.

[493] The trope of peaceful congregation was not new to the PPIE. The desire for peace and the foresight of the author regarding an impending European conflict was at the forefront of the Chicago fair, *The Photographic Panorama of the World's Fair*," n.p.

> How long will it be before they are assembled in some world parliament? What scenes of horror they may witness in the meantime on the battle-fields [sic] of Europe. Nations whose colors wafted by the same impartial breezes may meet in deadly conflict to decide the strife of centuries. If such an event should come, and it is not improbable that it will, those war flags may recall the truce of God in which they participated in the World's Columbian Exposition. (Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick. *The Photographic Panorama of the World's Fair Being a Magnificent Collection of Photographic Views of the World's Columbian Exposition and the Midway Plaisance, Forming a Pictorial History of the Greatest Achievement of the Age* (Springfield, Ohio: Mast, Crowell & Kirkpatrick, 1894).

[494] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 219–20.

their home countries. In Festival Hall on August 21, pianist Paderewski presented a recital and a pre-concert address "for the benefit of the war suffers in Poland."[495] A month later, Walter Damrosch presented a Wagnerian concert with the Exposition Orchestra in Festival Hall."[496]

The musical programming within the classical music realm of Festival Hall did not reflect the war, although some composers, performers, and even audience members publicly voiced their prejudices. When French composer Saint-Saens arrived in San Francisco, he "immediately became embroiled" in politics when he "spurned" the Belgian singer Elise Kutscherra de Nys, mistaking her as being German.[497] Although Saint-Saens publicly shunned the vocalist, he worked well with German conductor Karl Muck who organized an all-French concert featuring the composer's *Symphony No. 3 in C minor*.[498]

The "potential intrusion of the (still-European-confined) war into the PPIE did not materialize"[499] but was very much a part of the public demonstration of nationhood evoked by individual performers and ensembles. San Francisco was home to many immigrants from Europe who created neighborhoods and communities. Considering the anti-German sentiment during the PPIE's tenure, the German-American community sponsored a "three-day Beethoven Festival" and invited the newly hired conductor of the San Francisco Symphony, Alfred Hertz (German), to

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[495] "The receipts were about $10,000, and the celebrated pianist, afterward Premier of Poland, declared it was the greatest house to which he had ever played." Ibid., 408.
[496] Ibid.
[497] Elise Kutscherra de Nys, "a lieder and Wagner specialist who had worked with him for more than a decade." Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 256.
[498] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 256.
[499] Ibid.

conduct. Hertz had resided in the United States since 1902. Miller speculates that the reason for this public display of fraternal relations was to combat the "anti-German hysteria that began to sweep the country at the onset of the European war" and the community "found it prudent to sponsor a high-profile cultural event."[500]

The event was a triumph and critics likened Hertz to Scheel in offering high-quality programming to the city of San Francisco.[501] Seething underneath the veneer of camaraderie and peaceful diplomacy through cultural exchange was an incident at the very end of the first performance. While Hertz left the stage after the first bow, "the president of the Beethoven Monument and Festival Committee decided that, to reaffirm German-American patriotism, the orchestra should play the *Star-Spangled Banner*."[502] The concertmaster, Adolph Rosenbecker, received the message and instead of waiting for the maestro, he stood on the podium and led the orchestra in a patriotic rendition. Audience members and newspapers took Hertz's visual absence from conducting the *Star-Spangled Banner* as a demonstration of pro-German sentiment and it became national news. Interestingly, Karl Muck, was warmly received at the PPIE, later was falsely accused of the same performance gaffe in 1917. Unlike Hertz who did not comment on the anthem's presence in the concert hall, "Muck lashed out at its inappropriateness."[503] The backlash of Muck's standpoint led to his imprisonment and eventual deportation to Germany and he "never returned to the country despite numerous invitations for guest conducting

[500] Ibid.
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 182.

engagements."[504] Politics was very much a part of the performance at the PPIE.

The completion of the Panama Canal and the economic opportunities that Latin America offered to the U.S. business community was at the forefront of South American participation. Each Latin American nation presented their country as "junior partners to the United States."[505] Representation by Mexico, then embroiled in a revolution, was not represented in the pavilion section, but rather on the Zone. Amanda Cannata states, "Mexico did not participate officially in the exposition, owing to the domestic conflicts and friction with the United States" and the "Tehuantepec Village" was the only pseudo-reference to the country.[506] The primitive exhibit was juxtaposed against the "daily performances of the Orquesta Tipica Torreblanca" that "revealed the cosmopolitan and modern character of Mexico City."[507] With such a strong historical tie to Spanish and Mexican heritage, the PPIE organizers did not wish to highlight the State's heritage.

Contrary to the hierarchical image organizers wished to project, two Latin American participants surprised fairgoers with examples of modernity and progress. The first was the Argentine pavilion that was built to "present itself as a progressive, modern nation" with a "growing international power."[508] The second was the very

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[504] Ibid.
[505] Abigail M. Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco: The Pacific Rim, the Great West, and California at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2014), 51.
[506] Amanda Cannata, "Music and Structures of Identity at International Expositions in the Americas, 1875-1915" (Ph.D. Diss., Stanford University, 2014), 179.
[507] Ibid., 180.
[508] Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco*, 52.

popular Hurtado Royal Marimba Band that performed in the Guatemala pavilion.[509] The group performed not only selections of folk music but also excerpts of classical pieces of the era, thus dispelling notions of non-progressive cultural clichés.

Some groups had difficulty navigating travel due to the war in Europe. As previously mentioned, the official guidebook to the PPIE assures audiences that the fair would not be hindered by political tensions. In fact, the war would greatly enhance the visitor experience by increasing non-European exhibits. The guidebook authors calmed nervous attendees by stating "there seems no reason to fear any serious loss of exhibits on the part of the nations actually at war, nor any reason to expect any change in their plans for the exposition."[510] In reality, the war made travel very difficult for European ensembles to participate. The PPIE Music Department managed to secure the services of Garbeil Pares who recruited "about 60 good players, of whom no less than 17 were '*premier Prix*' of the Paris Conservatoire" to perform in a band for eleven weeks to demonstrate "the spirit and art of a fine European musical organization."[511] It was Pares who brought with him from France the newly commissioned work for the PPIE by Saint-Saëns.[512]

Most histories regarding the PPIE focus on Western European geopolitics and are remiss in not including the concurrent global conflicts in Asia and the Pacific. During both tenures of the PPIE and GGIE, the governments of Japan and China were

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[509] See Chapter 7 for the presence and popularity of marimba bands at the GGIE. Todd mentions the popularity and participation of the Hurtado Royal Marimba Band in his official fair history. Cannata dedicates a part of her dissertation chapter to the ensemble.
[510] *Official Guide Panama-Pacific International Exposition*, 11.
[511] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 406.
[512] Ibid.

embroiled in conflicts over the region of Manchuria.[513] The Japanese Empire, empowered by military successes in the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, became an imperial power in the East. Issues of presentation and nationalistic exhibitions of the Chinese and Japanese communities differ widely from the 1915 PPIE to the 1939 GGIE. Explored in more detail in Chapter 4, the local Japanese businesses mounted the PPIE Japanese exhibition as opposed to the government-sponsored pavilion at the 1939 Fair. By not creating a static exhibit, exhibition visitors were able to interact with exhibit hosts during "hosted social events during which Japanese men, women, and children displayed their culture for fair visitors."[514] This shift in sponsorship greatly influenced the programmatic aspect of the exhibit and changed the relationship between the representation and the local community.

Unlike the Japanese exhibits, the San Francisco Chinese community sponsored both the PPIE and GGIE Chinese exhibits. Greatly affected by the quake, San Francisco's Chinatown was reduced to rubble and a second Chinese community was established across the bay in Oakland. When the Chinese wished to rebuild Chinatown, now located in prime downtown real estate, they faced civic governmental discrimination and potential eviction. The Federal government intervened to support the Chinese because "international trade and good relations with China—which had been sorely tested by the strengthening of the Exclusion Act

[513] On January 8, 1915, the Japanese government issued the "Twenty-One Demands" to the Chinese government. The demands strengthened the imperialist role of Japan over the region of Manchuria and both the U.S. and British opposed this act. The Chinese responded with an influential boycott of all Japanese imports.
[514] Markwyn, *Empress San Francisco*, 164.

in 1904" were too valuable during this era.[515]

Prominent Chinatown business leaders worked to rebuild the neighborhood, broadening the streets, modernizing the facades, and combatting the pre-quake stereotypes of "opium, prostitution, and gambling."[516] According to Miller, the directive of the Chinese-American community was assimilation; cultural art forms, like Cantonese Opera, fell out of favor for "Western instruments" and "Chinese marching bands." Despite efforts to assimilate, the Chinese community faced discrimination not only from the Anglo-majority but also from members of the Japanese community who "sympathized with the white vilification of the Chinese."[517] Evidence regarding the acrimonious exchanges or fund-raising endeavors of musical programming by either the Japanese or Chinese communities at either fair has not been found as of the time of this study's publication.

PPIE's Legacy and Popular Culture

The PPIE, like the previous fairs, inspired composers and lyricists to write songs about the fair. Sheet music was still a very popular method for the facilitation of music making in 1915; the songs promoted the fair and, in turn, created an interested audience that would invest in the sheet music. Popular forms of music were presented, not only along the Zone but also in Festival Hall as well as through the sale of sheet music. In November, Victor Herbert led seven "popular concerts" in Festival

[515] Krystyn Moon, *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s–1920s* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005), 78.
[516] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 25.
[517] Ibid., 4.

Hall with "65 men selected from the Exposition Orchestra." These concerts "furnished a delightful contrast to the 25 more serious symphony concerts" given by the full ensemble of the Exposition Orchestra.[518] The ukulele, introduced to mainstream American audiences at the PPIE, would be incorporated in vaudeville and Tin-Pan Alley songs.

The musical offerings influenced not only mainstream culture but also individual fair patrons. As a case in point, the famed photographer Ansel Adams received an annual pass to the PPIE from his father for his thirteenth birthday and according to his assistant and biographer, Mary Street Alinder, he attended the fair daily. As a precocious teen, Adams "performed his first public, if unscheduled, piano concerts at the Nevada Building, before what his father remembered as being standing-room-only crowds."[519]

Music played a fundamental role in creating a unique sonic world at the PPIE and fair patrons commented that it was "the highest point the entertainment of millions had thus far reached."[520] The PPIE would be the last San Francisco world's fair to fund three distinct ensembles composed of professional musicians: The Exposition Orchestra, Band, and Chorus. The PPIE was a financial success with music as a major positive funding source, with a "departmental outlay of $623, 8—[sic], which was reduced to a net cost of $462,058 by returns amounting to $161,741."[521] The return on the investment was due to the proceeds from Festival

[518] Ibid., 408.
[519] Mary Street Alinder, *Ansel Adams: A Biography* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 11.
[520] Todd, *The Story of the Exposition*, vol. 2, 405.
[521] Ibid.

Hall ticket revenue from "concerts, organ recitals and other attractions" and from the underwriting of the Exposition Orchestra by the Union Pacific Railroad.[522] The politics of performance, whether nationalistic or economic, was very much evident at the PPIE and even more so at the GGIE.

Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939–1940

Echoes of the Midwinter Exposition and the PPIE can be found throughout the programming and presentation of the 1939–1940 GGIE. The year 1939 is a catalyst year for historians and researchers and is a unique place-in-time to investigate Americans' cultural and social consciousness as well as stances towards foreign trade and geopolitics.[523] Both the New York (1939–1940) and San Francisco (1939–1940) fairs would be remembered not only as two events that "stood at the cusp between two historical epochs" but their legacy would also be "both burdened and enhanced by their roles as symbols."[524]

President Franklin D. Roosevelt previewed the fairgrounds on July 5, 1938 and spoke at an invitation-only luncheon for over one-thousand "civic, business, labor, political and industrial figures" in the Administration Building (see Figure 3.1).[525]

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[522] Ibid., 56.
[523] Numerous books have used the year 1939 as the catalyst for historical and cultural studies. See August C. Bolino, *From Depression to War: American Society in Transition—1939* (Westport: Praeger, 1998); Richard Overy, *1939 Countdown to War* (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 2009); David Gelernter, *1939: The Lost World of the Fair* (New York: The Free Press, 1995).
[524] T.H Watkins, *The Great Depression: America in the 1930s* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1993), 333.
[525] Weller and James, *Treasure Island,* 55.

Figure 3.1. "President Roosevelt at microphones at luncheon given for him, Golden Gate Exposition, Treasure Island," 1938 July 15, speaking at the luncheon at the GGIE fairgrounds." (Photograph courtesy of the Library of Congress Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-90361.)

In his speech, President Roosevelt spoke of the projected promise of peace in the Western Hemisphere as well as the symbolic potential for the concurrent fairs:

> The year 1939 would go down in history not as the year of the two great American Fairs, but would be a year of world wide rejoicing if it could also mark definite steps toward permanent world peace. That is the hope and prayer of an overwhelming number of men and women and children in the world today.[526]

Unable to foresee the impending war and end of the Depression, the GGIE's organizers saw the potential of a fair presented in 1939 (and remounted in 1940)[527]

[526] Weller and James, *Treasure Island,* 56.

[527] The GGIE took place for 254 days in 1939. After a much-advertised campaign, the fair was remounted and rebranded as "The Fair in 'Forty" and ran for 128 days in the year 1940. Because of the

not only for a vehicle of job creation but also as a tool to promote federal and state policies and promote California's unique relationship to its Pacific trade partners.

Coastal competition heated up in the newspapers of the era as well as in the rhetoric by fair organizers during the New York and San Francisco fair tenures. *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist, Charles Wells Huse, wrote a column based on his experiences at the New York World's Fair to share with his West Coast readers. In his June 3, 1939 article, "New York's Fair: A Veteran Treasure Islander Takes It In—and Vice Versa," Huse writes:

> On the whole, the New York Fair cannot compare to our Exposition from the standpoint of lighting, architecture, planting and general beauty. Its lawns and flowers look motheaten and sparse. Its trees are small and infrequent. But this gigantic show does excel in exhibits. They are marvelous and complete. Another point they have over our Exposition is the completely finished state of their buildings."[528]

The *San Francisco Chronicle* would include the "New York's Fair" segment and keep the readership current on the East Coast fair's proceedings.

Although both fairs were technically in competition with one another, organizers and government officials, especially President Roosevelt, assured audiences of each fair's uniqueness. In his GGIE opening address via radio, President Roosevelt made a point of noting how both the New York and San Francisco fairs differed:

> I have never thought it unfortunate that New York and San Francisco picked the same year for their world's fairs. Instead of one incentive, people have

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escalating tensions in Europe, several countries were not able to participate in the second year of the GGIE.

[528] Charles Wells Huse, "New York's Fair: A Veteran Treasure Islander Takes It In—and Vice Versa," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939, n.p.

> two…. Furthermore the San Francisco and New York world's fairs do not in any way duplicate each other. Their themes and their exhibits cover different fields, make different appeals. Most decidedly, if you have seen one, you have not in effect seen the other also.[529]

Indeed, both fairs would differ in theme and appeal, yet their goals were the same: to promote American culture and policies on a global level.

In *The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin*, (the only dissertation to focus a sole study on the GGIE), Lisa Rubens argues that although the San Francisco fair was smaller in relation to New York (physically and population sizes), "it offered the same features although presented in a distinctly different form." The historical legacy of the bi-coastal fair reflected the competitive "visions of the wellspring of American culture and its people."[530] The U.S. Commissioner to the Fair, George Creel, gave an opening day speech that not only highlighted the pride in the West, but also the rivalry between the fairs. Creel attempted to articulate the differences between New York's "World of Tomorrow" versus San Francisco's emphasis on the present-day in a radio broadcast on February 17, 1939: "Not at all concerned with the world of tomorrow but deeply content to help San Francisco emphasize its charm and wonder of the world of today.[531]

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[529] Radio Address, Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio Address Opening Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, CA," February 18, 1939, Recorded Speeches and Utterances of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1940–1945, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library and Museum Website, accessed July 22, 2018, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/collections/utterancesfdr.html.
[530] Lisa Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2004), 2.
[531] George Creel, "Radio Broadcast," Library of Congress Sonic Archive National Broadcasting Company, Radio Broadcast, February 17, 1939.

Advertisers were quick to give deals to fairgoers who wanted to experience both fairs. The railroad companies offered the most enticing advertisements by distributing specially priced overland route tickets. The Union Pacific Railroad ran advertisements that offered West Coasters travel packages to "go East to the New York World's Fair"[532] with stops along the journey to see the uniquely American sights, such as Yellowstone, Zion, Sun Valley, and Colorado.

Differences between the New York and San Francisco world's fairs can be a focus of an entire study; thus, a survey is conducted in Chapter 3. Due to the constraints of this dissertation, a small comparative study can be conducted to view how the musical programming reflects the thematic differences of both fairs. Listed in Table 3.1 are the musical/entertainment events on July 6, 1939.

[532] "When You Go East to the New York World's Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 6, 1939. Advertisement for the Union Pacific Railroad.

Table 3.1: San Francisco World's Fair and New York Event Programming: July 6, 1939

San Francisco	**New York (***Virginia Day)*
9-1 pm: Walt Roesner's Exposition Orchestra	2:00 pm: Virginia Day dedication of exhibit with a musical program
3,7,9 pm: Folies Bergere	2:00 pm: Musical ride by Royal Canadian Mounted Police Band
Afternoon: Benny Goodman	4:00 pm: Concert by Schoolfield H.S. Glee Club, concert by Emmanuel Baptist Choir of Cinn. And Viola Trumpeters of LA.
3,7,9 pm: Cavalcade of the Golden West	6:00 pm: Twilight hour concert by Schoolfield Glee Club
6,7,9 pm: Guatemala marimba band	6:00 pm: Trytons concert
3-6, 7-9 pm, 10 pm: Sonora marimba band of El Salvador	7:00 pm: Czecho-Slovak Day: program of band music, folk dances, group singing
2-5, 8-9 pm: Hawaiian Quartet	7:30 pm: Concert by Winchester (VA) Chanters
4-7 pm: Brazilian Orchestra	9:30 pm: "Spirit of George Washington," Trytons

Evident in the programming of July 6 is the patriotic theme and emphasis on European foreign representation at the New York World's Fair. Geography may have contributed to the programming differences. Due to the proximity of Europe to the East Coast, the tense political climate in Europe influenced the types of musical programming. New York, a member of the original thirteen colonies, was physically closer to American historical locations as well as Europe. In contrast, the Californian fair emphasized the foreign participation from countries around the Pacific Ocean and

South America (Hawaii, Brazil, Guatemala, etc.).

In fact, there was so much public support for the fair in 1939 that the Exposition Company reopened the fair in 1940 (March 25–September 29). Previous studies do not emphasize enough the demarcation between the 1939 and 1940 fairs. There were several departures from the initial 1939 fair run including a new slogan and theme ("Fair in ′Forty"), President (Leland Cutler, President of the Exposition in 1939, and Marshall Dill, President of the Exposition in 1940), entertainment programming, participants, and even a color scheme.[533] Most importantly, there were major changes made to the musical programming in the "Fair in ′Forty" (explored further in Chapter 5).

The Fair in ′Forty was the express desire of organizers and the public to prolong the celebrations on Treasure Island and recoup economic losses.[534] Overall, the Members of the Executive Board were replaced: Marshall Dill became President and W. W. Monahan replaced Clarence H. Strub as general manager. Both men "tackled the job of selling space, rehabilitating the plant, signing up foreign and state participants, arranging for a few shows of the caliber of the New York Fair's *Aquacade*, and selecting a promotion manager."[535] Monahan learned from Strub's

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[533] See Chapter 3 for more information regarding the color and lighting scheme of both the PPIE and GGIE. Colorist Jesse Stanton "decided to completely transform the picture by day and night" by choosing colors "at a higher key, more vivid and stimulating." Weller and James, *Treasure Island*, 44–5.

[534] Reports about the Fair reopening began early in the 1939 season. An article in the *Greater Show World* argued that it did not make sense that "a venture of this magnitude costing millions of dollars should not take advantage of two years operation." "Frisco World's Fair May Operate in 1940," *Greater Show World* 22, no. 7 (July 1939), California Historical Society, San Francsico, CA.

[535] "Coast Fair Organizes: 1940 run to emphasize Pan-American unity, 80% of '39 participants ready to sign for space," *Business Week*, January 13, 1940, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.

programming success in 1939 and engaged the SFS in a widely marketed concert series.[536] Because the 1940 fair would only run for four months (May 25–September 29), special events were added to the calendar as well as new headliners; "big names of radio, screen and music," gave "free shows in the Temple Compound."[537]

The "Pageant of the Pacific" theme was kept, although an emphasis was placed on "pleasure" rather than "culture" for the 1940 Fair, the programming would not "degenerate into a gigantic honky-tonk affair like many second-year expositions."[538] Prominent corporate sponsors resigned with the 1940 fair. Both Westinghouse Electric and The Ford Motor Company asked for more space; the latter company created a "completely new exhibit" and "signed up for three times the former space."[539] Programming and personnel are explored in detail in the next chapter.

The 1940 fair did not recoup all the financial losses of the 1939 fair, but pledges from private "contributions, city funds, the California Toll Bridge Authority, the Bank of America" and Billy Rose "offered to contribute two million dollars contingent upon being given control of the fair." The Exposition Company did not take the offer, but in the end, Rose did contribute due to the success of his *Aquacade*.

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[536] More information on the San Francisco Symphony's performances at the GGIE as well as information regarding Special Events will be provided later in this chapter.
[537] George Besserer, *Treasure Island: Go by Train, Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay–May 25 to September 29, 1940*, 1, in Scrapbook of clippings relating to the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco 1939/40: Fresno State University Special Collections, Fresno, CA.
[538] "Cost Fair Organizes: 1940 run to emphasize Pan-American unity, 80% of '39 participants ready to sign for space," *Business Week*. January 13, 1940, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[539] "Treasure Island Getting a Facial: Fair Being Groomed for Gala Opening," *Motor Land*, May, 3. Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.

Overall, both iterations of the GGIE had a gross profit, buoyed by the success of shows like the *Cavalcade* (1939 & 1940) and the *Aquacade* (1940). The gross profit from operations for both years totaled $15,873,199.49 (equivalent in today's currency to $285,854,527). The Treasury Department studied previous expositions and undertook a "great amount of advanced planning" in order to keep the GGIE financially solvent.[540] After deductions for operating expenses ($9,275,479.93) and post exposition expenses (including settlements with creditors who withdrew from the 1939 exposition), the net deficit amounted to $559,423.26 ($10,074,444 in today's currency), (1939 fair had a net deficit of $1,203,582.20).[541] In this summation report, the capital assets did not include the $7,412,154 from WPA and PWA grants.[542] James and Weller highlight the attention to detail the Exposition Company's Treasury Department gave to the daily transactions; at the end of the cash audit, short by only $800.[543]

Depression-Era Programming

The rise of technology, mainly radio and the ability to amplify sound, changed the soundscape of the American expositions. Audiences came equipped with their own preferences of bands, soloists, and genres to which they were introduced over the airwaves. The shift from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world's fairs' programming of ensembles (such as the PPIE's invitation of the Boston

[540] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 382.
[541] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 384.
[542] Ibid. Overall post-exposition financial figures mentioned derive from this source.
[543] Ibid., 382.

Symphony Orchestra) to a single headliner is very much evident at the GGIE. The history of world's fair programming in the United States always included famed headliners such as Theodore Thomas, John Philip Sousa, Walter Loving, Fritz Scheel; the GGIE presented headliners from both classical and American vernacular (popular) genres and free of charge.

Following trends in music history, by the 1930s, "classical" music was no longer the most popular genre; instead, jazz (big band) and popular music were in vogue. Lisa Rubens points out that Depression-era audiences "influenced the development of technologically oriented entertainment" by "turning from sideshows and the theater of curiosity" and seeking out groups heard on the radio, especially catering to the younger generation who "wanted to dance to the swing and jazz music of the big bands of their era."[544] Although the trends may have triggered a change in programming, the citizens of San Francisco changed the narrative norm and demanded more western classical music at the fair.

For the initial season of the 1939 Fair, organizers scheduled band programs and famous entertainers but audiences criticized the lack of symphonic music after the San Francisco Symphony was excluded from the initial 1939 fair season.[545] It was not until Charles Strub's overhaul of the musical programming that a symphonic series came to fruition, starting with a performance by José Iturbi on September 13. The shift in the varied programming is evident in the reimagined 1940 "Fair in ′Forty" with the inclusion of a symphonic program. James and Weller gleefully point

[544] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 128.
[545] See Chapter 5 for a comprehensive investigation into the symphony's tenure at the GGIE.

out that "cultural music had proved itself a sound venture in showmanship."[546] The change in musical programming for the "Fair in 'Forty" will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 5.

There are many differences, as one would expect, between the PPIE and the GGIE. Not as popular as in 1915, the GGIE did program organ music, but it was not as frequent as at the PPIE. Commissions by western-art composers, like the PPIE's commissioning of Camille Saint-Saens or Amy Beach, were not awarded, but composers did dedicate works to the GGIE.[547] The participation of the Works Progress Administration, specifically the Federal Theater Project, Federal Art Project and Federal Music Project formed a departure from the previous fairs (discussed at great length in Chapter 4). In addition, advancements in technology created new venues and avenues with which to experience musical performances. Amplified music allowed more people to experience performances, thus creating larger audiences. The topics of technology will be studied in Chapter 4.

Conclusion

The forty-nine years that span the tenure of the three San Francisco fairs highlight the continuity of fair programming from the nineteenth century to the twentieth century. The performing arts reflected societal tastes and paralleled the growth of the nation as well as the city of San Francisco. All three fairs incorporated

[546] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,*180.
[547] Western art music (also known as "classical" music) dedicated and written for the GGIE is further studied in Chapter 9.

wind band, symphonic, and vernacular (popular) music but the most apparent shift in musical taste from 1894 to 1939 was the gradual rise of band music. San Francisco's historical composition of a multinational port city lent a unique fair experience to attendees. The three fairs of San Francisco not only provided autonomous opportunities to present culture and performance practices by the established Japanese and Chinese cultural communities but also served as platforms for western visiting composers' exposure to Asian musical cultures. The Japanese community's level of involvement in the fairs would parallel the gradual increase of immigrants, from the CMIE's regionally sponsored exhibit to the largest and most expensive pavilion at the 1939 GGIE.

The San Francisco-hosted fairs were held during periods of nation-wide economic recessions and periods of economic and political instability. While architecture and illuminations portrayed physical representations of fantasy, music created a sonic world that delineated the escape the expositions provided from the everyday. Music played a key role in realizing statehood and nationhood during the times of crisis and uncertainty in each exposition. Shifts in societal culture and musical taste from 1894 to 1940 directly affected fair organizers' directives to include awareness of inclusivity.

With the most recent San Franciscan fair over seventy-five years ago, the Bay Area is reigniting efforts to host a future Expo. It may be surprising to find that the justification and desire to host a contemporary expo is the same as the reasoning

behind the CMIE, PPIE, and GGIE. In September 2010, The Bay Area Council[548] announced its bid for World Expo 2020 (Expo Silicon Valley) during a visit to "the Shanghai Expo [2012] by then California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger."[549] More than 116 years have passed since de Young thought San Francisco would be a perfect host city for an exposition and in 2010 the rhetoric and reasoning to mount a world's fair is very similar, if not the same. The San Francisco 2020 bid came out of the need of an economic stimulus after the 2008 Great Recession (not unlike the economic depressions that plagued fair organizers of the CMIE, PPIE, and GGIE). In a press release, Bay Area Council President and CEO Jim Wunderman stated, "Hosting a World Expo in Silicon Valley will be a windfall economic and diplomatic opportunity for the United States. It is the perfect vehicle to showcase California's innovation and America's ingenuity."[550] Dubai was eventually awarded the 2020 World Expo bid.

The role of music in the modern-era fairs has greatly diminished since the CMIE. Usurped by the popularity of alternate mass spectacles previously mentioned, music is no longer a focal point of an Expo or pavilion space. An example of this diminished role can be found at the most recent Universal Exposition. Milan hosted Expo 2015 "Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life" (May 1–October 21, 2015). The

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[548] Founded in 1945, The Bay Area Council is "a business-sponsored, public policy advocacy organization for the nine-county Bay Area. The Council proactively advocated for a strong economy, a vital business environment, and a better quality of life for everyone who lives here." http://www.bayareacouncil.org/about-us/.
[549] Bay Area Council, "Press Release: World Expo in Silicon Valley Would Generate $5.6 Billion in Economic Activity for Bay Area, According to New Report," accessed June 18, 2016, http://www.bayareacouncil.org/economy/press-release-world-expo-in-silicon-valley-would-generate-5-6-billion-in-economic-activity-for-bay-area-according-to-new-report/.
[550] Ibid.

American pavilion's theme was "American Food 2.0: United to Feed the Planet" and the goal was to "showcase the United States as an innovator not only in the food sector but also in many aspects of culture, science and business."[551] Music at the American Pavilion at the Milan Expo 2015 was at the periphery. Using the American Pavilion as a microcosm of typical formulaic fair programming, there are some consistencies with the CMIE, PPIE, and even the GGIE as they are advertising music as a source for entertainment, appealing to the general audience's taste in musical genres, and incorporating band (marching) music. The Pavilion's Cultural Arts Programs advertised:

> Do you like a good college marching band? A great choir? Renaissance or contemporary art? The USA Pavilion has a range of cultural events that takes advantage of the full force of the Expo Milano and everything the city of Milan has to offer.[552]

Specific examples of musical offerings from the Pavilion included The University of Southern California Marching Band performing on July 4 (the group also performed at the 2010 Expo in Shanghai),[553] a DJ performing a set of Top 40 hits on the rooftop garden party area, and Fred Plotkin's lecture "The Food of Opera.[554]

Scholars, organizers, authors, and world leaders are currently questioning the

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[551] "USA Pavilion," accessed July 29, 2016, http://www.usapavilion2015.net/pavilion.
[552] Ibid.
[553] "The USC Trojan Marching Band will perform at USA National Day at Expo 2015 in Milan, Italy on July 4 as the highlight of a six-day visit to the city. The group will open the ceremony celebrating the USA Pavilion's 'National Day' at the expo and lead a parade through the fairgrounds. The band will also perform for a private event at the Consulate General of the United States and the launch of the new Fiat 500 on the afternoon of July 4." Brett Padelford, "Trojan Marching Band to perform at Expo 2015 in Milan on July 4," USC News, June 29, 2015, accessed July 20, 2017, https://news.usc.edu/83429/trojan-marching-band-to-perform-at-expo-2015-in-milan-on-july-4/.
[554] "USA Pavilion, Milan Expo 2015–American Food 2.0: United To Feed The Planet," U.S. Department of State, Archived Content–Released January 20, 2009 to January 20, 2017, accessed August 15, 2018, https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/ci/it/milanexpo2015/index.htm.

importance of universal expositions in the twenty-first century. In 2008, Vincent González Lopez, Secretary General of the Bureau of International Expositions, wrote a foreword to the *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions* that addressed the relevancy of twenty-first century world expositions. Lopez argues that first and foremost, the BIE acknowledges that world expos' purpose is "the education of the public" and "expo projects a vision for the future of humankind." Expositions surpass any other public events because of their duration and "impact on the culture, economy, and urbanization of their respective hosts.[555] Lopez continues to extol the values of a modern-day expo by claiming that the fairs are "an exercise in global diplomacy" and are platforms to serve, secure, and support "a sound course of progress for humanity."[556]

How can a country justify the expense, labor, and environmental impact of such a large massed spectacle? One answer by Scott Knowles who co-authored the article, "(Why) Does the World's Fair Still Matter?" included suggestions that would aid the "evolution" of future world's fairs. The first idea would be to plan major global meetings to coincide with future expos, much like how the 1904 Olympics coincided with the 1940 St. Louis Fair. In addition, Knowles suggests that universities could "create and deliver curricula based around a given Expo and its theme" and "social entrepreneurs should also be more centrally featured and incentivized to build pavilions." Utopian in flavor, Knowles completes his argument

[555] Vincent González Lopez, "Forward," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*, ed. by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008), 2.
[556] Ibid., 3.

with the statement: “If for no other reason than the hope it holds as a venue to show the distance between the real and the possible, the world’s fair has earned the right to persist.”[557] The United States has not been host for a world’s fair in decades but if an American city is chosen to host a future international exposition, those with the choice of programming the music have a delicate task because as this chapter has shown, the role of music reflects the social, political, and cultural aspects of a society. As the modern-day expos focus on sustainable culture and technology within a global context, the role of music either will enhance the themes or relegated to the background.

[557] Scott Gabriel Knowles, Jason Ludwig, Christian Parker, Jacob Smith, and Nathaniel Stanton, “(Why) Does the World’s Fair Still Matter?” Georgetown Journal of International Affairs, April 27, 2016, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.georgetownjournalofinternationalaffairs.org/online-edition/why-does-the-worlds-fair-still-matter.

CHAPTER 4
BUILDING THE MYTH

The Pagent of the Pacific

Twenty-four years after the closing of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, the City of San Francisco planned a second world's fair. In 1939, the United States' strained relations with countries in Asia and Europe echoed the challenges of war amidst a crippling depression. The organizer's primary goals for the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition (GGIE) were twofold: to position the United States as a world power at the threshold of a world war and to financially aid the nation, especially the Western States, during the Depression.

The GGIE was the first American international exposition to incorporate and celebrate the Pan-Pacific region by its official theme. The "Pageant of the Pacific" celebrated the close historical and trade connections the United States had with countries that lined the Pacific Ocean. Augustus Pollack, Curator of the Division of Pacific Cultures of the GGIE's Department of Fine Arts, outlined those nations that comprised the Pacific Basin region in an April 1, 1938 letter addressed to Dr. Whitmore of the Smithsonian. In the letter, Pollack divides the Pacific Basin into seven large cultural groups: "Northwest Coast (including Alaska and the Bering Strait); Highlands and West Coast of Mexico and Central America; Highlands and West Coast of South America; Pacific Islands; Southeastern Asia; Japan; China."[558] The division of geographic regions demarcated in Pollack's letter reflected the 1939

[558] Correspondence from Augustus Pollack to Dr. Whitmore, 1 April 1939, Box 94A, Folder 5, Golden Gate Exposition (1937), Smithsonian Institution Archives.

fair's designated pavilion themes. For example, separate spaces were devoted to the following areas: Pacific Area (Hawaii, New Zealand, French Indo-China [the area that later became Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos]), Australia, Philippines, Johore, Java, Netherlands Indies, and Japan); Western States (California, Washington, British Columbia, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, Oregon, Missouri, and Illinois); the Latin America Court (Mexico, El Salvador, Panama [sic], Guatemala, Peru [sic], Colombia, Chile, and Ecuador); and Foreign Area Pavilions (Argentina, Brazil, Italy, Norway, and France).[559]

The concept of a community comprised of countries lining the Pacific was not new in the 1930s, but the bourgeoning common interest of peace and prosperity in the region was paramount during the era. Previous studies of the GGIE have not stressed the double meaning of the term "Pacific"—not only does the term describe the Pacific Ocean and the physical location of the countries of the "Pacific Rim," but also the literal translation of the term as "peaceful" and "tending to lessen conflict."[560] Fair orchestrators were aware of the term's dual meaning, and marketed the fair as a diplomatic event.

Organizers utilized the Pacific theme in almost every aspect of the fair's promotion and direction. As Chapter 8 explores further, the inclusion of Central and South American as well as Southeast Asian and East Asian musical ensembles was an attempt to reflect the "Pacific Unity" theme in the fair's programming. The

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[559] *Official Guide Book: Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay*, rev. ed. (San Francisco: Crocker Company, 1939): 37.
[560] "Pacific," *Merriam-Webster Disctionary*, accessed April 5, 2017, https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pacific/.

Exposition was an existential product "of the people" and of the "Pacific peoples, their civilizations—past and present."[561] As Lisa Rubens states, the GGIE "serves as a social text demonstrating the greatest achievements, deepest yearnings and greatest fears of the nation."[562] Indeed, the desire for peace, American fortitude (both economically and militarily), and ingenuity were main markers of the GGIE's organizational goals.

San Francisco's GGIE opened on February 18, 1939 with three main *thematic* goals: to foster trade relationships and "cultural understanding among Pacific Basin Counties," showcase "the industrial and commercial West,"[563] and mark the completion of two engineering marvels: the San Francisco–Oakland Bay Bridge and Golden Gate Bridge. The music programmed during the pre-opening events and the two-year run of the GGIE was carefully selected to reflect the social, political, and cultural consciousness of San Francisco, the West, and the broader United States.

The Innovations of the "Other Fair"

Previous academic investigations have glanced over the GGIE, dubbing it the "other fair," categorizing it among other Depression-era expositions even though it differs in many ways from its contemporaries, especially New York's "Fair of Tomorrow." Although the exploration of those variances is not the focus of this

[561] Abe Mellinkoff, "For the World–A Great Fair: The Exposition Opens, and with It A New Chapter in Our History," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939.
[562] Lisa Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin." 3.
[563] Ibid., 7.

study, there are three main differences between the GGIE and previous American world's fairs that are worth noting.

First, while the contemporary New York Fair beckoned visitors with the promise of what historian Kenneth Jackson articulates as a "culmination of world metropolis and technological breakthroughs,"[564] the San Francisco fair organizers promoted peace through unity and nostalgia. Second, the GGIE was the last of the American world's fairs to have a comprehensive cohesive architectural and thematic directive based upon typical fair designs (see Chapter 2).[565] Architectural and urban historian Andrew Shanken posits, "Unlike New York's fair of the same year, where corporations sponsored the most magnificent and popular buildings, the corporate presence at the GGIE was all but hidden within vast palaces whose exteriors revealed little about their contents."[566] Unlike most fairs of the past, the GGIE was not a regionalist construct but instead, one that, "was transpacific in its orientation and not limited to California or even to the Western Hemisphere."[567]

Third, the GGIE was the first staged massed spectacle created to present a unified Pacific region. While previous fairs hosted by the United States (such as the Texas Centennial Exposition and Buffalo's Pan-American Exposition) and San Francisco (e.g. Midwinter Fair of 1894 and the PPIE of 1915) extolled the virtues of

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[564] *New York: City of Tomorrow,* "Episode 6: 1929-1941," directed by Ric Bruns (New York: Steeplechase Films, 2005), DVD.
[565] Corporations tended to sponsor Post-World War II fairs and would not emphasize aesthetic architectual cohesion.
[566] Andrew Michael Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015), 13.
[567] Robert W. Rydell, "*Into the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair* by Andrew M. Shanken (review)," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 23, no. 1 (2016): 110.

American imperialism, colonialist directives, and regionalism, the Golden Gate International Exposition was the first American world's fair to assemble, display, and promote the arts of the Pacific Rim. Reinforcing the mission of global community participation, the GGIE was symbolically opened by the push of a button in India (this ceremonial gesture marked the first time that an American world's fair was opened in a foreign country). Unlike previous and concurrent New York World's Fairs, "European nations were virtually absent" and "the colonies designed their own buildings."[568] Inclusion that incorporated multicultural pluralism with semi-autonomous agency was the primary method of display at the GGIE (discussed further in Chapter 8).

The GGIE's Fine Arts Department stressed the importance of the Pacific theme in its programming and mission. The Department was neither a governmental entity nor a commercial enterprise; thus, it was neither obligated to either political party nor able to request remuneration. The key aim of the Fine Arts Department was to "show for the first time in one exhibition the cultural scope of the Pacific Basin peoples." Thoroughly understanding the improbability of including every Pacific Basin culture, Department leaders strove for "quality rather than quantity." Director of the Division of Pacific Cultures, Langdon Warner, was sent to "the Orient to assemble material there."[569] This is not to say that the GGIE was immune to political mechanism; in fact, it was funded primarily by the United States government as it strove for inclusivity.

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[568] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific*, 19.
[569] Correspondence from Augustus Pollack to Dr. Whitmore.

The GGIE did not invite foreign participation as vehicles of cultural display; rather, it used exhibition spaces as tools for the promotion of tourism. The 1939 GGIE was the first world's fair held in the U.S. to house a form of transportation (Pan-American Clipper) that directly linked fairgoers to the physical locations of the foreign exhibitors. Pan American Airways had been offering passage across the Pacific Ocean since 1935 by way of the China Clipper, Martin M-130, (and later) the Boeing B-314 flying boats.[570] The original location of Treasure Island was planned for the San Francisco Airport and was the perfect terminus to dock the flying boats, thus cementing San Francisco as the hub of the Pacific route network. Flying into the Port of Trade Winds (a small bay in between Yerba Buena Island and Treasure Island), the passengers would disembark on the fairgrounds (see Figure 4.1). Captain W. D. Culbertson commanded the first flight from the newly constructed "base in the Port of Trade Winds on Treasure Island" on Sunday, February 5, 1939.[571]

Offering a mode of transport that could tie GGIE fairgoers to the countries of the Pacific Rim was a departure from the traditional fairgoing experience. It was possible for a fairgoer to visit the fair, view an exhibit from an Asian country, and, without leaving the fairgrounds, take a Clipper boat plane to visit the exhibit's country of origin. Pan Am Foundation Historian Don Miller remarks,

> For a brief period in 1939, with the inauguration of Pan Am's corresponding transatlantic service, it was now possible to fly completely around the world on commercial airways. Even after war broke out in Europe that September,

[570] Don Miller, "Pan Am's Fables Gateway to the Pacific," *PanAm.org: The Pan Am Historical Foundation*, accessed May 20, 2017, http://www.panam.org/war-years/376-treasure-island-fabled-gateway-3/.
[571] "Treasure Isle Air Depot Opened: Seaboat Wings from New Base for Pacific Hop," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 6, 1939.

> sharply curtailing transatlantic air service, Pan Am kept expanding its Pacific services. By May 1941, the clippers were flying down to Auckland New Zealand, and past Manila to Hong Kong and Singapore. Treasure Island was truly America's aerial gateway to the world across the Pacific.[572]

An emphasis was placed upon tourism and commoditized travel, not exhibition and exploitation, although marketers used terms of the era that were rife with colonial underpinnings such as "exotic" and "orient."

Figure 4.1. The Pan-American Clipper boat planes docked in the Port of Trade Winds, located immediately adjacent to the fairgrounds. The lagoon was situated in between Yerba Buena and Treasure Island; the City of San Francisco is to the left of the photo. "Aerial view of construction of Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island. Between 1937 and 1939." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library (hereafter SFPL), Folder: "S.F. Fairs-G.G.I.E.-Construction."

[572] Ibid.

Although the San Francisco's fair organizers relied on the concepts of nostalgia and myth (the Western frontier narrative), expressions and celebrations of modernity and the future were at the heart of the fair's mission.

Constructing the Myth

The fair was not only an idealistic enterprise but also a practical one. One of the most ardent pro-fair supporters, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, saw the potential in funding a massed spectacle that would not only promote his administration's policies but also provide succor during the Depression in the form of jobs and entertainment.[573] The GGIE, originally planned for 1938, was a calculated political symbol of peace, not only for the United States, but also for its foreign allies. Selected in 1934 by the United States Congress to host an American world's exposition, the city of San Francisco was quick to market the unique and long-term geographic and cultural relationship that city had with countries that bordered the Pacific Ocean. The most commonly circulated quotation from the GGIE is one attributed to President Roosevelt:

> Washington is remote from the Pacific. San Francisco stands at the doorway to the sea that roars upon the shores of all these nations, and so to the Golden Gate International Exposition I gladly entrust a solemn duty. May this, America's World's Fair on the Pacific in 1939, truly serve all nations in symbolizing their destinies, one with every other, through the ages to come.[574]

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[573] This quote used is from Jack James and Earle Vonard Weller's *Treasure Island, "The Magic City," 1939-1940: The Story of the Golden Gate International Exposition* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing and Publishing Co., 1941). The primary source cannot be found at the time of publication.
[574] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 67.

After transcribing the opening day radio address provided by the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library and Archives, and I have been unable to conclude that the President did, in fact, speak the above quote during the official opening day address.[575]

The fair not only celebrated "bridging of cultures" across the Pacific but also the physical bridge completion of the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge (1936) and the Golden Gate Bridge(1937). At the time of its completion on November 12, 1936, the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge was the longest bridge in the world. The Bay Bridge was the closest of the two edifices to the fair (the fairgrounds stood in its shadow) and fairgoers could not help but be reminded of the engineering marvel. The Golden Gate Bridge, completed in May 1937, was the largest suspension bridge in the world. Spanning seven miles, the bridge cost $35,000,000.[576] Fairgoer Marilyn Tucker remembers attending the GGIE as an eight-year-old on June 24, 1940. She vividly remembers her experience on the fairgrounds and recalls the magnificence of the two bridges from the perspective of a child:

> Another thing I remember was seeing a piece of the cable that was used to hold up the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge. We were all amazed at the idea of the suspension bridge and both the Bay Bridge and the Golden Gate were fairly new [1936 and 1937] so they were quite impressive.[577]

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[575] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio address opening Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, CA (6 mins)," radio transcription by author, Recorded Speeches and Utterances of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1920–1945, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Presidential Library and Museum, accessed April 3, 2017, http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/archives/collections/utterancesfdr.html.
[576] Unknown, *Treasure Island and the World's Greatest Spans of Steel* (San Francisco: Crocker Co., 1940).
[577] Marilyn Tucker, E-mail correspondence with author, April 15, 2016.

The two bridges linked the City with the North and East Bay areas, forever changing the movement of people and goods around the San Francisco Bay.

Hosting a world's fair meant the promise of big profits, not only for the City of San Francisco, but also for the surrounding States. The Exposition Company, a non-profit organization formed in 1933, sponsored the congressional bid and raised the finances to make the GGIE possible. Powerful and wealthy Californian businessmen—among them A. P. Giannini (President of the Bank of Italy, in 1945 the bank would become Band of America), Leland Whitman Cutler (Founder of Stanford University), and George Creel (U.S. Commissioner)—devoted time and money to secure the Exposition's bid.[578] Congressional legislation was secured in 1934 and the fair was slated to begin on February 18, 1939, the same day as the 1915 PPIE's Opening Day.[579] According to Fair Manager Charles Strub, the "five 'Forgotten men'" of the Board of Management (1939): "James B. Black, Colbert Coldwell, J. W. Millard, Jr., Atholl McBean, and Philip Patchen" worked tirelessly (and unpaid) for three years to mount the exposition."[580] Strub continues, "And to Leland W. Cutler, who assumed the responsibilities of president of the exposition, California and San Francisco in particular, owe a deep debt of gratitude."

Securing funding for such an adventurous endeavor during the Depression was not easy; but organizers knew that hosting a massed spectacle would create jobs

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[578] See the appendix of Weller and James, *Treasure Island,* for a detailed roster of the 1939 and 1940 GGIE committees and employees.
[579] Public Resolution. No. 52-75th Congress Ch. 437–1st session (S.J. Resolution 88) and Public Resolution, No. 71–76th Congress, Ch. 198-3d Session (S.J. Resolution 200) (May 14, 1940).
[580] Tom Moriarty, "The Fair Closes," California State Chamber of Commerce November 1939, accessed April 5, 2017, http://www.sfmuseum.net/hist5/ggie.html/.

and an overall morale boost for not only San Francisco but also the nation. The City spent over twelve-million dollars[581] on a beautification project that utilized local unions such as the Carpenters' Local 2164, Sprinkler Fitters Local 669, Painters' Local 19, Stove Fitters; Local 706, among other organizations' work forces.[582] The City was ready and willing to welcome tourists. The fairgrounds would host various world-class events concurrent to the GGIE; for example, the national ski jumping compeition was hosted on Treasure Island from February 15-19, 1939.[583] In 1939, an estimated three-hundred conventions were booked in San Francisco that would generate over thirty-million dollars for the City as a direct result of the fair.[584]

"Clean-Up-and-Shine-for-39" was a slogan for and effort to present San Francisco at its best.[585] Representatives from various domestic organizations and foreign governments were present at the groundbreaking ceremonies. Strained relations with countries in Europe and Asia echoed the challenges of war and, throughout the fair, some countries were sometimes unable to participate in the final event. Countries like Spain, Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia were either embroiled in civil unrest, civil war, or political conflict with other Western nations. Several countries that participated in the 1924 GGIE groundbreaking ceremony (Figure 4.2) were unable to participate in the 1939 fair due to political conflicts. The presence of

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[581] In 2017 currency, that would equate to approximately $211,326,043.17.
[582] "Miss San Francisco Gets a $12,000,000 Facial," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 10E.
[583] "World's Great Ski Stars Will Compete on Treasure Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, "Metropolis, Part 1," February 6, 1939, 13.
[584] "300 Conventions, $30,000,000 Coming to the Exposition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 12 E.
[585] August C. Bolino, *From Depression to War: American Society in Transition—1939* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1998), 10.

the representatives from Japan alongside France, Britain, and Nazi Germany, highlighted the drastic geopolitical changes during the fair's conception, realization, and conclusion.

The 1939 GGIE ran from February 18 to October 2, 1939 and reopened for a second season from May 25 to September 29, 1940. Although the fair was a public gesture by politicians and countries to create a global example of peace during a period of war, it was short lived. This American-centralized event was a political tactic to stave off conflict. The effect of the turmoil in Europe and China in 1939 made travel difficult for representatives from countries initially planning to attend the Exposition. Several exhibition pavilions (France and Czechoslovakia) closed during the fair's tenure due to political tension in Europe. After 1934, the Nazi Party would generate more power and eventually invade Czechoslovakia in March 1939, one month after the GGIE's opening, and Japan would attack Pearl Harbor a year after the 1940 fair's conclusion.

Figure 4.2. Image taken at the GGIE's groundbreaking ceremony in 1934. Countries' representatives visually identified in the photograph are (L–R): Japan, France, Great Britain, Hawaii, The United States, Germany. "GGIE groundbreaking ceremony." (Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, SFPL.)

Treasure Island

Several sites were suggested for the GGIE fairgrounds, among them: China Basin (site of today's AT&T Ballpark), Golden Gate Park (site of the 1894 California Midwinter Exposition), and Lake Merced (a freshwater lake located south of the city's current zoo). With the promotion from local titans of industry and federal support, the public was the only sector to agree to mount the fair and choose the location. Leta Miller states, "Building Treasure Island for the 1939 fair required a

vote of the populace, which, interestingly, took place in the same May 2, 1935 election in which the SOS property tax for the symphony was approved."[586] Out of the aforementioned locations, the shoals off of Yerba Buena Island (the only location choice off the Mainland), according to Miller, "required a bond issue."[587] Thus, the shoal off the Island of Yerba Buena,[588] located in the middle of the San Francisco Bay, was chosen for the location of the GGIE (Figure 4.3).

Figure 4.3. Image shows Yerba Buena Island in the foreground and the City of San Francisco in the background. The picture was taken before construction on either the Bay Bridge or Golden Gate. Ferries and boats were the primary crossbay methods from the East and North Bays to the City and South Bay Peninsula. "Aerial View of Yerba Buena Island. 1933 July 1." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, SFPL).

[586] Miller, *Music & Politics in San Francisco*, 248.
[587] Ibid.
[588] The Valley of the Good Herb (*El Parage de Yerba Buena*) was the original name for the outpost "because of the aromatic vine (*Micromeria Chamissonis*) found in the underbrush there." Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration, *San Francisco in the 1930s: The WPA Guide to the City by the Bay* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 96.

Destined to be the future airport that would service the Bay Area after the fair's closure, several permanent structures were built to serve its future function; the Administration Building, "erected at a total cost of $900,000,"[589] and two hangars are still standing on Treasure Island (Figure 4.4).[590]

Figure 4.4. Current-day view of the Administration Building. (Photograph by author, December 15, 2016).

The Army Corps of Engineers began construction of a man-made island connected to the larger Yerba Buena Island on February 17, 1936. Completed on

[589] *Official Guide Book,* 37.
[590] The Administration Building was used in the film, *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (1989), as the exterior of the Berlin Airport.

September 4, 1937, the island was the newest United States land and built by the largest union-backed labor force.[591] James and Weller argue that the GGIE was the first exposition site to-date "whose shape and size were made to order for their purpose."[592] The magnitude of supplies, funds, and manpower is staggering—the soil dredged from the San Francisco Bay amounted to "two-thirds of a mile wide and a mile and a quarter long" with over "30,000,000 cubic yards of material" and a "cost nearly four and a quarter million dollars."[593] The WPA paid most of the required construction budget, contributing $3,347,000 (in 2017: $58,942,355.54), while the Exposition sponsors paid $760,780.[594]

The invitation-only groundbreaking ceremony for the "building at the Exposition site on Yerba Buena Island" occurred at "ten o'clock Friday morning, August 21, 1936."[595] First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt officially dedicated Treasure Island Shoals on March 15, 1938; the President followed with his own visit in July of that year to survey the construction[596] (Figure 4.5).

[591] Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922–1944, *Report of WPA Activities of the Golden Gate International Exposition*, 2, Record Group 69: Records of the Work Projects Administration, National Archives Identifier: 296087, National Archives.
[592] Weller and James, *Treasure Island,* 25.
[593] Ibid.
[594] Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922–1944, 2. Or, in 2017 currency, $13,397,718.93.
[595] "The President and Directors of the Golden Gate International Exposition request the honor of your presence," Folder "GGIE Groundbreaking," San Francisco History Center, SFPL.
[596] Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922–1944, 2. The First Lady would return to Treasure Island in mid-March of 1939 to give a series of talks.

Figure 4.5. President Roosevelt oversees the construction on Treasure Island, 1938. (Courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, SFPL, Folder "S.F. Fairs-G.G.I.E.")

The result was a "Magic City" complete with roads, plantings, irrigation, sewage, and buildings. In his Opening Day remarks, the President stressed the importance of the GGIE as "immeasurably helpful to the commerce of the Pacific Coast and a vital and integral part of our national defense."[597]

[597] Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio address opening Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, CA (6 mins)," radio transcription by author.

The name "Treasure Island" was derived from Robert Louis Stevenson's famous 1883 book. Many of the pirate images conjured up in the novel became a part of American popular culture (peg-legged pirates, parrots, treasure maps marked with an X, etc.). The public attributed the title of the new fairgrounds to the novel, recalling the book's themes of adventure, promise of riches, and childhood fantasy. Besides the naming of the island, the only other obvious reference to Stevenson's pirate-themed novel during the GGIE was the "theme girl" of the Exposition, Zoe Dell Lantis's (b. 1915) "mock-pirate costume."[598] Lantis, a member of the San Francisco Ballet Company, travelled the "Pacific region and the rest of the United States" to promote the GGIE. The pirate girl marketing concept was the dreamchild of GGIE's promoter Clyde Vandeburg and Standard Oil marketer, Ted Huggins.[599] According to Landis, she "visited every state, every governor, and every mayor of every major city" in order to "get exhibits for the Fair."[600] In addition to promoting the fair, she acted as hostess and emcee for events both in person and on the radio, including presenting "Benny Goodman, the Dorseys and others on their shows."[601]

GGIE's Architecture

GGIE architects agreed upon a general consensus towards the creation of a comprehensive and regionalized theme early in the planning process. In his book, *Into*

[598] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 8.
[599] Patricia F. Carpenter and Paul Totah, *The San Francisco Fair: Treasure Island 1939–1940* (San Francisco: Scottwall Associates, 1989), 1.
[600] Ibid., 3.
[601] Ibid., 4. At the time of this study, Landis, her married name Zoe Dell Nutter, is still living and participates in GGIE historical lectures, events, and panels.

the Void Pacific: Building the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair, architectural historian Andrew Shanken explores the ways in which the GGIE's architecture reflected the "cultural and political work of the fair"[602] as well as the uniqueness of California's relationship to the Pacific Region.[603] Shanken utilizes D. H. Lawrence's phrase "void Pacific"[604] in part to describe the "isolation and novelty of California and its habit of looking West rather than back over its shoulder to the institutions of the East Coast and Europe."[605] Shanken argues that the GGIE's fairgrounds and subsequent airport would "shrink the Pacific void." The city of San Francisco was a hub for "an emerging Pacific civilization" that would usher in a peaceful future and "supplant the Atlantic world."[606]

Evidence of this construction of "civilization" can be seen in the choice to create a comprehensive architectural theme, contrasting sharply with New York's corporate-sponsored exhibit spaces. A walled city was constructed with a seamless outward appearance unmarked by corporate signage; this plan is a distinct departure from the "fairs of the period, and may be seen as a return to the earliest ones."[607] The GGIE architecture performed a crucial role in defining a physical space for escape by delineating fiction from reality—an integral aspect of a Depression-era fair.

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[602] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 12.
[603] Ibid., 20.
[604] The phrase "void Pacific" is attributed to author D. H. Lawrence's 1923 quote (included in Shanken's *Into the Void Pacific* epigraph): "California is a queer place—in a way, it has turned its back on the world, and looks into the void Pacific. It is absolutely selfish, very empty, but not false, and at least, not full of false effort." Ibid., 20.
[605] Ibid., 11.
[606] Ibid.
[607] Ibid., 14.

Some members of the GGIE architectural commission worked on the PPIE and desired to continue that fair's unique "Californian identity" theme within the GGIE's overall design (see Chapter 3). James and Weller explain, "This commission was in search of new sources of inspiration studied the Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915, with its rather strict adherence to established architectural styles, and the Chicago Exposition, which attempted something decidedly modern."[608] The architectural style was to "situate San Francisco" and "California" in "a blithe fantasy of a melting pot of Pacific cultures."[609] The official GGIE progam guide authors included a special subsection titiled, "A New Style of Architcture Designed By Californians" where pride in the new "mode" of design called "Pacifica" was touted as the future harmonious architectual style.[610] Bay Area arts critic, Alfred Frankenstein, commented on the successfulness of the Pacifica theme by stating, "The fair is to be a Pageant of the Pacific, wherefore it should be built in a manner beholden to no special Pacific manner, but suggestive." He continues: "In view of the excessively difficult synthesis demanded of the fair's architects, it is astonishing that the courts have turned out as well as they have."[611] Frankenstein's cautious review of the architecture included an acknowledgment of the mythologized Pacific architectual theme on American terms.

The chosen Pacifica theme symbolized American creativity and Eastern mythmaking. The projection of a utopian image composed of Pan-Pacific nations

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[608] Weller and James, *Treasure Island,* 25.
[609] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 14.
[610] *Official Guide Book,* 108.
[611] Alfred Frankenstein, "'X Marks the Spot'–An Art Critic Looks at the Architecture–And Finds It Good–and Bad," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 19E.

depended upon the juxtaposition of primitivism and modernism. Robert Rydell calls this phenomenon a "distinctive colonial moderne aesthetic" that depicts the nations of the Basin "under the benevolent tutelage of the United States."[612] The romanticized past of both the American West and ancient civilizations was recreated for audiences to showcase the continuity of Western civilization during a time fraught with uncertainty.

According to Rydell, the 1930s public embraced this unique use of modernism and romanticism common during Depression-era fairs because it could "enhance the possibilities for Americans to make progress out of the Depression and toward a better future."[613] Archways, plazas, and lagoons were named to reflect the Pacifica motif. Murals and sculptures depicted scenes that reflected the Pacific Unity theme. The most iconic of the sculptures was *Pacifica* (Figure 4.6).

[612] Robert W. Rydell, "Introduction: Making America (More Modern): America's Depression-Era World's Fairs," in Robert W. Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 12.
[613] Ibid., 7.

Figure 4.6. "Pacifica." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

Overlooking the Court of Pacifica, the eighty-foot-tall female statue holds her hands in a sign of welcome. The reasoning behind the embodiment of the pacific theme in female form is unknown currently. But the use of gendering in topics regarding mythic figures, and representations of the East as feminine is extensively discussed in Edward Said's cornerstone monograph, *Orientalism*.[614] A musical installation of small jangling stars representing a "prayer curtain" frames the statue. Mechanical

[614] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1994).

issues arose when the metal stars did not move enough to create the desired "tinkle" effect. Thus, chief of the mechanical division, William E. Leland, oversaw the design of a motor and reducing gear "connected with 17 groups of vertical rods" that mechanically "push the stars," thus creating two pitches, "one high and one low."[615] Another example of the constructed Pacifica symbolic representation was the mural titled "The Peacemakers" in the Court of Pacifica created by three female artists: Margaret, Helen, and Esther Bruton."[616] James and Weller depict the mural, describing the "central figures" as a "great Buddha—calm, pacific—and an Occidental woman, kneeling, swathed in a white cowled robe"[617] (see Figure 4.7).

[615] "Twinkle Wrinkle," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 6E.
[616] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 34.
[617] Ibid.

Figure 4.7. "Relief mural 'Peacemakers' by artists Margaret, Helen, and Esther Bruton in the Court of Pacifica, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, SFPL, Folder "S.F. Fairs-G.G.I.E. Art Peacemakers (Bruton).")

Several sculptures were created to highlight the theme amongst the fairgrounds. The GGIE offered females opportunities and prominent roles in building, planning, and artistic endeavors.[618] The surviving sculptures on display today in front of Building One on Treasure Island include Sargent Johnson's "Pipes of Pan," which depicts an "Inca Indian" playing the panpipes, and the work of still another female artist, Helen Phillips's statue featuring "a group of Chinese Musicians."[619] Phillips

[618] See Chapter 5 for information regarding the roles of women in musical programing.
[619] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 35.

created a trio of steel reinforced cast stone sculptures for the Court of Pacifica among the over twenty that were displayed.[620]

Figure 4.8. "Flutist, from Chinese Musicians Group," 1938. Helen Phillips (American, 1913–1995). (Photograph by author, May 19, 2016.)

[620] "Flutist, from Chinese Musicians Group," 1938, scultpure tombstone, Treasure Island Museum Association.

The Pacifica theme inspired international artists, who created works for display at the fair. Influential Mexican artist, Diego Rivera, created a 22'x74' mural titled, *Unión de la Expresión Artistica del Norte y Sur de este Continente (The Marriage of the Artistic Expression of the North and of the South on this Continent*) for the 1940 extension of the GGIE.[621] This ode to Pan-Americanism is considered "the most important work of art created in the Bay Area."[622] The mural was "the centerpiece of Art in Action,[623] an innovative exhibit where fairgoers could watch artist create their work;" a blend of cultures and symbolism that includes self portraits of Diego and his wife, artist Frida Kahlo (1907–1957).[624]

[621] The mural is currently housed at the City College of San Francisco and is commonly referred to as *Pan American Unity*. Rivera was commissioned to create the mural for the new library at the San Francisco Junior College but could not complete it in time for the Fair's closing. As a result, he and his assistants "continued to work for two months after the Fair closed in the empty echoing exhibit space...using only a waffle iron for heat." Diego Rivera Mural Project, "Golden Gate International Expo," accessed July 22, 2017, http://www.riveramural.org/muraltheme.
[622] Ibid.
[623] Art in Action was an exhibit that took place from May 25–September 29, 1940. The purpose of the innovative exhibit was to replace the European-forward exhibit from the 1939 Fair as well as to showcase working artists. A silent 14:59 minute film of Art in Action's artists at work is provided by the San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/sfbatv/bundles/187038. San Francisco Bay Area Television Archive, "Art in Action," film clip (1939/40), accessed September 15, 2017.
[624] After the GGIE, the mural was supposed to be added to the new wing of the San Francisco Junior College (now, City College of San Francisco) that ended up never being built due to WWII. The mural was stored at the college and in 1961, was installed in the college's lobby. Diego Rivera Mural Project, "Mural History: An Overview," accessed July 6, 2018, https://www.riveramural.org/overview.

Figure 4.9. "Rivera with Sketch." Photographer unknown. (Courtesy of The Diego Rivera Mural Project, accessed March 28, 2019, https://www.riveramural.org/photos.)

Rivera gave a statement in 1940 regarding *Pan American Unity*:

> My mural which I am painting now—it is about the marriage of the artistic expression of the North and of the South on this continent, that is all. I believe in order to make an American art, a real American art, this will be necessary, this blending of the art of the Indian, the Mexican, the Eskimo, with the kind of urge which makes the machine, the invention in the material side of life, which is also an artistic urge, the same urge primarily but in a different form of expression....It is about the marriage of the artistic expression of the North and of the South on this continent.[625]

[625] Diego Rivera Mural Project, "Mural Theme Explained," accessed March 28, 2019, https://www.riveramural.org/photos.

Rivera's support of cultural and artistic synthesis mirrors the Depression-era fair organizers' mission. In his article, "Beyond the Midway: Pan-American Modernity in the 1930s," architectural historian Robert González recognizes Rivera's marriage of technology and historic themes. Rivera viewed "the Pan-American project as a compilation of separate elements," noting how the "indigenous being could be visibly strengthened by North American technological forces, and vice versa."[626] González claims that the "Pan-American movement was ever-present in the 1930s," including every American-sponsored exposition. While the other fairs emphasized Pan-Americanism, especially New York with "the largest representation of Latin American pavilions and exhibitions," the GGIE focused on Pan-Pacifica (although still including elements of Pan Americanism).[627]

Architect Timothy Pflueger, designer of the Court of Pacifica and architect of San Francisco Junior College, initiated Rivera's initial invitation for this project. In a letter to Pflueger, Rivera expressed his desire for the public to see a Mexican artist at work. He writes, "It might interest the public of the World's Fair to see a Mexican painter at work on the 'Mexican Mural.' If so, please tell me now so that I may do the necessary sketches from life, etc. here."[628] The GGIE afforded international artists an opportunity to present their work to American artists as well as, in the case of Rivera, engage commissions and future work all under the auspices of Pan-Pacific unity.

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[626] Robert A. González, "Beyond the Midway: Pan-American Modernity in the 1930s," in Robert W. Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, eds., *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 72-3.
[627] Ibid.
[628] Diego Rivera Mural Project, "Letter from Rivera to Pflueger (Undated)."

A Floating Paradise

As if to shut out the impending war and everyday stress of Depression-era issues, Cambodian/Mayan-styled walls surrounding the west side of the fairgrounds protected Treasure Island. This structure acted as a wind barrier (for the whipping winds that enter off of the Bay) and that is where the 12,000 space parking lot was located (see Figure 4.10).

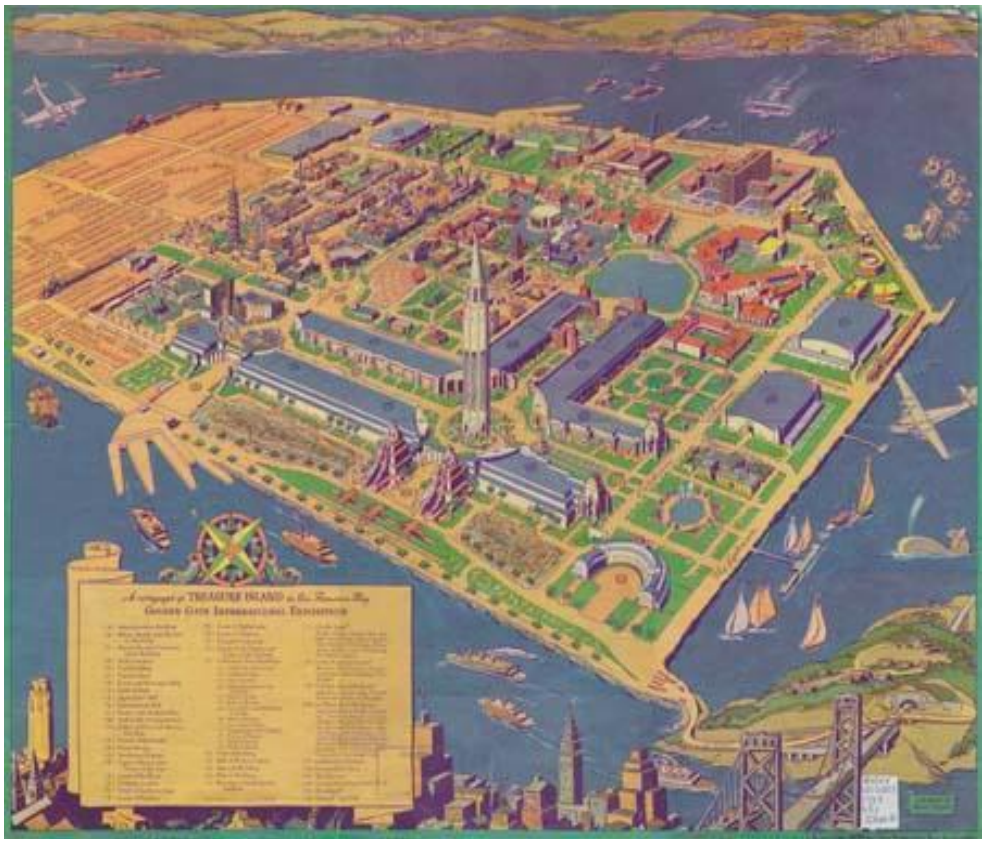

Figure 4.10. The artistic rendering of the GGIE fairgrounds. The City of San Francisco is pictured at the bottom of the image while the extensive parking lot mentioned above is located at the lefthand side of the map. (*The GGIE Official Guide Book*).

The reimagined amalgamation of Pacific Culture was the "modern trend with a mingling of Oriental, Cambodian and Mayan styles" to evoke the remains of "a

forgotten people whose noble temples suggest a high civilization."[629] This mythologized architectural style is evident in the planning of The Tower of the Sun, which rises in the background of Figure 4.11 with its large angular walls framing the figure of a woman.

The Pacifica theme was "wholly unlike any heretofore attempted"[630] and contrasted greatly with the concurrent modern sleek concurrent New York Fair. According to Rydell, the GGIE's architecture departs from any other 1930s fair. He argues that the GGIE's organizers "conceived of their region in broadly international terms that would advance both their own and U.S. economic and political interests overseas."[631] Rydell explains, "No doubt, the Elephant Towers had a California inflection, but they also made clear the power and eagerness of the fair's organizers to represent nations and cultures on both sides of the Pacific Rim to nearly ten million visitors."[632] The result was an "interplay of regionalism and globalism."[633] The GGIE would be the last American World's fair to have a comprehensive architectural theme and look—a throwback to the Golden Era of world expositions.

[629] Ibid., 26.
[630] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 26.
[631] Rydell "Review, Into the Void Pacific," 110.
[632] Ibid.
[633] Ibid.

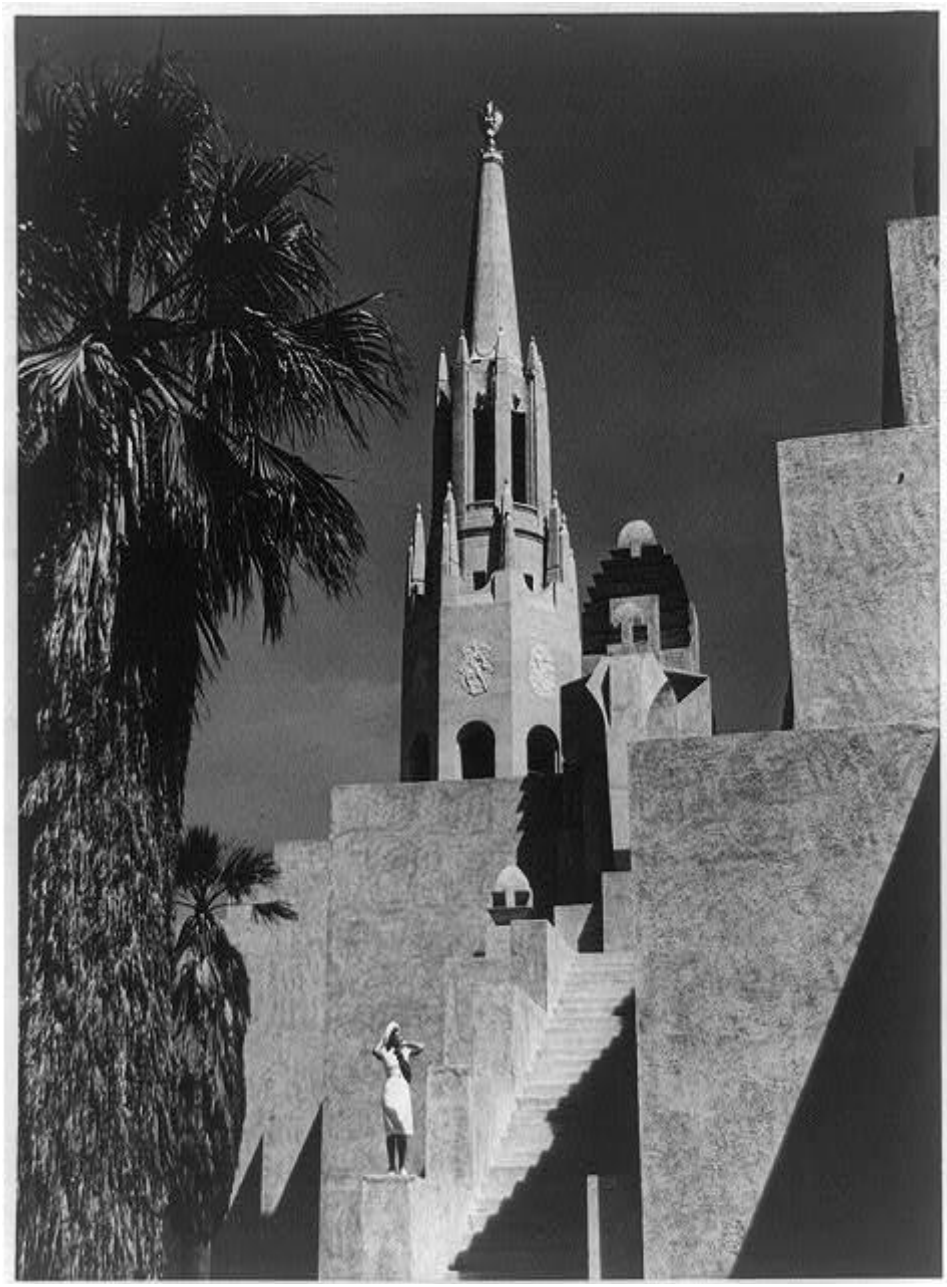

Figure 4.11. "Gleaming Treasure Island... San Francisco Bay, site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition…. Peggy Marks [a beauty contestant and Ziegfeld Follies actress and dancer] is in the foreground on one of the Elephant Towers, looming beyond is the magnificent Tower of the Sun. ("California San Francisco, 1939," Library of Congress, accessed March 28, 2015, https://www.loc.gov/item/96521042/.)

Tower of the Sun and Carillon

The Tower of the Sun was the centerpiece and primary symbol of the GGIE. Constructed of a steel frame and lumber, the four-hundred foot high structure had a "golden phoenix" affixed to the top. The mythical bird top was the symbolic representation of the rebuilding of San Francisco post-1906 earthquake where the City was literally rebuilt from the ashes, much like the mythic bird's resurrection.[634] The Tower's image was so pervasive in the marketing and promotion of the fair that local schools' music programs during the GGIE era included the Tower of the Sun (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12. "Come to the Fair," Daniel Webster School Presents *Varieties of 1938*. San Francisco Programs: Music Public Schools Music Programs, Part 2, 1937–1947. (Courtesy of the San Francisco Public Library, "San Francisco Programs: Music, Public Schools Music Programs, Part 2 1937–1947.")

[634] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 32.

The iconic symbol housed an English-founded forty-four bronze bell carillon that could be heard throughout the fairgrounds. A keyboard with a range of three and a half "chromatic octaves rising from tenor c (the c below "middle c")" and an additional bass bell [Bourdon], "which sounds a fourth lower," controlled the entire instument.[635] Eleven of the largest of the forty-four bells were dedicated to biblical passages or figures.

Table 4.1: Chart taken from "The Carillon: Grace Cathedral, San Francsico," pamphlet, Grace Cathedral Archives

Pitch	**Weight (lbs.)**	**Name**	**Inscription**
G, low	12,001	Bourdon	*I am the way, the truth, and the life*. (John 14:6) & Donor note
C, tenor	5,117	Paul	*Love never faileth*. (1 Cor. 13:8)
D	3,570	Isaiah (Peace)	*Nation shall not lift sword against nation.* (Isa. 2:4)
D#	3,001	Loving Kindness	St. Francis of Assisi
E	2,469	Joy to the World	*Let the nations be glad and sing for joy*. (Ps. 67:4)
F	2,080	Wisdom	*Prove all things: hold fast that which is good*. (1 Thess. 5:21)
F#	1,682.5	Thanksgiving	*It is a good thing to give thanks*. (Ps. 92:1)
G	1,405.5	Prayer	*Hear my prayer, O Lord*. (Ps. 143:1)
G#	1,178	Benevolence	*Let us do good unto all men*. (Gal. 6:10)
A	1,023.5	The Golden Rule	Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do also unto them. (Matt. 7:12)
B	770.5	Sympathy	Abigail Santo* *Jesus wept*. (John 11:35)

[635] "The Carillon: Grace Cathedral, San Francisco," pamphlet, Folder "Carillon at 1939 Fair and Final Installation," Grace Cathedral Archives.

*"Abigail Santo was the organist at Lostwithiel Church, Cornwall England, when Nathaniel Coulson, an orphan, went to Sunday School there. He saw a tear trickle down her cheek when the local children saw his workhouse clothes and refused to sit near him."

Dr. Nathaniel Thomas Coulson (1853–1945) donated the carillon to Grace Cathedral in San Francisco at an expense of $200,000. A native of England, Dr. Coulson immigrated to the United States, lost his money in the 1906 earthquake, and built a dental practice in San Francisco.[636] At the time of the carillon's commission, the Cathedral's north tower was undergoing construction, so Dr. Coulson lent the instrument to the Exposition. The inscription on the Bourdon Bell reads:

Gillett & Johnson, Founders, 1938.
Bourdon Bell of Carillon for Grace Cathedral
A Cathedral for the community.
First installed in Great Tower of Golden Gate International Exposition
February 18, 1939
Gift of Dr. Nathaniel Thomas Coulson/Born at Penzance, Cornwall England, August 8, 1853
Graduate University of California 1885.

In Figure 4.13, Dr. Coulson is pictured in front the of the Tower of the Sun with the choristers of Grace Cathedral.

Founders Gillett & Johnson, Ltd. put great care and thought into the carillon's construction at both San Francisco locations. In a memorandum dated July 15, 1938, Gillett & Johnson, Ltd. enclosed an in-depth report regarding the descriptions and explanations for the carillon's framework at both the Cathedral and the GGIE site.

[636] Dr. Coulson passed away at the age of 92 after establishing a trust fund to be used to construct a south tower for Grace Cathedral and to add to the carillon. During the last eleven years of his life, he "spent less than $1 a day upon himself." It was estimated that he "scattered more than $500,000 in gifts to the less fortunate during the years that he has lived on his self-imposed $1 a day budget." "Dr. N. T. Coulson Dies at 92," unknown newspaper clipping, Folder "Carillon—donor N. T. Coulson," Grace Cathedral Archives.

The experts relayed details regarding the "careful study of the plans of the steel work"[637] of the Tower of the Sun. Different methods of mounting the bells were given, with a concern regarding the stress-level capability of the Tower. Issues of structural integrity in the Tower was paramount, especially since the total weight of the bells was 40,464.4 pounds.[638]

Figure 4.13. Christmas Greetings from Dr. Coulson. "Dr. Nathaniel Thomas Coulson with Choir Boys of Grace Cathedral in front of the Tower of the Sun/Golden Gate International Exposition." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Grace Cathedral Archives.)

[637] Gillett & Johnson, Limited to Mr. Lewis P. Hobart, July, 15, 1938, San Francisco, CA, Folder "Carillon at 1939 Fair and Final Installation," Grace Cathedral Archives, 5-6.
[638] "The Carillon: Grace Cathedral, San Francisco," pamphlet, Grace Cathedral Archives.

The authors write, "Again, in case the frame-high ringing proved to stress the tower too much, the automatic switch could be adjusted so that the minimum angle of swing was obtained, probably about 45 degrees on either side of the centre."[639] The memorandum also included drawings of possible configurations of the carillon in the Tower (see Figure 4.14).

Figure 4.14 Bourdon Bell in its current location in the Grace Cathedral's north tower. (Photograph taken by author, November 2, 2015.)

[639] Correspondence from Gillett & Johnson, Limited to Mr. Lewis P. Hobart.

A contingency plan was put in place in case the Tower could not support the ringing of the largest of the carillon's bells (the Bourdon); "The swinging action would not be used during the period of the Exposition and the bell [Bourdon] would be operated by the electro-pneumatic piston in an absolutely efficient, crisp and satisfactory manner…."[640]

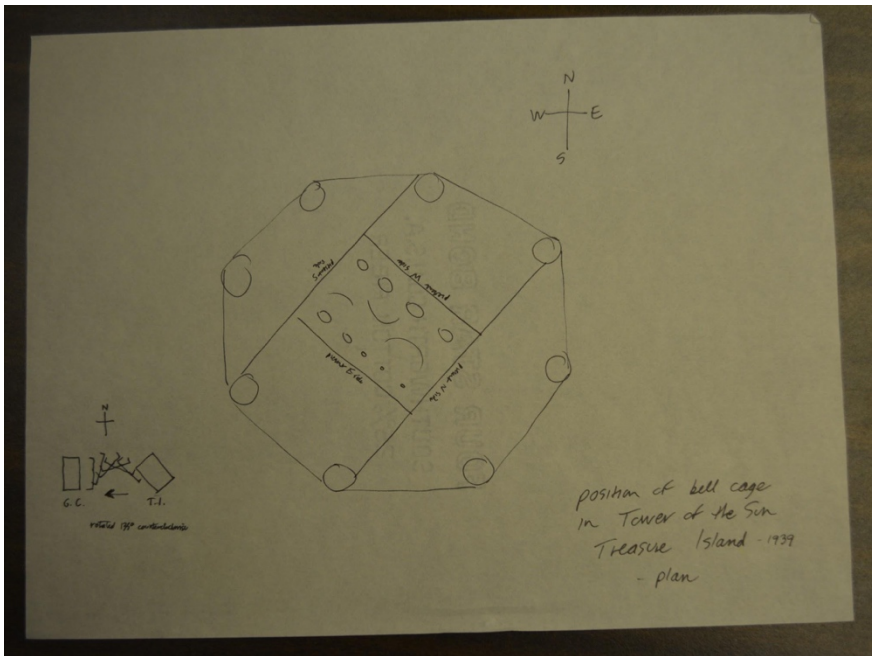

Figure 4.15 "Position of bell cage in Tower of the Sun. Treasure Island 1939 plan." Drawings by Gillett & Johnson, Ltd. of the carillon bell cage in the Tower of the Sun. The drawing on the left-hand side of the image sketches the different position from the Grace Cathedral's cage position (left) and the Treasure Island's cage (right). (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Grace Cathedral Archives).

The carillon was delivered from England on the SS *American Trader* on October 3, 1938 at Dock 26. The total cost of shipping the "65 pkgs Carillon parts" from London to San Francisco (including tax) was $6,618.79.[641] In a letter dated

[640] Ibid.
[641] Correspondence from Paul R. Leake to Thornley & Pitt, September 14, 1940, "Final Notice of Moneys Due and Consumption Entry United States Customs Service."

October 25, 1938, information regarding the installer's name (Cr. C. H. Down) and installation company (Gillett & Johnson, Ltd.) as well as the date of arrival was notated.

Figure 4.16. The Bourdon bell with models and the Tower of the Sun in background. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Grace Cathedral Archives.)

Although it was meant to be housed in a sacred center, the carillon became the musical symbol of the secular GGIE. Citizens, namely "San Francisco Western Addition[642] resident folk and their friends, both home and abroad" were able to

[642] The Western Addition is a historic neighborhood of San Francisco, best known for the row of houses called "The Painted Ladies."

actively participate in the bells' dedication by donating silver coins that would be added to the bell metal.[643]

Figure 4.17. "CARILLON GOES UP: Here is one of the medium-sized bells of the 44-bell carillon being hoisted into place in the Tower of the Sun on Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay site of the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition. The carillon, the gift of Dr. Nathaniel Coulson, was manufactured at Croyden, England by Gillett & Johnston. The carillon with its gear weighs 34 tons. At the conclusion of the Exposition the carillon will be installed in its permanent home, the Grace Cathedral in San Francisco." (Courtesy of Grace Cathedral Archives.)

[643] Correspondence from Crothers & Crothers Attorneys and Counselors at Law to Dr. Nat T. Coulson, May 31, 1938, Grace Cathedral Archives. The letter details the monetary contributors in addition to which bell their physical coin was incorporated in the founding process. For example, the "Bourdon" bell has the silver coin from donors "Mr. & Mrs. Edwin Armstrong" incorporated into the physical bell.

Just like the instrument, the primary carillonneur of the GGIE, J. Sidney Lewis, was affiliated with Grace Cathedral. Lewis served as the Grace Cathedral Organist for twenty-two years (1916–1938) and as Choirmaster for the next four (1938–1942) and his tenure at the GGIE would be his first as a carillonneur.[644] According to a local news article, Lewis "selects his own programs and makes his own arrangements." Although he personally "prefers classical music," Lewis played "all types of music, to suit the popular taste."[645] Lewis can be seen in Figure 4.18 performing on the carillon's keyboard. Lewis's thrice-daily performances (noon, 6 p.m., and 9 p.m.) included sounding the chimes and striking the hour, followed by ten minutes of musical performance.[646]

The carillon is a "solenoid-operated electric system" that allows the carillonneur "limited expressive control over the large instrument;" thus, the performer had limited to no dynamic range control.[647] The carillonneur would sit in a "sound-proof studio" at the base of the Tower where speakers connected to microphones located near the bell racks would relay the sound to the booth.[648] This mechanism would facilitate a clean performance without a delay (due to the height of the bells and the distance the sound would have to travel to the performer). According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, a player piano option was available to the

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[644] "Keyboard Like That of Toy Piano Controls Bells on Tower of Sun," March 4, 1939, SFPL Music Scrapbook.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.
[647] "A Tune-up for the Singing Tower," *Cathedral News*, December 6, 2004, Grace Cathedral Archives.
[648] "For the Tower of the Sun 44 Bells Crossed Half the World," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 8E.

carillonneur—"a roll of perforated paper is inserted, the electric time clock is set, and at the appointed time the number is played."[649] The frequency of the automated option vs. live-musician performances at the GGIE cannot be determined at this time. Substitutes for Lewis included local Bay Area musicians such as Louis Flint, "who plays the Glide Memorial Church chimes," Eleanor Allen, "a professional musician," and John Noyes, "who plays the Campanile chimes on the Berkeley campus."[650] Other performers made a point of performing on the carillon while at the fair. Composer-pianist Alec Templeton (1909–1963) performed on Tower of the Sun's carillon while on tour at the GGIE.

[649] Ibid.
[650] Ibid.

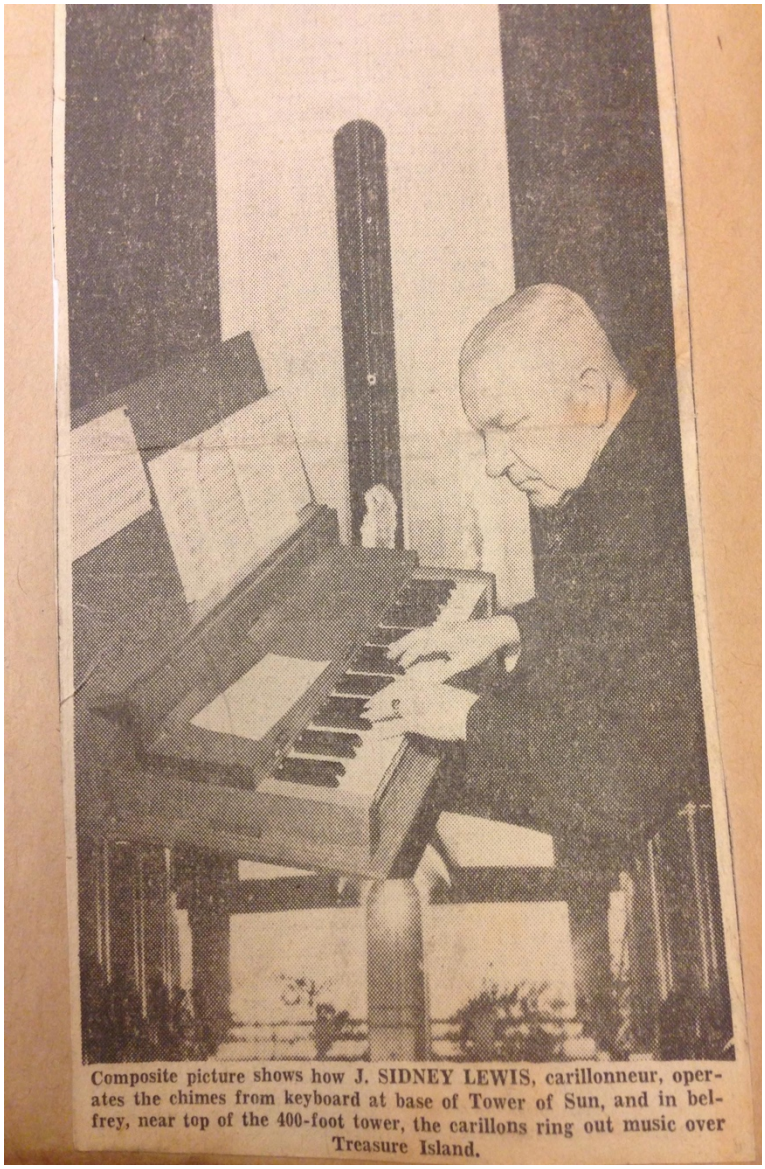
Composite picture shows how J. SIDNEY LEWIS, carillonneur, operates the chimes from keyboard at base of Tower of Sun, and in belfrey, near top of the 400-foot tower, the carillons ring out music over Treasure Island.

Figure 4.18. "Composite picture shows how J. SIDNEY LEWIS, carillonneur [sic], operated the chimes from keyboard at base of Tower of Sun, and in belfrey, near top of the 400-foot tower, the carillons [sic] ring out music over Treasure Island." ("Keyboard Like That of Toy Piano Controls Bells on Tower of Sun," March 4, 1939, SFPL, Music Scrapbook.)

The Tower of the Sun would play a significant role in American world's fair history. On Opening Day at 11 a.m., the American embassy in Bombay pushed a button that sent "a signal from India to Ceylon to Hawaii and on to San Francisco where it triggered the 44-bell carillon." According to newspaper reports, the first

piece performed was "Hail Treasure Island."[651] After throughout research, a piece by that title cannot be found at this time. Although, proof of the performance of another piece, *Bells of Treasure Isle*, on the carillon can be substantiated (see Chapter 9). The Tower was a visual reminder of the city's fortitude in overcoming its past and the optimism for its future, while the carillon served as a sonic reminder of its present.

"Going Western": Musical Restructuring of the American West Myth at the 1939 San Francisco World's Fair

The GGIE was a physical embodiment of the myth of the Western frontier. Eleven Western-state governors proclaimed 1939 the "Fiesta Year of the West" and invited the world to take part in a "second mighty Westward migration with all roads leading to Treasure Island."[652] Governor Culbert L. Olson (Democrat) invited "the peoples of the world to be the guests of the West and the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island throughout the year."[653] Akin to the promises of gold to potential Gold Rushers of 1849, Treasure Island would be the potential prize for fairgoers in 1939. Citizens adopted the Gold Rush era identities of forty-niners and called themselves the "Thirty-Niners."

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[651] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 10. "The light that came from Bombay, captured by a photoelectric cell and transmitted across 9,000 miles by radio, did not actually turn on the island's illumination. But, said A.F. Dickerson, lighting genuis, it started the chimes in the Tower of the Sun without aid of human hands. And those first echoing bell tones were the signal for a hand to pull a switch–to flood the island in light and colors such as old Bagdaders never dreamed of." "City Gasps at Fair Lights," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, February 18, 1939.
[652] "West Proclaims 1939 Fiesta Year: Olson, Other Leaders Invite World Here," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 5, 1939.
[653] Ibid.

In his remarks for the GGIE's opening ceremony, President Roosevelt especially mentioned the uniqueness of the Western States as regions,

> The vigor and boldness of these states, a direct inheritance of past pathfinding forebearers is equally helpful in the social pioneering that has been commanded by today's necessity.[654]

The West, although embracing a nostalgic aesthetic, was paramount to current and future American progress and modernity.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the American public was fascinated with the anti-hero, the industrious and incorrigible figures of the frontier. Musicologist Beth Levy explains the seemingly contradictory concepts of nostalgia and progressiveness in her monograph, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West*. Levy argues that "Western imagery was at once a natural and strategic choice for projects both romantic and modern, individualistic and communal, nostalgic and progressive."[655] The decades' Populist ideas married with mass media influenced popular culture in America; even a substantial number of Western-classical composers such as Roy Harris and Aaron Copland identified with this trend.[656]

Rydell argues that each generation has reimagined the West to suit its needs; for example, the inclusion of Native American performers in wild west shows in the late 1800s and during the turn of the century consciousnessly lent "legitimacy to

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[654] Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio Address."
[655] Beth E. Levy, *Frontier Figures: American Music and the Mythology of the American West* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2012), 2.
[656] Ibid., 19.

America's imperialism on both domestic and foreign fronts."[657] In the case of the GGIE, citizens and organizers wished to align the fair with the "old-fashioned" values of the mythic Western frontier—the same concepts that spurred the growth and perseverance of the pioneers.

To a Depression-era audience at the brink of a world war, the nostalgic past resonated with the dire times of the present—with shortages of jobs and security, the reimagined West was at the forefront of the GGIE's thematic marketing. Royce Brier, editor for the *San Francsico Chronicle*, attempted to summarized the feeling of those in the Bay Area during the Opening Day festivities. In a grandiose tone, he creates a hierarchy of the GGIE over previous fairs, especially those from the ancient times as well as other cultures. Attempting to draw comparisons with 1930s San Francisco and other civilizations' achievements, he states:

> The exposition will bring us money? Who cares? Would you have built it just for that? No, there is something inside us, some deep straining compulsion to know what we are, and what we have been, and what we can be with a little more striving. While we have it there can be no senility, no death, for us as San Franciscans, as Californians, as Americans, as heirs of a yet new and highly perplexing and often harrowing civilization.[658]

Brier's statement attempts to articulate the consciousness of San Francisco (presumably including the Western states) as heirs to a new "civilization" that will forge a new destiny, much like their pioneering forefathers. Coinciding with this obsession with a nostalgic past was also a progressive stance for the modern and

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[657] Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 33.
[658] Royce Brier, "The World Today: Fair an Expression of Our Time," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939, 6.

"new." Although the GGIE was distinctly organized to be "Western," it was also a modern-era fair that was very much a product of its time.

The city of San Francisco, "the last Western frontier," hosted a four-day citywide celebration "Fiesta Week" leading up to the grand opening of the Golden Gate International Exposition on February 18, 1939. The entire city of San Francisco took part in recreating the mythic frontier past, complete with slogans that made connections between the industriousness of the 1939 citizens and the Gold Rushers of 1849. Those who did not take part (i.e., donning costumes) were "jailed" in mock gunslinger showdowns. Organizers attempted to appeal to the "Average American" with tropes and programming that emphasized and reminded the general public of California's mythical Western frontier past.

Fiesta Week President and President of the San Francisco Bank, Parker S. Maddux (1880–1953), formed a headquarters in downtown San Francisco and from there, "a deluge of publicity roared out across the nation."[659] The purpose of this specially-appointed week was to promote the opening of the GGIE. According to James and Weller, the combination of magazine advertisements and radio programming resulted in a "twenty-two per cent jump in retail sales during the week."[660] Hosting the GGIE and the pre-event marketing seemed to have paid off.

The World's Fair Premiere Festival was a western-themed pageant that encompassed all levels of civic life. "San Francisco not merely transformed herself for the 1939 Exposition-opening Fiesta," wrote James and Weller, but rather "she

[659] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 60.
[660] Ibid.

reverted to type, forsaking folding money and all its modern trappings for the rush and dust of the good old days."[661] In order to evoke California's Gold Rush era aesthetic, everything, including storefronts and San Franciscans, was transformed back to the 1840s. It was estimated that around "100 blocks of decorated store fronts, another 100 blocks of flags and banners" were created and such a population of cowboys that most of the stores are sold out and importing new stocks."[662] Local corporations were supportive of this pageant because it captured the enthusiasm and attracted potential customers from both locals and pre-fair tourists.

Each participating historic neighborhood was renamed (Polk Gulch, Haight-Cole Frontier, The Marina Coast, Old Mission Trail, Rancho del Sol, Covered Wagon Days) and created facades and costumes that reflected the Western frontier myth, complete with sombreros and gun belts. Even Mayor Angelo J. Rossi "conducted city affairs beneath a black sombrero trimmed with silver."[663] San Francisco's distinctive neighborhoods capitalized on their mythologized past by hosting staged performances of Wild West scenes with strolling musicians. District parades were broadcast on the radio. Street quadrilles were amplified with "firecrackers and whistles and horns"[664] and neighborhoods featured costumed balls with a vaudevillian-style revue. A photograph of a street dance was included in an article by the San Francisco Examiner (Figure 4.19):

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[661] Ibid., 59.
[662] "S. F. Corporations Go Western in Big Way: Businessmen Supporting Enthusiasm Drive," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 9, 1939, 19.
[663] Ibid., 60.
[664] Ibid.

Figure 4.19. "Street Dance: Bank President Parker Maddux, indicated by arrow, takes time out to watch as his followers dance in the street. The banker yesterday led his Haight-Belvedere district's Exposition fiesta headquarters. This followed general pattern of city-wide activities." "Banker Abandons Dignity For A Day Of Hilarity," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 7, 1939.

The twentieth-century localized Californian identity articulated through musical programming was juxtaposed with the greater American national consciousness of the Western "frontier." What it meant to "go Western" in San Francisco was unique among contemporary Western States' narratives because cultural groups normally not included in the American frontier's chronicle actively participated in the festival. Chinatown participated in several Fiesta events, including a "sword dance in a Chinese playground" where "thousands of good luck streamers

strung throughout the picturesque quarter."[665] Chapter 8 details Chinatown's participation in other GGIE events, including the "International Parade."

Other marginalized groups, like the Italians and Japanese communities, took part in the celebration. North Beach hosted an Italian carnival and the Japanese community hosted a festival. In an article devoted to the Fiesta Festival, an insert highlights the Iroquois' participation (acknowledging that the Iroquois were located on the East, not West Coast): "Headed by Chiefs Red Horse and Running Wolf of the Iroquois tribe, Indians in full regalia gathered yesterday at headquarters of the Fourteenth Streets Merchants' Association, ready to participate in the forthcoming World's Fair Premiere Festival."[666]

The city programmed music that exhibited the hybridity and constant fluidity of reality and the departure of the authentic. The role of music was to conjure a bygone era as well as create a community that crossed economic, social, and cultural boundaries, all the while providing entertainment with modern technology. Music was at the forefront of the competitive and celebratory spirit of the city. Song contests, parades, strolling ensembles, and dances were programmed for entertainment and to foster community inclusiveness.

The Mission Street neighborhood chose San Francisco State College student Lucile Marion's song "Old Mission Trail" as their theme song. Published by local

[665] "The Fiesta: Streets Throughout City Echo as Districts Start Fun Rampage," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 15, 1939, 11.
[666] "Iroquois Indians to Particiapte in Fete," *San Francsico Chronicle*, February 6, 1939, 9.

publisher Wesley Webster,[667] the Mission Street Merchants' Association selected Marion's first attempt at participating in a song competition. A photo of Marion can be found in a cut out from the *SF News*—she is wearing a fiesta-style hat (Figure 4.20):

Figure 4.20. "Lucile Marion." *SF News*, n.d. (Courtesy of SFPL).

To date, a complete copy of the song cannot be found, but the first page of "Old Mission Trail" was printed on the back cover of another song by the same publisher, "San Francisco, Our Own" (Figure 4.21).[668]

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[667] See Chapter 9 for more information regarding Bay Area music publishing businesses. "Old Mission Trail" was copyrighted on March 20, 1939 [#14531]. Library of Congress Copyright Office, *Catalogue of Copyright Entries. Part 3: Musical Compositions, including List of Copyright Renewals. New Series*, vol. 1, No. 1 (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1939), 635.

[668] Julia Sciffers, lyrics and Francisca Vallejo, "San Francisco Our Own" (San Bruno, CA: Wesley Webster, 1939), Oakland Museum of California, accessed May 6, 2016, http://collections.museumca.org/?q=collection-item/20016014/.

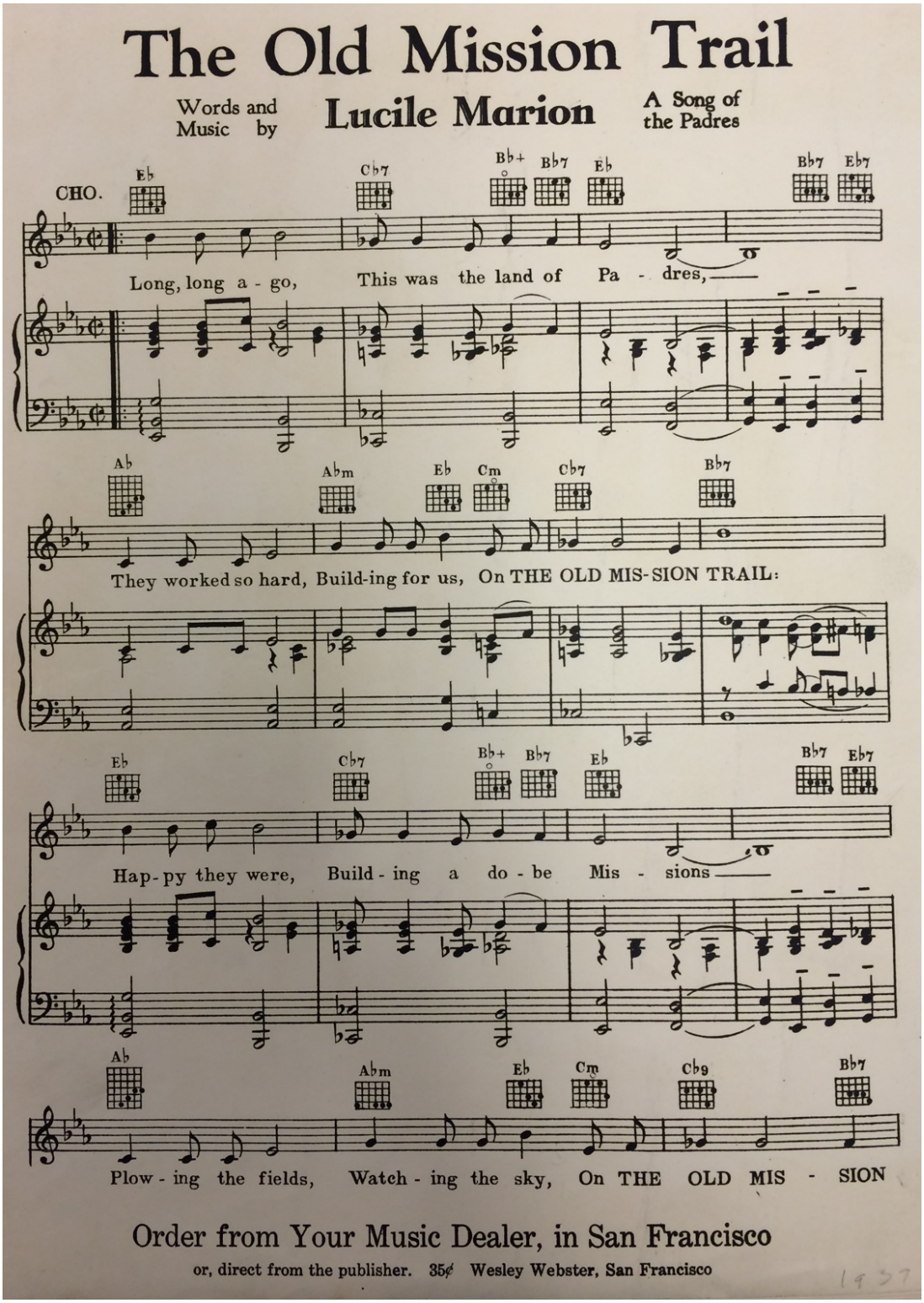

Figure 4.21. Lucile Marion, "Old Mission Trail." (San Francisco, California: Wesley Wester, n.d.) (Photograph by author, courtesy of SFPL.)

According to *The San Francisco Chronicle*, the "Old Mission Trail" was part of their [Mission Street Merchants' Association] "$50,000 Old Mission Trail project for Mission Street's participation in the World's Fair."[669] Marion's song "will be theme song for the Mission District's World Fair Premiere celebration....The celebration, reviving old mission Trail days, will be sponsored by the Mission Street Merchants Association."[670] The lyrics reinforce the attributes of hard work and the colonial narrative of the missions. The lyrics read: "Long ago, this was the land of Padres/They worked hard, Building for us, On the Old Mission Trail." The precedence of the forefathers and their sacrifices before the Forty-Niners articulated without acknowledgement of the indigenous peoples is evident. Executive Secretary Vining T. Fisher described the song as "a bit on the swing side" and it had a "Coast-to-Coast premiere" on February 4, 1929, "when Jimmy Davis and his orchestra broadcast it over KFSO between 11:30 and 12 o'clock from the Palace Hotel's Rose Room. The merchants group will hold a dinner dance, climax of which will be the song broadcast."[671]

The entire Bay Area celebrated the upcoming massed spectacle with civic parades with the fiesta theme as well as fireworks and balls. At 8 p.m. in Oakland on February 17, the Boy Scouts "lighted flares along the line" to "march up Broadway, and the cavalcade of the West began."[672] Oakland's parade included a "procession of stagecoaches [sic]" and concluded with the Western Cavalcade Ball in the Municipal

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669 "Song Premiere: 'Old Mission Trail' on Radio," *San Francsico Chronicle*, February 4, 1939, 5.
670 "SFPL Scrapbook: News 1-30-39," SFPL.
671 "Song Premiere: 'Old Mission Trail' on Radio." Unfortunately, the surviving recorded broadcast cannot be found at this time.
672 "In Oakland: 150,000 Join Gay Parade," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939.

Auditorium where "thousands danced to the music of Don Mulford's and Ben Pollack's bands."[673] The City of San Bruno hosted a fiesta and parade where "local Fire and Police department units, the Redmen's drum corps, [and] the American Legion" marched.[674] The festivities included welcoming foreign representation to the San Francisco Bay for the Opening Day ceremonies. A small flotilla that included two Peruvian warships sailed underneath the Golden Gate Bridge and anchored "within sight of Treasure Island to participate in today's opening of the Golden Gate International Exposition."[675]

In San Francisco, a large-scale illuminated parade took place the night before opening day. Starting at the Ferry Building, the 8 p.m. parade progressed up Market Street with its terminus at the Civic Center. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, more than one-million people saw the twelve sectioned, three hour parade, thus making it the largest crowd ever assembled in downtown San Francisco.[676] The participants, especially the musical groups, were met with enthusiasm from the crowd. Local universities (Stanford, University of California, and University of San Francisco) as well as the "Filipino and Japanese bands" marched in the parade.[677] According to reporter Floyd J. Healey, the parade surpassed any other in the City's history:

> The parade seemed to be the signal for everything and everyone to let go in a big way…. It is not to be wondered at in a town gone dizzy with the madcap

[673] Ibid.
[674] Ibid.
[675] "'Peru Navy' Two Warships Here for Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939, 6.
[676] Floyd J. Healey, "'Shoot the Works' and All S.F. Does," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939, 1.
[677] Ibid.

> rollicking of the days of '49…. Through it all and over it all rose a din that was shocking to the ears, but no one cared, so whatthehell [sic].... It was the end of the premiere and the beginning of the Exposition, but where one ended and the other began it was hard to tell.[678]

The Fiesta and parade was a cathartic release for the Bay Area, a respite from the Depression-era issues. Yet, there was a sense of foreboding and a tangible sense that the world was at the brink of disaster. Healey writes,

> There was an atmosphere of sinister foreboding as the huge trucks [of the Coast Artillery] with their implements of destruction rolled into view. It made one realize, suddenly, that Europe and Asia are not so far away. A comforting sight, to be sure, but it reminded [sic] that the last time this country had occasion to use things like that without fooling, was only 20-odd years back.[679]

The frivolity of the Fiesta did not end with the opening of the GGIE; in fact, neighborhoods that participated continued onto the fairgrounds. For example, Sunday, June 4, 1939, was declared "Polk Gulch Day" at Treasure Island. An estimated two-thousand "Polk Gulchers" met "on Polk Street between California and Sacramento at noon"[680] and marched to the Ferry building in order to continue onto Treasure Island. Positioning themselves as outlaws and the GGIE organizers as the authority, the "Polk Gulchers" jokingly exclaimed, "Watch out, Treasure Island!"[681] The day ended with a dance, deemed "one of the most important events of the day, the *pièce de resistance* of the whole affair" where "Curly Jacobs, a Gulcher from 'way back, will swing the baton."[682]

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[678] Ibid.
[679] Ibid.
[680] Bill Simons, "Watch Out, Exposition! Here Comes Polk Gulch," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939, 3E.
[681] Ibid.
[682] Ibid.

On February 17, 1939, at 7:30 pm, NBC radio broadcast the night before the fair's Opening Day. The program included a message from the U.S. Commissioner to the fair, George Creel, in which he explained the role of the GGIE:

> With the simple childlike candor that characterizes every true Californian, let me confess at the outset that the Golden Gate International Exposition has no high mission. It is almost shamelessly lacking in purpose to improve or elevate. Out of the love of duty, romance and color that is peculiarly a Pacific Coast heritage, we have raised a magic island from the ocean bed and packed it from edge to edge with everything calculated to thrill and delight.
>
> In our undertaking we have been joined not only by the other pioneer states lying west to the Rockies, but with the thirty Pacific nations that are also our friends and neighbors. From South America, Central America, the Orient, the Antipodes, and even from far Johore, the gay people to the Western Ocean have come with their arts and crafts, their dancers and their singers. Not at all concerned with the world of tomorrow, but deeply content to help San Francisco emphasize its charm and wonder of the world of today.[683]

Creel, an experienced policymaker and statesman, understood the importance of the fair for the nation's political and commercial future. Post World War I, Creel spearheaded the "Creel Committee," whose purpose was to make "American mass culture the centerpiece of its efforts to construct a world that would be safe for democracy and American exports."[684] Creel's speech highlights the pride in the West, a particular Californian identity that was on display during Fiesta Week as well as during the GGIE's tenure. In addition, he highlights the underlying competitiveness with New York and the major difference between the approach to presenting the

[683] George Creel, "Radio Broadcast," Library of Congress Sonic Archive, National Broadcasting Company, Radio Broadcast, February 17, 1939.
[684] Rydell and Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna,* 172.

future—New York's "World of Tomorrow" versus San Francisco's "World of Today."

Fiesta Week 1939 was such a success that another similar week of festivities took place to mark the 1940 continuation of the fair (May 21–25). There was so much general enthusiasm, that there were reports in the press that the Fiesta Week festivities would be offered annually after the GGIE's closure.[685] Just like the changes made to the GGIE in the year 1940 (turnover of management, color theme, musical programming, etc.), the Fiesta Week of 1940 differed from that of 1939. First, the official title was "Golden Forties Fiesta" and the thematic focus was placed on "re-creating [sic] San Francisco's golden days, the bright reds and golds and silvers of Old Spain and Mexico."[686] As in 1939, the city dressed up its storefronts and "donned their ancestral dress."[687] The Golden Forties Fiesta's music reflected the sounds "of the range and the lands south of the border," including strolling ensembles that "erased any worries found among the local citizenry."[688] The threat of world war overshadowed the "Golden Forties Fiesta." As Weller and James reminisce, "And on the night of May 22, 1940, this city of many races whose blood kin in Europe were skidding over the brink of war, staged a parade whose three-hour magnificence paid

[685] There was such a high level of civic support for an annual version of Fiesta Week that The San Francisco Festival Association, Inc. was created and for which Don V. Nicholson was appointed director. See James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 61.
[686] Ibid.
[687] Ibid.
[688] Ibid.

tribute to San Francisco's tolerance, her civic pride and her love of a good celebration."[689]

Opening Day

The night before the official opening day, on February 18, 1939, the lights were tested on Treasure Island. Lighting up the previously-dark San Francisco Bay, the Island's state-of-the-art indirect lighting and painstakingly chosen color palette glowed in the night. Citizens from both sides of the Bay gathered at the shorelines to view the "dress-rehearsal of unusual promotional value, whetting public interest as nothing else could have."[690] Opening Day of the fair began with a large parade on the fairgrounds and crowds lined the walkways several people deep. In an image taken at the opening day ceremonies, members of the U.S. Navy can be seen in the parade procession with the Federal Building on the right-hand side of the image (Figure 4.22).

[689] Ibid.
[690] Ibid.

Figure 4.22. "San Francisco. Golden Gate International Exposition, 1939 to 1940: Bird's-eye panorama of opening day parade," photograph, Library of Congress, accessed March 26, 2015, https://www.loc.gov/item/2006690171/.

Exposition President, Leland Cutler, officially began the opening ceremonies in the Court of Nations (later referred to as the Federal Plaza).[691] Speaking to the large crowd assembled and the radio audiences listening to the broadcast, Cutler exclaimed, "Today our Exposition which we have been building becomes *your* Exposition. Treasure Island is offered today upon the altar of greater peace and greater good will among all nations, among all races."[692] After an invocation by Archbishop John J. Mitty, the Exposition Band and "a massed chorus of 500 sang the National Anthem" as the American flag was raised over the fairgrounds.[693] In Figure 4.19, the size of the crowd and the stage on which the speakers and performers were placed can be seen.

Several subsequent speakers, including Rabbi Irving E. Reichert, gave remarks before Mayor Rossi addressed the audience. As the senior elected representative of San Francisco, Rossi spoke about the "honor and responsibility" of hosting the GGIE. He welcomed the "world to participate in a celebration dedicated to the future of the Pacific empire."[694] California Governor Olson followed Rossi's remarks and officially declared 1939 "the Fiesta Year of the West." The program included representation from Latin America with Peruvian Consul General Señor

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[691] Lisa Rubens includes a paragraph detailing Edwin Franko Goldman's performance at the Opening Ceremonies. In her study, she writes that the Goldman Band "gave a downbeat and the 150-member ensemble marched in precision through Treasure Island's elaborately constructed entrance gate, Portals of the Pacific, blasting out 'Treasure Island Hail to Thee.'" Reubens claims this march was "commissioned for the Exposition as its theme song" and "had been introduced in the Bay Area weeks before, saturating the airwaves and repeated endlessly in public gathering places around the San Francisco Bay." See Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 8. After extensive research, I have not found evidence of the use nor the music of "Treasure Island Hail to Thee" in the Fair. Goldman's "Golden Gate March," which was written for the Fair, is analyzed in Chapter 9.
[692] Jack and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 65.
[693] Ibid.
[694] Ibid., 66.

Fernando Berckemeyer relaying "greetings and congratulations from Latin America."[695] Olson produced a $35,000 jeweled key and declared it "The Official Key of the Golden Gate International Exposition."[696]

Figure 4.23. "Formal dedication ceremonies of the Golden Gate International Exposition outside the Federal Building, Feb. 18, 1939. California San Francisco, 1939," photograph, Library of Congress, accessed March 26, 2015, https://www.loc.gov/item/96521023/.

[695] Ibid., 68.
[696] *Official Guide Book*, 4. The key, "ten inches long and weighs one and one-half pounds," would be displayed during the Exposition.

President Roosevelt was initially slated to speak in person at the GGIE's opening on February 18, 1939, but had to cancel; Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper took his place. Radio technology allowed the President to give a speech remotely during the ceremony (he was located off the coast of Key West, Florida). Roosevelt's address included the following passage regarding America's newest Magic City:

> Treasure Island, with an area of more than four-hundred acres, is America's newest insular possession. It is an outstanding example of territorial expansion without aggression. I am quite open and unashamed in my liking for expositions. They perform a distinct service in acquainting people with our progress in many directions and what other people are doing. They stimulate the travel that results inevitably, in a larger degree of national unity, by making Americans know their America and their fellow Americans.[697]

By proclaiming his enthusiasm for world fairs, the President pointed out the underlying political importance of travel, a national building action highlighted in the GGIE's thematic presentation. In addition, concurrent fairs were not seen as a duplication by Roosevelt, rather, both fairs will "give some realization of our [American] resources and our blessings, and more important[ly], emphasize the essential unity of American interests."[698] On display at both would be utopian ideals of the administration to showcase the power of national unity during the tense political global climate.

The GGIE would be a symbol of the Good Neighbor policy; in the President's terms, the fair would stress "the point that the maintenance of peace in the Western hemisphere must be the first concern of all Americans: North Americans, Central

[697] Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio Address."
[698] "Fair Aids World Peace: Roosevelt," *San Francisco Call-Bulletin*, February 18, 1939.

Americans and South Americans." The Good Neighbor Policy, especially expressed in American music and policymaking, was well in place by 1939.[699] In his opening address, President Roosevelt empasized the role of the GGIE within the broader political landscape. The GGIE, with its theme of "Pacifica" would be a physical representation of this policy—even the fairgrounds were a symbol of "territorial expansion without aggression."[700]

President Roosevelt concluded his address by wishing the GGIE, "all the possible success, it is as an instrument of international goodwill as well as an expression of the material and cultural progress of our own West and our Pacific Ocean neighbors."[701] In an attempt to make the GGIE accessible to a global audience, Treasure Island's radio station, W6XBE, included Latin American audiences by broadcasting "introductory remarks in Spanish."[702] The GGIE would be a fair that extolled the virtues of cross-cultural exchange, with the caveat of positioning the United States as the leader in this experiment in peace.

Even though the GGIE's most ardent supporter, President Roosevelt, could not attend, the first few days of the GGIE's opening were successful. Subsequent reports claim the attendance records surpassed the first opening days of Chicago's Century of Progress by 50,000 attendees. Although the 1939 fair ultimately lost

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[699] The Good Neighbor Policy was the Roosevelt's Administration's foreign policy towards Latin America. The goal was to terminate U.S. interventionism and promote cultural exchange through the arts and trade. Musicologist Carol Hess devotes a monograph to the critical reception of Latin and Iberian music during the 1930s. See Carol Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor: Music, Difference, and the Pan American Dream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
[700] Roosevelt, "Key West, FL–Radio Address."
[701] Ibid.
[702] "Radio: Isle Station Is on the Air," *San Francsico Chronicle*, February 19, 1939, 6. A detailed history and exploration of W6XBE is conducted later in this chapter, see subheading Radio and Film.

money for the Exposition Company, (see Chapter 11) the excitement for the possibilities of the event overshadowed the fact of an economic loss. At the conclusion of the opening ceremonies, the Exposition Band and chorus "led the huge throngs in the singing of 'America.'"[703] In interviews and oral histories, there is an overwhelming sense from fairgoers that the GGIE was a magical event in "a symbolic city of hope,"[704] unhindered by the Depression and other world events that occurred outside of the fairgrounds.

[703] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 67-8.
[704] Carpenter and Totah, *The San Francisco Fair,* vii.

CHAPTER 5
GGIE ENTERTAINMENT & MUSICAL PROGRAMMING

Music was at the forefront of the GGIE fair-going experience. A typical day at the Golden Gate International Exposition would include a wide variety of musical offerings by a multitude of sponsors, both domestic and foreign. Federal, civic, and regional groups provided entertainment, and professional ensembles from different musical spheres such as popular, opera, chamber, symphonic and concert band, the silver screen, and radio offered concert series, performances, and festivals.[705] Technological advancements in entertainment, sound design, and radio allowed audiences to experience new methods of interacting with music presented at the GGIE. A fair visitor could hear music not only in the amphitheaters and theaters but also in the many cafés, foreign pavilions, and exhibits located on the fairgrounds. The expanded role of women resulted in top musical headliners, concert series, and special events which showcased local and international talent.

In this chapter, a multi-varied analysis of specific ensembles, musicians, venues, and programming histories within their sonic spaces will be showcased as direct examples of how entertainment choices reflected the social and cultural consciousness of the GGIE era.[706] This study is the first to investigate the music of the GGIE and how the wide breadth of musical arts programming was used as an

[705] Chapter 6 is devoted to the federal, civic, and corporate sponsorship of the GGIE as well as an exploration into the various music festivals and special event days held on the fairgrounds.
[706] Due to the absence of a centralized archive of business proceedings and planning documents (and the inherent ephemeral nature of world's fairs), this study's historical analysis is centered around various types of primary and secondary sources. Every attempt has been made to use primary sources when it was possible to do so (i.e., radio broadcast recordings, musical scores, programs, invitations, reservation tickets, etc.).

integral tool by the federal government in the promotion and education of its political agenda.

GGIE Entertainment and Musical Programming

The GGIE presented headliners from both classical and American vernacular (popular) genres and the majority of performances were offered free of charge. The musical sound world produced and programmed for the GGIE went through several major musical programming changes to adapt audiences' musical desires and proclivities as well as to guide audiences through an economic depression and volatile global politics. San Francisco fair organizers knew what audiences expected from world's fair entertainment and produced what can now be considered "world's fair formulaic programming" at the GGIE.[707]

Symphonic concerts, string quartets, and organ recitals were programmed alongside swing bands and folk music. Many ensembles and entertainers present at previous world's fairs were welcomed at the GGIE including, but not limited to, Edwin Franko Goldman's Band, the Philippine Constabulary Band, Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, the *Cavalcade*, and the Guatemalan Marimba Band.[708] In the official 1939 GGIE program book, there is a specially designated section titled "What Interests You Most….The Exposition Classified." Under the heading "Music," the following

[707] For more information regarding American world's fair programming, see Chapter 2.
[708] Several ensembles that performed at the GGIE (besides the well-known collegiate and symphonic ensembles) are still performing in the Bay Area region to this day. The Aurora Mandolin Orchestra performed at the GGIE; one performance was on August 6, 1939 in the California State Building at 2 pm. The orchestra performs "creative arrangements of folk music, semi-classical Italian, Spanish, Russian songs, popular 'oldies,' contemporary pieces...excerpts from operas, and classical orchestra compositions written specifically for mandolin." See http://www.auroramandolin.com/.

regions (and specific ensembles within those regions) were listed alongside the location numbers that coincided with the guide's map: Philippine Band; bagpipes (Scottish Village, Gayway); organ recitals; marimba bands (Guatemala and El Salvador); Chinese Village (Gayway); Argentina and Brazilian pavilions; and the 30th Infantry Band.[709] Recorded music was given a separate subheading of its own underneath music.[710]

Architects for the GGIE planned several venues for staged entertainment. Andrew Shaken argues that the architects of the "conventional old guard" created a fairground that was "perfectly suited to the sorts of ceremonies and processions that had been mainstays of expositions since their inception."[711] The Open Air Theater was located on the Avenue of Olives and Nanking Road in the La Plaza section of the fairgrounds. A simple proscenium covered stage with rows of seating comprised the theater where various musical groups performed, including the Official Exposition Band, "visiting choral groups," and "guest musical organizations.[712]

Open performance spaces allowed maximum capacity-crowds space to spill over, albeit at the expense of good acoustics. The largest concert and promenade space was in the Court of Nations (later referred to as the Federal Plaza). The San Francisco WPA Concert Band gave outdoor concerts in the Plaza to a large number of fairgoers.[713] A formal headcount of attendees is "impossible to estimate" due to "the

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[709] *Official Guide Book (1939, rev. ed.),* 24.
[710] Ibid.
[711] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 22.
[712] *Official Guide Book (1939, rev. ed.),* 96.
[713] An analysis of the federally-sponsored events, especially Federal Theater Project and Federal Music Project performances, and buildings is conducted in Chapter 6.

number of strolling visitors who may have paused to enjoy a selection or two by this unit," but estimates of audience size "have totaled 3,535 persons."[714] Adjacent to the Pacific Area and the California Area Buildings, this multi-purpose outdoor venue hosted several special musical events—including California cultural music groups such as the Armenian Band from Fresno (see Figure 5.1).

Figure 5.1. "Armenian Band from Fresno entertaining in the Court of the Nation in International Day, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library, Folder "S.F. Fairs-G.G.I.E.-Days-International.")

Besides housing the Treasure Island Radio Station with three broadcasting booths, the California Auditorium built by the California Commission was the "headquarters for the elaborate stage productions and radio programs of the

[714] Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922-1944, 32.

Exposition."[715] The Auditorium, where larger scaled-musical events and other entertainment was programmed, had a seating capacity of 3,500 persons. The *Folies Bergere* [sic.] performed multiple shows daily at the venue. Figure 5.2 shows a schematic of the California Auditorium design included in the official report of the California Commission. The design allowed ample space for a large stage as well as access to the building's radio stations.[716]

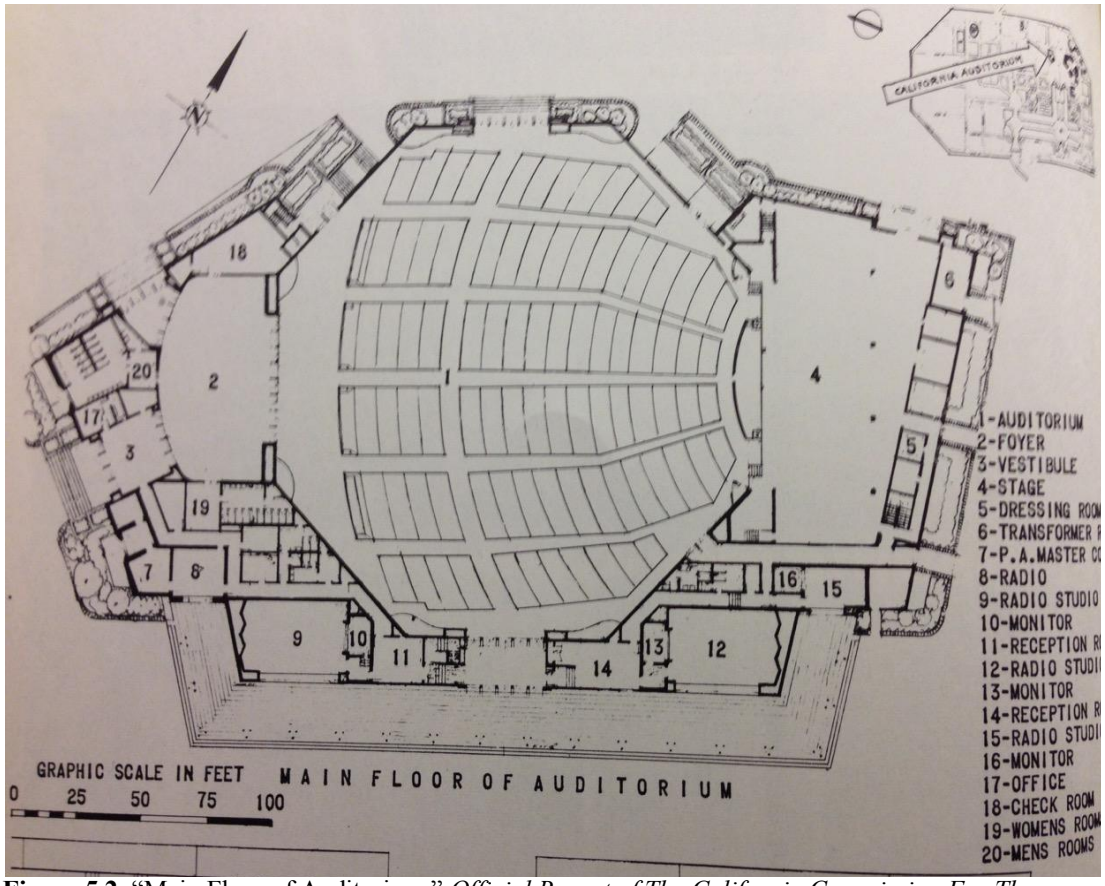

Figure 5.2. "Main Floor of Auditorium," *Official Report of The California Commission For The Golden Gate International Exposition* (1941), 40. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library).

[715] Ibid.

[716] A fire broke out in the ballroom area of the California State Building on August 24, 1940. Most of the artwork and valuable objects were saved and a new headquarters was established elsewhere on the fairgrounds. James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 91–2.

Other spaces were built to accommodate audiences; The Hall of Western States accommodated 1,000 people and fairgoers could view "theatrical productions and other events."[717] The "ten Western States and British Columbia"[718] each had their own exhibits that focused on the natural wonders of their respective regions. The California Coliseum, with a seating capacity of 9,476,[719] would showcase athletic events as well as one of the most headlined musical events on Treasure Island: the ASCAP Festival Concert.[720]

The Temple Compound, designed by San Franciscan architect, William G. Merchant (1889–1962), was an outdoor space where exceptionally large crowds could gather. Every day there would be at least two entertainment programs. In this particular venue, the biggest headliners of the era gave free performances. On October 8th, Bing Crosby performed to a crowd of 37,000, arguably the single "greatest throng ever packed in to Temple Compound."[721] But Benny Goodman's Temple Compound performances' capacity audiences overflowed into surrounding areas. A fair employee, Lyle Bramson (Revenue Service Department) stated that every travelling orchestra played at the GGIE, including Jack Benny and Edgar Bergen; "movie stars appearing at the Fair would ride all night in the train" from Los Angeles.[722] Figure 5.3 shows the crowds gathered to hear Benny Goodman and his

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[717] *Official Guide Book (1939, rev. ed.),* 74.
[718] California, Washington, British Columbia, Arizona, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Missouri, Illinois, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, and Oregon.
[719] *Official Guide Book,* 71. The Coliseum had a greater capacity than stated; some accounts have special concerts exceeding 13,500 people both standing and sitting.
[720] See Chapter 7.
[721] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 183.
[722] Carpenter and Totah, "Lyle Bramson," 111.

band perform. Audience members stood outside the defined riser space. In the background of the photo, the Bay Bridge looms in the distance behind the Mission Trails building with its campanelle.

Figure 5.3. Audience gathered for Benny Goodman and his Band. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco Ephemera Collection, California Historical Society.)

The theme of Pacific Unity in the physical layout of the GGIE is apparent by the centrally located Pacific Basin area.[723] Under the leadership of Pacific Area Director Philip N. Youtz, the participating countries built elaborate exhibit halls

[723] The symbolic role the Pacific Area's architecture and the arts in this particular area will be explored further in Chapter 8.

where cultural activities and potential economic partnerships were displayed. Music was one of the primary aural and visual exports exhibited. Several countries' exhibit spaces provided music every day; for example, the Guatemalan pavilion had their popular Guatemala Marimba Band perform daily at 2 and 5 pm. These spaces, like those at previous fairs, provided foreign music demonstrations and performances that in turn influenced the compositional processes of local composers', such as Lou Harrison. An in-depth analysis of the music programmed by foreign exhibitors will be presented in Chapter 8.

The GGIE's amusement zone, the forty-acre Gayway, provided tantalizing entertainment such as carnival games, rides, cafés, and musical entertainment. In the tradition of previous American world's fairs, this entertainment zone tantalized visitors with amusement rides and provocative shows, like Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch* and the *Folies Bergere*. The Gayway was comprised of "nine exhibit palaces" and "more than 300 exhibitors and 200 concessionaires."[724] *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, Harry Lerner, proclaimed the Gayway as the "night life the god's would have chosen. It has everything." He continues, "The Gayway is certainly just that—a gayway to get the most out of the hours after the sun has set on the island's treasures."[725] Filled with thrill rides, girl shows, dancers, and restaurants, the Gayway was open well past the rest of the fairgrounds. Incidentally, on Opening Day, the on-

[724] "Gayway Exhibits Virtually Complete," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939.
[725] Harry Lerner, "The Gayway: 'Step Right Up, Folks, Here It Is—The Thrill of a Lifetime!" *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1939.

island medical clinic reported the Gayway as the most accident-prone area of the GGIE.[726]

The Gayway provided after-hours entertainment that lasted until 2 a.m. (special ferry schedules allowed patrons to leave the fairgrounds after closing time). Popular programming in the evening until closing included a plethora of dances, balls, and dance contests. Visitors would remark on the variety of offerings along the Gayway. Hollis Dorion Stabler, a U.S. soldier of Native American descent, was en route to Monterey and stopped in San Francisco to visit the fair. In his memoirs, Stabler recounts his experience at the exposition in September 1939: "It was like a treasure island. I saw zootsuiters and Mae West and Wrongway Corrigan."[727] The tradition of world's fairs containing a designated space where people could interact with entertainment and exhibits (which were hard to codify) was continued at the GGIE.

The Gayway not only provided fairgoers new experiences but also supported an entire group of entertainers counteracting the deprivation of the Depression. In an article written expressly for showmen and concessionaires, the 1930s "boon in chain fairs" (consecutive events) made it possible to have "continuous employment." The author saw the concurrent world's fairs and the positive reception by American

[726] "Gayway Takes First Place in Hospital Calls," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1939.
[727] Hollis D. Stabler quoted in Victoria Smith, ed., *No One Ever Asked Me: The World War II Memoirs of an Omaha Indian Soldier* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 28.

audiences as a constructive sign for the job longevity of concessionaires and exhibitors.[728]

Sonic spaces not mentioned enough in previous fair histories or accounts are the cafés and dining spaces (resturants and halls) where a variety of musical entertainment for patrons was provided in entertainment zones. At the Café Continental, for example, dance music had been "provided each day it has been open."[729] Owner John G. Krutzler advertised a new all-male "10-piece dance orchestra" that would replace the previous "Hollywood girl band that opened the club." In addition to the large dance band, the "Continental Trio" will play with the band "during the cocktail hour from 3 to 6 pm."[730] The Brazillian Pavillion provided musical accompaniment to the dining experience offered (see Chapter 8).

Entertainers and Impresarios

Although each fair had distinctive and unique musical programming, there were several impresarios and staged-productions that were common to the 1930s fairs; these performances included large productions like the *Folies Bergere*, Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, and Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch* as well as smaller touring ensembles. This type of extravagant entertainment brought in large audiences and appealed to a wide market. According to a report in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, by April 1939, "the GGIE's top gate attraction was the *Folies Bergere* which has played

[728] Waldon Fawcett, "Show Tips and Trends: Big Fairs For The Long Pull," *Greater Show World*, July 1939, 22.
[729] "New Orchestra," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939.
[730] Ibid.

to more than 400,000 visitors for a total gross of $182,000. Next in line was the *Cavalcade* where admissions have totaled $65,000 and the Chinese Village and Sally Rand's "Nude Ranch" which have totaled $100,000."[731] The list of most-attended performances and exhibits showcases the variety of entertainment offered and what appealed to audiences. Two of the four most popular shows were "flesh" shows, the other entertainment offerings showcase the Bay Area's interest in the Chinese Village (see Chapter 8) and massed spectacles like the *Cavalcade* (Chapter 5).

Harkening back to the massed spectacles of renowned American exposition entertainers like William "Buffalo Bill" Cody (1846–1917) and James Anthony Bailey (1847–1906) of Barnum and Bailey Circus[732] who amused audiences at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, the GGIE offered a modern type of impresario. Although these modern entertainment masterminds offered new sensations and platforms for entertainment, they depended on their predecessors' precedence of priming the American public for massed and populist spectacles.[733] Clifford Fischer's *Folies Bergere*, Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, and Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch* were similar in the way that previous famed American entertainers programmed and marketed their performances. In all three productions, not only were the entertainers' names ascribed to their show and music (live or recorded) but they also performed to accompany the dancers and entertainers; the female form was at the forefront of the performance. In

[731] "Fair Attendance Indicates Gate of 20,000,000, Declares Cutler," *San Francisco Chronicle,* April 28, 1939.
[732] Barnum passed away in 1861.
[733] Robert Rydell explores the rise of American entertainment as politics in Robert Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna,* 1–46.

addition, all three were considered "flesh shows," entertainment that promised titillating views of the female figure alongside music and (sometimes) a narrative.

Nowhere was this category of entertainment more evident than at the Gayway's scandalous Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch*. Rand gained fame at the Chicago Progress Exhibition (1933) with her famous "fan dance" and she performed at the nightclub, The Music Box,[734] in San Francisco at the time of the GGIE.[735] In fact, an advertisement for her nightclub appearances appeared on the inside cover of one of the Goldman Band's programs from the GGIE (April 27, 1939 afternoon and evening concert program) (Figure 5.4).

[734] The Music Box was located at "859 O'Farrell Street in the Polk Gulch district of San Francisco," The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, "Sally Rand (1904-1979)," accessed June 17, 2018, http://www.sfmuseum.org/bio/rand.html.
[735] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 152.

Figure 5.4. "The Music Box Advertisement," (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Treasure Island Museum Archive.)

The Music Box was such a success that Rand attracted a capacity audience at the club month after month with her "sensational dances."[736] The promotional material utilizing the female figure could be at times scandalous for the time with partial nudity. Keep in mind, these advertisements were in widely-disseminated programs and newspaper articles accessible to the general public and not issued inside theaters with an age limit.

Although she did not perform in person at the GGIE, Rand directed a girl show that showcased the female form in a simulated western-themed ranch complete with musical accompaniment.[737] Rand's show was the most popular on the Gayway, eventhough the GGIE offered other scantily-clad female flesh shows. There, young females would "perform ranch chores" wearing "only western boots, a cowboy hat, a neckerchief and strategically placed gun holsters."[738] Her show's success may have been due to several facotrs, including: name recoignition, her "keen sense of showmanship," and attention to detail in the performance space and costuming.[739] It can be assumed that a form of musical accompiment paired with the dances, but evidence of exact songs or type of performance (live or recorded) is unknown at this time. There was a "fan dance" competition held in conjunction with the Fair where Rand was an adjudicator. As a younger child, Norma Lee DiCoto attended the GGIE

[736] "The Magic Name of Sally Rand: Synonymous To World's Fairs," *Greater Show World*, July 1939, 12.
[737] Interview, Norma Lee Dicotto, June 5, 2016.
[738] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 152.
[739] "The Magic Name of Sally Rand: Synonymous To World's Fairs," *Greater Show World*, July 1939, 12.

and recalls watching the fan dance, complete with music and a full stage. DiCoto could not identify if the music was recorded or performed live during the interview.

The police periodically raided the show due to nudity laws. In an interview, *Nude Ranch* performer Patricia Liley recalled the raids: "The police would come roaring up and everybody on the whole Island would come rushing over to see what was going on. The police would close the place down, and it would be in the papers that Sally was busted. The next morning it was business as usual. In fact, more business than usual."[740] The police raids actually turned out to be free advertisement for Sally Rand and her *Nude Ranch*!

Fischer's *Folies Bergere* of 1939 was marketed as a "Parisian vaudeville troupe" and, unlike Rand's ranch, relegated to the informal performance venue of the Gayway, this show was given residency in the spacious California Auditorium.[741] Fischer remounted the show several times during both the 1939 and 1940 seasons to keep audiences engaged and secure new entertainers. The official sponsor for the pianos used in the production was Baldwin and the musical director was Alex Pierce. The latter was known as a "youthful director" who toured "with leading concert companies" before joining the *Folies Bergere* tours.[742] A *San Francsico Examiner* article detailed Pierce's performance practice of "plugging his ears with a headset so that he could hear his own musiic from a micorphone hidden in the center of the

[740] Carpenter and Totah, "Patricia Liley," 11.
[741] *Motor Land: A Travel Magazine for Western Motorists*, vol. XLVI, May 1940, 17, EXP 939f.74 ff v.45:5, California State Automobile Association, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[742] "Orpheum Stage Show Has Just What It Takes," *Quad-City Times*, November 10, 1935.

autitorium."[743] The scale of the production as well as the size of the auditrium forced Pierce to adpot amplification technology during every performance. On July 20, 1939, the final show of the *Folies* closed with the newspapers already promoting the *new Folies* which promised to include Andre Lorrain, "the pride of French photographers and reputed to be the most photographed beauty of Europe."[744]

The *Folies* took a break between July performance and August 1939. The *Ziegfeld Folies* opened at the California Auditorium where one of the solo performers from the show was Betty Kean, a tap dancer, whose skills supposedly rivaled Eleanor Powell.[745] Influenced by the *Folies*, the *Ziegfeld Folies* was founded by Florenz Ziegfeld Jr. (1867–1932) in New York (1907) and presented performances of vaudvillian actors as well as famously beautiful showgirls. The promotional material for the Ziegfeld Follies paralleled that of the *Folies Bergere* with the fetishizing of the female form with the promise of a spectacle. What is interesting to note is that while the *Folies Bergere* claims to bring the sophistication and beauty of Continental Europe (France), the *Ziegfeld Follies* focused on a decidedly domestic stance to glorify the "American girl" (Figure 5.5).

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[743] "Our Music Corner," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 20, 1939, S-F.
[744] On July 20, 1939, the final show of the *Folies* closed with the newspapers already promoting the *new Folies* which promised to include Andre Lorrain, "the pride of French photographers and reputed to be the most photographed beauty of Europe." "'Folies Bergere': The New Troupe Prepares for its Opening," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28, 1939.
[745] "Follies: Young Star Taps Way to Fame," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 16, 1939.

Figure 5.5. "Ziegfeld Folies At the Fair," program, (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francisco Ephemera Collection, California Historical Society; folder G.)

During the last week of the *Ziegfeld Folies*, a modern ballet was premiered starring Carl Randall, Betty Keane, Bernie Parks, Ruthanna Boris (*Ballet Russes*), Jackie Speare, and Barbara Perry. The dances coincided with the GGIE's theme and the public's fascination with Latin American culture, showcasing "Spanish dances"

and "rhumba routines."[746] After the performance run at the GGIE, the production traveled "intact" to Chicago.[747]

The *Folies Bergere* reopened in August 1939 and the consensus was that this iteration was "even better than the old Folies" with new costumes and comedic acts (see Figure 5.6).[748] The new Folies followed the same formulaic vaudevillian rhythm, a loose narrative as the first version, but included a "snake dance," a xylophone act by Fred Sanborn, and a "stunning modernistic opening" titled "Beauty Factory."[749]

[746] "Ballet Added to 'Ziegfeld Follies,'" *Call Bulletin*, June 16, 1939.
[747] Ibid.; Several performers did stay on in San Francisco, including vocalist Jack "Scat" Powell who joined Ken Murray's Island Revue at the Golden Gate Theater. Paul Speegle, "Ken Murray and an Island Revue at Gate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 1939.
[748] John Hobart, "New Folies Bergere Opens in Gala Stye at Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 4, 1939.
[749] Ibid., "The Folies Bergere Returns With Plenty of Glamor, Zip," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 26, 1939, 4.

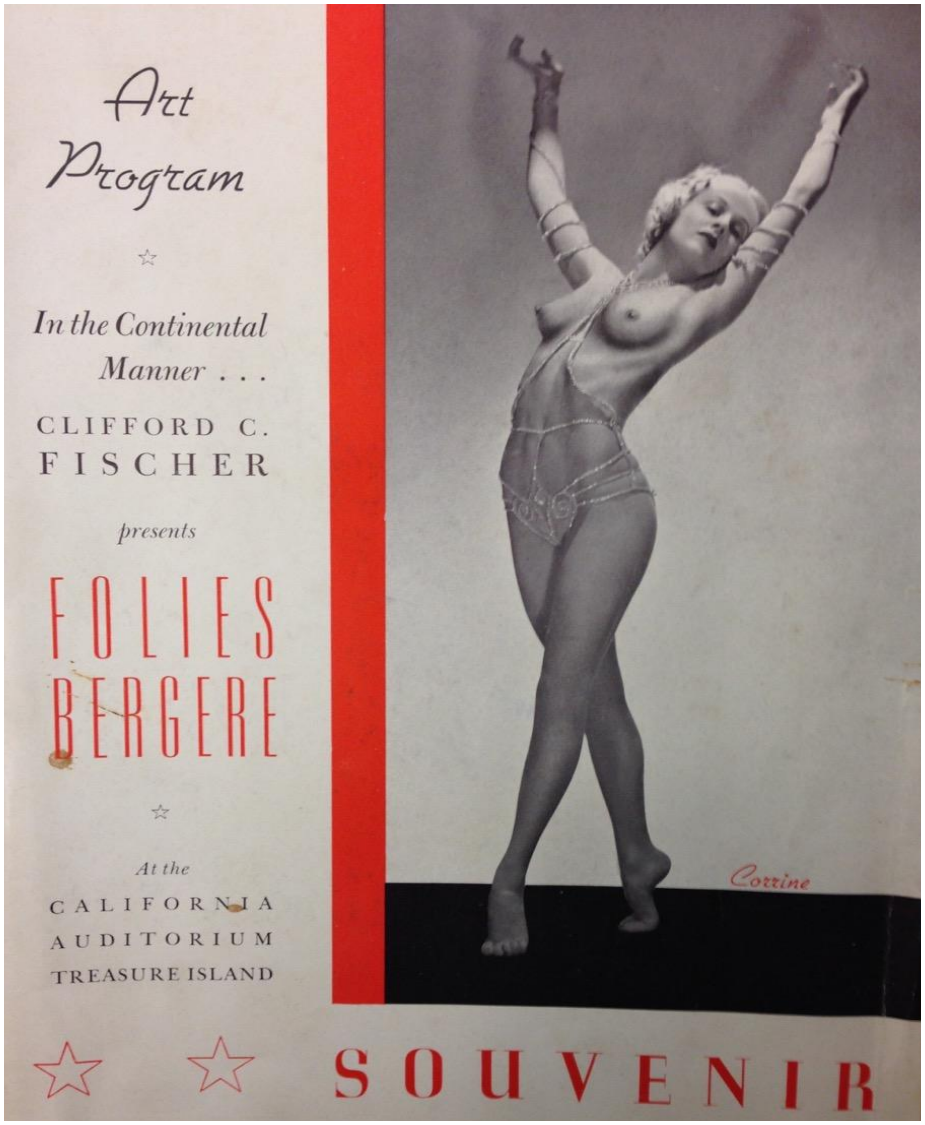

Figure 5.6. "Art Program: In the Continental Manner.... Clifford C. Fischer presents Folies Bergere At the California Auditorium Treasure Island: Souvenir," (Photograph by author), courtesy of Historical Collection: Clifford C. Fischer, Performing Arts Library, Museum of Performance+Design, San Francsico, CA.

For the 1940 fair, the show was remounted with a new theme, new personnel, and revised title—the "Folies Bergere of 1941," complete with "30 fountains on stage, one of which spouts water 30 feet in the air."[750] The thrice-daily performances

[750] "Fischer To Dazzle 'Em With 'Folies Bergere' At S.F. Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, May 12, 1940, 10-B.

and five daily times on the weekends and holidays met the demand for this type of entertainment.[751] In the front matter for the 1940 *Folies Bergere* program, there was an hyperbolic explanation of the 1939's shows the success that "toppled" records with "approximately 1,000,000" people attending the performances. Because of the first show's success, the second iteration of the show acted as "a hand-shake [sic.] to a great International Exposition" by Clifford Fischer; he hoped "sincerely that the public will enjoy every minute of his production."[752]

Audiences associated *Folies Bergere* with "spectacle, flesh, and comedy" and the performances at Treasure Island had "all three in about equal portions."[753] In Figure 5.7, the nude female figure in the bottom left corner throws up her arms with the words "even smarter, more daring, more beautiful" scrolled next to her. Above the words "new version of the Folies Bergere," the illustrations connecting Paris to Treasure Island highlight the exoticism of European women for San Franciscan audiences.

[751] *Official Program,* 1940, author's personal collection, 90.
[752] *Folies Bergere: Presented by Clifford C. Fischer,* "Clifford C. Fischer Comes To Treasure Island," program, San Francisco Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.
[753] John Hobart, "New Folies Bergere Opens In Gala Style at Island."

Figure 5.7. "Folies Bergere Newspaper Advertisement," *San Francicsco Chronicle*, June 12, 1939.

The immensely popular Billy Rose's *Aquacade* was an aquatic show complete with a poolside forty-piece orchestra and a glee club. Billed as the "largest stage in the world" with "the first great wooden swimming pool ever constructed," the

performance included aquatic ballets in a five-hundred thousand gallon tank.[754] The show was engaged at the GGIE in 1940 after an extremely successful run at the competing New York World's Fair the previous year.[755] Esther Williams (1921–2013), Gertrude Ederle (1905–2003),[756] Morton Downey (1901–1985),[757] and Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) starred in the "spectacular swimming, diving, dancing, and singing novelty" housed in the International Hall on the fairgrounds.[758] The spectacle included a live musical performance of a forty-piece orchestra and additional vocalists under the direction of Vincent Travers (Figure 5.8). A veteran of the *Aquacade*, Travers had conducted more than seven hundred performances at the New York World's Fair *Aquacade*, and Rose entrusted him with the show at the GGIE.[759] Accompanied by "Vincent Travers' Band with about 40 members and on the other side Fred Waring's Glee Club with about 20 singers," the show entertained and enthralled the 7,000 audience members daily.[760]

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[754] *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program, San Francsico Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.
[755] The New York production starred Eleanor Holm and Johnny Weissmuller. The show "boasted a swimming pool measuring an impressive 275 feet long by 55 feet wide, with two orchestras playing constantly from either end." New York Public Library, "Dive Right In! Billy Rose's Sensational Aquacade," in "World's Fair: Enter the World of Tomorrow," accessed June 17, 2018, http://exhibitions.nypl.org/biblion/worldsfair/gallery/gallery-aquacade.
[756] Olympian and the first woman to swim the English Channel.
[757] Popular tenor vocalist.
[758] "Fair in 'Forty Awaits Opening Day Fanfare," *Motor Land*, May 1940, 17.
[759] *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program, 27.
[760] Carpenter and Totah, "Sal DeGuarda," 67.

Figure 5.8. "Vincent Travers," *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program (Photograph by author, courtesy of Historical Collection: Billy Rose, Performing Arts Library, Museum of Performance+Design, San Francsico, CA.)

A staple in the late 1930s American world's fairs, the Billy Rose *Aquacades* were presented at the Great Lakes Exposition (1936–1937) and New York World's Fair (1939–1940).[761] For the New York and San Francisco concurrent fairs, Billy Rose's *Aquacade* performed a piece titled "Yours for a Song" that contains almost the

[761] The *Aquacade* "won wide acclaim at the New York Fair last year," *Motor Land*, May 1940, 17.

exact same lyrics and music with a slight change to reflect the location.[762] "Yours for a Song" and most of the music for the *Aquacade* was composed by Dana Suesse with lyrics by Billy Rose and Ted Fetter and performed by Morton Downey and Fred Waring's Pacific Coast Glee Club (for a musical analysis of the piece, see Chapter 9).[763]

By 1940, Fred Waring (1900–1984), known as "The Man Who Taught America How To Sing," had established a radio show in a vaudevillian style as well as performance choirs that made appearances in films.[764] The vocal director for Fred Waring's Pacific Coast Glee Club at the 1940 GGIE was the young Robert Shaw (1918-1999).[765] Waring had witnessed Shaw's directorship skills while filming a movie on Pomona College's campus where he heard the glee club perform. Since their meeting, Shaw had joined Waring's organization and acted as the choral director. In a special program note, Billy Rose singles out "Bob" Shaw with praise, stating that Shaw came to the fairgrounds to "train the local Waring men for the San Francisco Aquacade" and guarantees Shaw will "delight" the audiences.[766]

Local Bay Area swimmers were hired as cast members. Ralph Capps was "the youngest dancer at the Aquacade" at just fourteen-years-old. In an interview, Capps

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[762] See Chapter 7 for more information regarding this piece as well as biographical information on Billy Rose.
[763] *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program, Historical Collection: Billy Rose, Performing Arts Library, Museum of Performance and Design, San Francisco, CA.
[764] Howard Dyck, "*Robert Shaw in an interview with Howard Dyck, CBC, 1992," Robert Shaw, Atlanta Georgia,* accessed July 22, 2018, http://robertshaw.website/beginning-of-career-fred-waring/. Incidentally, one of the radio shows and Billy Rose's *Aquacade* shared the same sponsor, Chesterfield Cigarettes.
[765] Robert Shaw was an American conductor who championed choral works and modern music. He is famous for his directorships of the Cleveland Symphony and Chorus, Atlanta Symphony and Chorus, and his namesake choir–The Robert Shaw Chorale.
[766] *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, program, 31.

describes the audition process—first with more than 2,000 male dancers trying out in the Civic Auditorium in the City. Then, after several rounds of eliminations, Billy Rose chose four dancers and handed over rehearsals to Lauretta Jefferson, or "Jeffie." Once it was discovered Capps was not eighteen, he had to arrange a special permit and schedule with his school principal and the Child Labor Department (he earned forty dollars a week while his dad "working the technical department of the Fuller Paint Company earned forty-five dollars"). In a time of economic depression, the arts funded entertainers, and in this case, a son was able to give "some of my salary to the family."[767] Sal DeGuarda auditioned as a swimmer for the Aquacade and recalls the atmosphere of the 1940 show with its focus on patriotism. He reminisces, "For the finale the girls would bring down a huge flag and Morton Downey would sing, 'Yankee Doodle.'"[768] Capps and DeGuarda's memories are only a handful compared to the thousands who were involved in these large entertainment shows.

Depression-era Program Planning

Depression-era fairs tended to offer audiences many options for free admission events. Once a fairgoer had paid the general admission (fifty cents, equivalent to approximately $9.00 in today's currency), they were treated to almost all of the fairground's offerings. In fact, free events were the main marketing ploy by organizers. Especially after the change in fair management, popular bands like Benny Goodman and the Goldman Band and massed concerts like the ASCAP Music

[767] Carpenter and Totah, "Ralph Capps," 61-2.
[768] Carpenter and Totah, "Sal DeGuarda," 67.

Festival were free of charge.[769] Several of these free concerts broke entertainment records. Edwin Franko Goldman assembled more than ten thousand child musicians in the Court of Nations to perform memorized works. This performance was "said to be the largest mass performance ever attempted."[770] James and Weller point out that Benny Goodman risked his reputation by "playing 'for free'"[771] but it paid off when he was presented with a scroll of congratulations for being "the first band leader in the world to play to audiences totally totaling more than 1,000,000 persons in a period of less than one month."[772] The sheer numbers of fair goers attending free events showcases the demand of Bay Area (and visiting) audiences for top-level musical talent.

A variety of free programming was offered to GGIE fairgoers, as shown in Table 5.1. Throughout the fair's tenure, programming was tailored to a wide variety of ages, evident in the inclusion of theater performances for children and adults.

[769] See Chapter 10.
[770] Alfred Frankenstein, "Musical Notes of the Week," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 25, 1939, This World, 22.
[771] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 182.
[772] "Benny Gets a Scroll," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1939.

Table 5.1: Entertainment Program for April 23, 1939 at the GGIE (source: *San Francisco Chronicle*)

Time	Ensemble	Location
11-5 pm	The Westerners	Recreation court of Federal Building (free)
1 pm	San Francisco Federal Chorus	Federal Sylvan Theater (free)
1:30, 4, 7, 9 pm	Folies Bergere	California State Auditorium
1:45 pm	Knights Templar parade from Coliseum to California State Building	Outdoors
2-6 pm	Concert by Sonora Marimba Band	El Salvador pavilion (free)
2-6pm	Concert by Philippine Constabulary band	Philippine area (free)
2, 5 pm	Children's fantasy, "Hansel and Gretel."	Federal Theater
2, 4, 6:30, 8:15 pm	Cavalcade of the Golden West	
2:30 pm	Free floor show presented by Lake County (Zoe Dell Lantis and dancers)	Redwood Empire Building
2:30 pm	Free drama presentation, "Jeanne D'Arc," by drama department of College of Holy Names	Hall of Western States
2:30pm	Two one-act plays	State Recreation building (free)
2:30, 7:30 pm	"Exploring the Pacific," conducted lecture tour	Pacific House
3-4:45, 6-7:45 pm	Concert by Edwin Franko Goldman Band	Court of Honor (free)
3 pm	Public program of sacred music by Knights Templar	California Building Ballroom (free)
3, 6 pm	"One –Third of a Nation," newspaper play	Federal Theater

3-5 pm	Special Sunday concert by Exposition Band, directed by Ralph Murray	State and Country Buildings
4 pm	Free public lecture by Dr. Eliot G. Mears on Pacific Coast Trade with the Far East	Pacific House (free)
4-7 pm	Concert by Brazilian orchestra	Brazil pavilion (free)
4:30 pm	"Exploring the Pacific," free lecture tour	Pacific House (free)
5 pm	Retreat ceremony, Treasure Island Company of 30th Infantry	Federal building plaza
5-6 pm	Free concert by College of Holy Names Orchestra	Hall of Western States (free)
5 pm	Vesper services Dr. Julius C. McPheeters	Temple of Religion
7 pm	Modern dance group, Myra Kinch directing	Federal Theater
7-9 pm	Free concert by Sonora Marimba Band	El Salvador Pavilion (free)
7:30 pm	Free concert by Southern Pacific R.R. Chorus.	Temple of Religion (free)

The events in Table 5.1 occurred on Sunday, April 23, 1939; thus, additional religious programming was offered at the Temple of Religion. Each Sunday's programming differed in the religious denomination and musical ensemble performance. For example, on May 6, 1939, a "Mormon male chorus of 30 voices" with speaker Eugene Hilton led the Vespers service while Rabbi Elliot M. Burstein conducted services on July 2.[773]

Religious programming was welcome at the GGIE and, unlike the CMIE and PPIE, the variety of invited religions reflected the multicultural composition of San

[773] "Today's Program on Island," *San Francisco Chronicle,* July 2, 1939.

Francisco. Buddhist services were scheduled alongside Jewish and Protestant programs. National and local religious leaders spoke at meetings and services held on the island accompanied by choirs and musicians. Choral festivals with religious sponsorship were held periodically at the fair. On July 24, 1939, the Calvary Church of San Francisco sponsored a choral festival where "massed choirs of some 300 members" performed at Presbyterian Day at the GGIE.[774]

Not all of the fair's entertainment offerings were free of charge. Several of the shows on the Gayway and in other areas around the fairgrounds had additional admission requirements. For example, the very popular *Nude Ranch* had, according to Lisa Rubens, a "comparatively high admission charge of one dollar."[775] The *Cavalcade* cost twenty-five cents for children and seventy-five cents for adults[776] and Kay Kyser performed for an admission fee of 40 cents. The cost to attend Billy Rose's *Aquacade* ranged from forty to seventy-five cents for a matinee, forty to ninety-nine cents for evenings, and children were always twenty-five cents.[777] *Les Folies Bergere* prices ranged from twenty-five cents to seventy-five cents plus tax, whereas the *Ice Follies* charged twenty-five cents for general admission, forty cents for loge seating, and children ten cents.[778]

Large-scale entertainment shows, complete with dance and music (mostly live performances), were proven money-making productions and there was fierce

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[774] "Presbyterian Day On Treasure Island," *Ukiah Daily Journal*, July 14, 1939, 5.
[775] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 152. The admission to the *Nude Ranch* was double the general admission to the Fair.
[776] Prices posted in the program proceedings of the *San Francisco Chronicle*.
[777] *Official Program*, 1940, 91. 40-cent equivalency would be $7.20 while children's admission would be $4.50 cents in 2018 currency.
[778] Ibid.

competition by performers to attract paying audiences. Billy Rose and Sally Rand had a contentious history at world's fairs, with the former afraid Rand would take business away from his show. Rose and Rand had been mounting their successful shows, both based on the sexualization of the female form at 1930s expositions.

At the Texas Fort Worth Frontier Centennial (1936), Rose (director of the *Casa Mañana* at the exposition) denounced Rand's act in a press conference stating that his show would "neither nudity or smut" nor "any fans or bubble dances."[779] The fair management pressed him on his comments and he had to admit that Rand "had been the biggest attraction at the recent World's Fair in Chicago."[780] Fair management sought out Rand to engage her to perform her fan and bubble dance in addition to her *Nude Ranch*.[781] Promotion with Rand as the focal point was presented on thousands of billboards set up "across the country with the slogan 'Go elsewhere for education. Come to Fort Worth entertainment' accompanied by "a photo of scantily clad young 'cowgirls' from Sally Rand's Nude Ranch.'"[782] While Rose was arranging for his show to come to San Francisco in 1940, Sally Rand came to New York to meet with Grover Whalen to discuss staging her show at that fair.[783] Rose feared he would lose profits and argued he was entitled to use the term "nude ranch"

[779] "Fort Worth Counters with its Own Centennial," *The Courier of Montgomery County*, November 13, 2015, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.yourconroenews.com/neighborhood/moco/opinion/article/Fort-Worth-counters-with-its-own-centennial-9505706.php.
[780] "Fort Worth Counters with its Own Centennial," *The Courier of Montgomery County*.
[781] Ibid.
[782] Ibid.
[783] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 153.

because "he originated it at the Fort Worth Centennial Exposition."[784] In the end, Rand did not perform at the New York Fair and Rose's *Aquacade* financially surpassed Rand's *Nude Ranch* at the 1940 GGIE.

Official Exposition Ensembles & Programs

One of the primary differences between the 1915 PPIE and the GGIE is the absence of specially-designated fair-sponsored performance groups and the prevalence of western art ensembles, such as orchestras. The PPIE had several official performance groups comprised of top-tier musicians on retainer: Exposition Orchestra, Exposition Organist, Exposition Chorus, and Exposition Band.[785] By 1939, gone were the days of fully-funded resident exposition choruses, organists, symphonies, and wind bands.

A year before the GGIE's Opening Day, San Francisco music critic Alfred Frankenstein bemoaned the lack of finalized plans for GGIE's music in his article, "Music at the Fair—Plans and Predictions" and he offered suggestions to promote homegrown talent at the fair. "Obviously, it would be a great thing to hear some world-renowned conductors and soloists," he wrote, "yet it is to be hoped that the fair will not fall too deeply into the universal American sin—the exaltation of what we can buy over what we can do."[786] "If American musical culture were as deeply rooted as that of European countries," wrote Frankenstein, there should be a "world's fair

[784] Ibid.
[785] The New York World's Fair had an official band called the "Trytons." See "The Fair Today," *New York Times*, October 22, 1929, 39. San Francisco's official band was called the Exposition Band.
[786] Alfred Frankenstein, "Music at the Fair—Plans and Predictions," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1938, This World, 17.

chorus," which "would be the backbone of all the fair's music." Frankenstein admonished the fair organizers by predicting that the "musical counterpart of the modern exhibition, will, one fears, be given far less attention than it deserves."[787] He underlined the importance of hosting a world's fair and its impact on hometown ensembles by stating that San Francisco should take "pride in its musical culture" and "recognize the fact that music did not come to a dead stop 50 years ago, but continues alive and vital and has very much to say at one of the international stock-takings we call world's fairs."[788] The result was what Frankenstein feared and warned against.

The GGIE opened with a packed musical program that did not include (at first) the resident professional orchestra (the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, hereafter SFS) or exposition-sanctioned resident ensembles like an Exposition Chorus. Fair organizers replaced the traditional fair format of Exposition Chorus, Exposition Band, and Exposition Orchestras with Federal music ensembles, such as the Federal Music Project Band. This musical choice was, it can be presumed, an economic one, born out the Depression-era; to keep costs low, organizers continually programmed federally-funded ensembles (at no cost to the fair management) to provide entertainment during the two years of the fair's run. Only one ensemble on the fairgrounds was hired and assembled to be the resident musical group.

The Exposition Band, directed by Ralph Murray, was engaged for both 1939 and 1940 iterations of the GGIE. Murray's hire was a nod to the musical legacy of the PPIE; as a tuba player in Sousa's Band, Murray performed in the PPIE Exposition

[787] Ibid.
[788] Ibid.

Orchestra and returned to San Francisco as a performer and personnel director with the San Francisco Symphony.[789] The announcement of the organization of the official band was made on January 12, 1939 by Chief Director Harris D. Connick with the caveat that all band members would be a part of the "San Francisco Musicians Union.[790] Murray was very much a part of the musical soundscape of the city, serving as director of the Golden Gate Park Band from 1924–34 and 1940–73.[791] The Exposition Band played every day of the GGIE's run, performed solo performances in the afternoons, and served as an accompaniment to the many festivals, parades, and special events offered on the fairgrounds. In Figure 5.9, the Exposition Band is performing the national anthem (this musical selection can be explained by the audience, who have doffed their hats).

[789] Patricia Wheeler, "History," in "Golden Gate Park Band: 136 Years of Glorious Music," accessed June 26, 2018, http://goldengateparkband.org/about/history/.
[790] "Exposition: Priceless Italian Art Reaches N.Y. on Way to S.F. for Exhibition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 13, 1939.
[791] "Exposition: Priceless Italian Art Reaches N.Y. on Way to S.F. for Exhibition." Murray's son, Earl Bernard Murray (1926-2002) continued his father's conducting legacy. He directed various ensembles including the San Francisco Ballet and was the associate conductor of the San Francisco Symphony.

Figure 5.9. Exposition Band. "Special Activities," (Photograph by author, courtesy of the San Francsico Ephemera: Special Activities, California Historical Society.)

The Exposition Band was a versatile group, taking part in variety shows that were booked on the fairgrounds, including performing as part of the "Variety Hit Parade" in September 1940. The twice-daily outdoor variety show on the Federal Plaza Stage included performances by Roy Rogers, The Copelands, Machado's Hawaiians,[792] and Ralph Murray and the "50-piece Exposition Band" with Art Linkletter serving as the master of ceremonies.[793]

Victor Kress's (1930–2008) father was a trumpet player in the Exposition Band. In an interview, he recalls his father meeting Murray during World War I while

[792] See Chapter 8 for more information regarding Lena Mechado and the Royal Hawaiians.
[793] "When And Where At The Fair: Official Bulletin Of Special Events," Golden Gate International Exposition, Friday, September 13, 1940, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.

on the battleship *Oregon* (Murray was a tuba player in the Navy Band) and inviting him to perform at the GGIE with the Exposition Band. Nine-year-old Kress would accompany his father to the fair and recalled the atmosphere being jovial and the musicians having a lot of fun during their performances.[794]

A program from a public performance on Sunday, June 16, 1940 at 3 pm sponsored by the California Commission for the Golden Gate International Exposition details the breadth of the Exposition Band's repertoire as well as their musicianship (see Figure 5.10). In addition, an examination of this particular program details the musical proclivities of the fair going audience as well as the type of talent expected from soloists and performers. Station KLX broadcast the entirety of the program to allow those not present at the fair a chance to hear its musical offerings.[795] This Exposition Band performance included a vocal ensemble and baritone soloist Perry Askam (1898–1961). Askam, who was very well-known in San Francisco at the time, had performed with the San Francisco Opera in the 1936 and 1937 seasons and sang lead in the 1930 Warner Brothers film, *Sweet Kitty Bellairs.*[796]

The program was composed of works by European and American composers and of orchestral music and operettas as well as folk and traditional selections. Several of the composers on the program wrote across various musical genres, mainly

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[794] Carpenter and Totah, "Victor and Florence Kress," 144–5. Kress's father, Victor C. Kress, was a tenured performer with the SFS and taught at the San Francisco Conservatory and San Francisco State University.

[795] A detailed investigation into the role of radio at the GGIE can be found later in this chapter. The rise of radio technology, and thus solo performers, was a trend for 1930s audiences. Askam is an excellent example of a musician gaining recognition on the screen and gaining a larger audience to listen to a live performance.

[796] The rise of the radio and film star and his role at the GGIE will be covered later in this chapter.

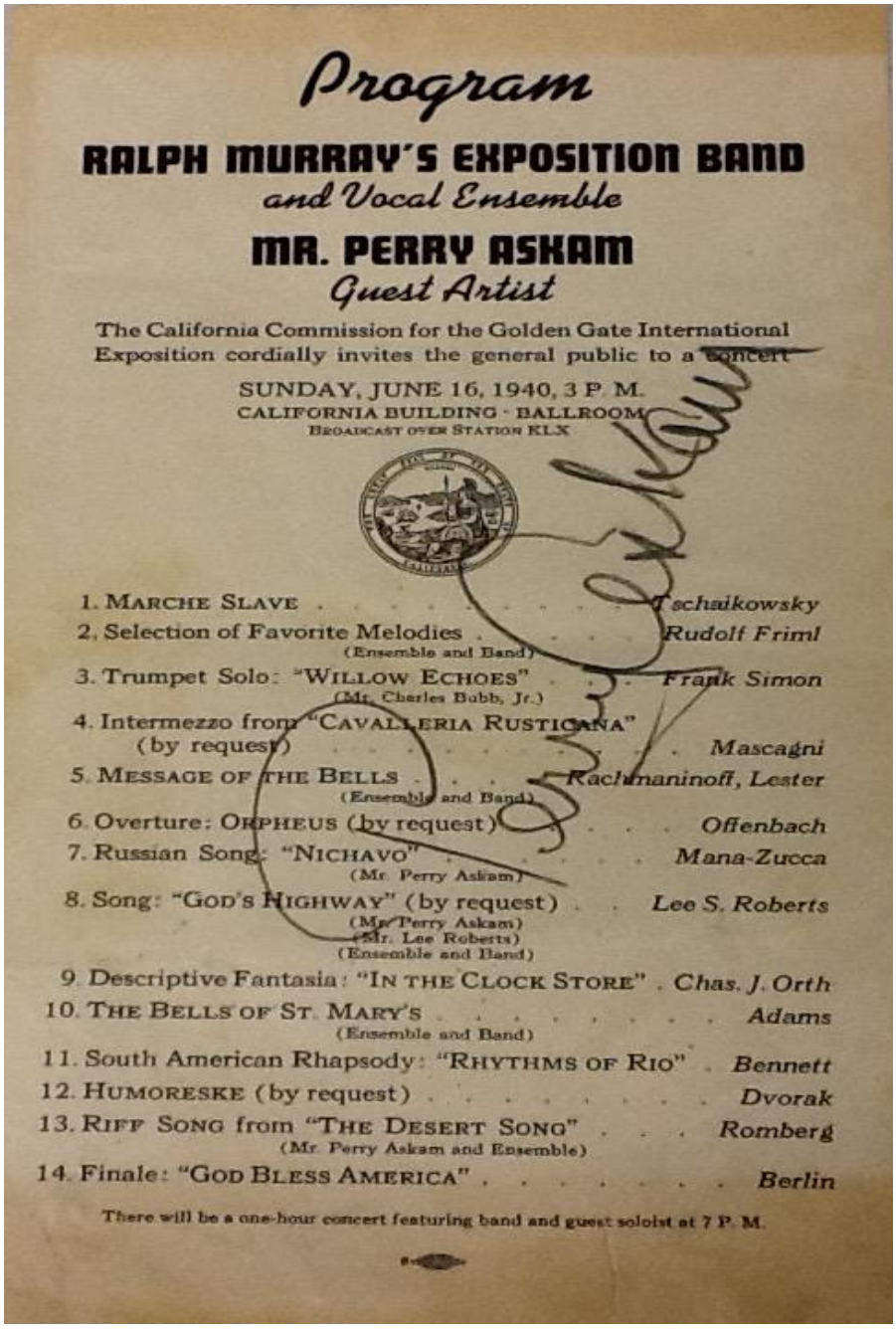
from the concert stage to the silver screen. The concert began with Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slave* (1876) followed by *Selection of Favorite Melodies*, which was a collection of works by Rudolf Friml (1879-1972), a composer and pianist of Czechoslovakian origin who studied with Antonín Dvořák and immigrated to the United States in 1906.[797] Friml composed for the stage (Broadway and operettas) and moved in the mid-1930s to Hollywood to score film musicals. The jump to Hollywood was not unpredictable due to the popularity of operetta "film versions in the early '30s."[798] The selection could have included his famous popular melodies from his collection of works such as *The Firefly* (1912), *Rose Marie* (1924), *The Three Musketeers* (1928), and other musicals.

A more recent work on the program was David Bennett's "Rhythms of Rio" from *South American Rhapsody* (1939). Bennett (1892–1990), a well-known concert band music composer and arranger, composed the "modern rhapsody" based on various "South American music styles."[799] Murray may have included this piece to reflect the overall theme of the GGIE's Pageant of the Pacific (although Bennett was not of South American heritage). "Willow Echoes" by Frank Simon (1889–1967) was the only solo piece on the program. Both Simon and Murray were Sousa band members; the former was a soloist and assistant conductor for the Sousa Band and

[797] Gerald Bordman and Richard Norton, *American Musical Theater: A Chronicle*, 4th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 330.
[798] George G. Daniels, ed., *The Swing Era, The Movies: Between Vitaphone and Video 1936-1937* (New York: Time-Life Records, 1971), 28.
[799] University of Michigan, "School of Music Programs: Thirty-First Concert University of Michigan Concert Band, April 4, 1939," in *University of Michigan Register of Students July 1, 1938 through June 30, 1939* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan), 63.

established the "first band department"[800] at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. The soloist, Charles Bubbs Jr. (1913–2002), was a mathematics student at Stanford University and a future principal trumpet of the SFS (1944–1959).[801] The final piece on the program was a patriotic one. "God Bless America," a finale choice that would have greater importance on the last day of the ASCAP Festival held at Treasure Island, would signal the end of the GGIE Fair in 1940 (see Chapter 10). The range of works programmed and offered by the Exposition Band showcases not only the musical taste of the era but also the level of hometown talent that Frankenstein was pleading with organizers to program.

[800] Jack Kopstein, "Great Soloists of the John Philip Sousa Band," September 18, 2003, accessed on June 17, 2018, https://militarymusic.com/blogs/military-music/13516361-great-soloists-of-the-john-philip-sousa-band.
[801] "San Francisco Symphony Musicians Roster," accessed June 21, 2018, http://www.stokowski.org/San_Francisco_Symphony_Musicians_List.htm.



Program

RALPH MURRAY'S EXPOSITION BAND
and Vocal Ensemble

MR. PERRY ASKAM
Guest Artist

The California Commission for the Golden Gate International Exposition cordially invites the general public to a concert

SUNDAY, JUNE 16, 1940, 3 P. M.
CALIFORNIA BUILDING - BALLROOM
BROADCAST OVER STATION KLX

1. MARCHE SLAVE . . . . . *Tschaikowsky*
2. Selection of Favorite Melodies . . . . *Rudolf Friml*
(Ensemble and Band)
3. Trumpet Solo: "WILLOW ECHOES" . . . *Frank Simon*
(Mr. Charles Bubb, Jr.)
4. Intermezzo from "CAVALLERIA RUSTICANA"
(by request) . . . . . *Mascagni*
5. MESSAGE OF THE BELLS . . . . *Rachmaninoff, Lester*
(Ensemble and Band)
6. Overture: ORPHEUS (by request) . . . . *Offenbach*
7. Russian Song: "NICHAVO" . . . . . *Mana-Zucca*
(Mr. Perry Askam)
8. Song: "GOD'S HIGHWAY" (by request) . . *Lee S. Roberts*
(Mr. Perry Askam)
(Mr. Lee Roberts)
(Ensemble and Band)
9. Descriptive Fantasia: "IN THE CLOCK STORE" . *Chas. J. Orth*
10. THE BELLS OF ST. MARY'S . . . . . *Adams*
(Ensemble and Band)
11. South American Rhapsody: "RHYTHMS OF RIO" . *Bennett*
12. HUMORESKE (by request) . . . . . *Dvorak*
13. RIFF SONG from "THE DESERT SONG" . . . *Romberg*
(Mr. Perry Askam and Ensemble)
14. Finale: "GOD BLESS AMERICA" . . . . . *Berlin*

There will be a one-hour concert featuring band and guest soloist at 7 P. M.

Figure 5.10. "Signed program by Perry Askam." (Photograph by author), courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library.

Change of Management, June 1939

Music was a predominant element of the GGIE's legacy, so much so that entertainment programming saved the exposition. During the first few months, the performances provided by the aforementioned ensembles were popular, but attendance did not meet expected projected numbers. Facing a slump in front gate admissions, Chairman of the Board, Atholl McBean, decided to hire impresario Charles H. Strub to be the new managing director.[802] Strub began in June 1939 and "in a dramatic or generous show of commitment to his task, he insisted on working without a salary."[803] His first act as managing director was to change the musical programming in an effort to depart from the original plan to present music that had been successful at the 1915 PPIE and instead offer entertainment that would appeal to younger audiences. A comparison of musical programming before and after Strub's mid-season hire is outlined in Tables 5.2 and 5.3:

[802] Strub's contribution to the overall management of the GGIE is explored further in Chapter 3.
[803] "Strub Is Hired," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1939.

Table 5.2: Musical Entertainment Program for Tuesday, May 2, 1939 (source: *San Francisco Chronicle*)

Time	**Ensemble**
10 am-12 noon	Conference on "Music in Camps"
11 am-2 pm 4:40–6:30 pm	Organ recital by Marguerite Dix (free) Organ recital (free)
11 am-5 pm	Music by "The Westerners" (free)
1:30 pm	Public broadcast by drama students of Grant Elementary School "Madame Curie": music by George Washington High School Orchestra
2-4:30 and 7–9:30 pm	Exposition Band (free)
2-5 pm	Philippine Constabulary Band (free)
2–5 and 9:30–10:30 pm	Serenade by strolling ensemble
2–6 and 7–8 pm	Sonora Marimba Band (free)
2:15 pm	30th Infantry Regimental Band (free)
2:30 pm	*Folies Bergeres*
3, 7, 8:30 pm	*Cavalcade of the Golden West*
3–6 pm	Guatemala Marimba Band (free)
3–4:15 and 6–7:45 pm	Edwin Franko Goldman Band (free)
4–7 pm	Brazillian Orchestra (free)
5–9 pm	Hawaiian Trio (free)

Table 5.3: Entertainment Program for Thursday, July 19, 1939 at the GGIE (source: *San Francisco Chronicle*)

Time	**Ensemble**
10 am-1 p.m., 8-10 pm	Organ recital (free)
2:00-5:00 and 7:30-8:30 pm	Hawaiian Quartet (free)
2:00-6:00 and 7-10 pm	Sonora Marimba Band of El Salvador (free)
2, 4, 7:30, 9 pm	*Cavalcade of the Golden West*
2, 4, 7, 9 pm	*Folies Bergere*
2:30, 4:30, 7:30 pm	Music Hall Varieties: Betty Grable, Rubinoff, Jack Haley, Alec Templeton
1-8 pm	Junior Washboard Hot Peppers (free)
3:00-6:00 and 7-9 pm	Guatemala Marimba Band (free)
3-5, 7-9 pm	Strolling ensemble (free)
3-6 pm	Fletcher Henderson concert and discussion (free)
3-4 pm	Happy Gordon's Cowboy Band (free)
3:30, 6:30 pm	Benny Goodman (free)
3:35-4:45 pm	30th U.S. Infantry Band Concert and Retreat ceremony (free)
3-5, 7-8 pm	Exposition Band (free)
4-7 pm	Brazilian Pavilion concert (free)

The difference in programming is apparent in the addition of more diverse musical genre offerings. Strub kept the mainstay entertainers (Exposition Band, organ recitals, and civic/federal participants) but he also cleverly added a band from the up and coming swing genre, and he highlighted more foreign musical ensembles.[804] He also retrofitted an occupied space, Building G near the west ferry entrance, into the largest indoor theater (4,000 seats) called the Treasure Island Theater.[805] Strub's shift in programming created immediate results. Within the first full two-week period of June (ending June 15th), a total of $574,000 "was grossed by the various Island merchants," which was around "10 per cent [sic] more than any previous two-week period."[806] And most importantly, music was a contributing factor in boosting revenue, thus saving the saved the GGIE from financial ruin during the first year. The 1939 fair had a net deficit of $1,203,582.20 and almost half was recouped by the end of the 1940 season, with a total deficit (for both years) of $559,423.26.[807] Revenue continued to climb as the summer kicked off at the GGIE.[808]

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[804] Strub hired Dr. A. H. Giannini to serve as a "liasion between the Fair and Hollywood motion picture interests." "L.A. Doctor Accepts Appointment By Fair," *Oakalad Tribune*, June 17, 1939, 2-D; Giannini's appointment would not be one of a talent agent, but rather an unsalaried "southern California representative" of the GGIE. "Dr. Giannini Named Aide to Exposition," *The Press Democrat*, June 17, 1939, 1.

[805] "At the Exposition: Swing's King Swings in July 2," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 24, 1939. The theater was also referred to as Treasure Island Music Hall, thus hereafter it will be designated as the Treasure Island Theater (Music Hall).

[806] "Dollars and Cents," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939.

[807] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 384.

[808] James and Weller point out that after a less than desirable ticket sales for the New York Fair organizers modeled their musical programming on the GGIE's inclusion of "name bands." Ibid.,183.

Wind and Swing Bands

Because of Strub's management, the one genre that defined the GGIE was band music; marching, wind, and swing bands were the rage and programs specifically designed to cater to audiences' tastes were extremely popular. Several bands, like the Philippine Constabulary, Goldman Band, and Ray Noble Orchestra, were engaged before Strub's hiring, but the number of wind and swing bands engaged in addition to these ensembles underlines the tastes of fair management and audiences.

The Philippine Constabulary Band, under the direction of Walter Loving, was a staple amongst American world's fair performances. As Chapters 2 and 3 discussed, Loving's role in American popular music and the relationship between African-American and colonial entities and The United States' foreign policy is of great importance. Performing at all three San Francisco-hosted expositions (CMIE, PPIE, and GGIE), the role of the band's participation had shifted from a musical expression of America's colonial power in the Pacific to an entertainment entity. Miller recounts the narrative of how Loving, who was now an Oakland resident, was asked to participate in the GGIE's musical programming. She writes, "Loving returned to the Philippines at the request of Manuel Quezon, president of the Commonwealth, to prepare the band for the GGIE."[809] Loving's band was welcomed back to San Francisco. In Figure 5.11, original members of the band who participated in Taft's Inauguration and the 1915 PPIE are pictured with current musicians (standing). The

[809] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 250.

band performed in the Philippine area of the fairgrounds (see Chapter 8 for more information).

Figure 5.11."Another Historic Meeting: Pictured above are the veterns [sic.] of the Philippine Constabulary Band scheduled to give a concert at the Philippine Pavilion on Treasure Island, February 18." (Photograph by author), courtesy of the California Historical Society.

"More and better free entertainment" of "name bands"[810] after Strub's hiring resulted in the engagement of swing and jazz artists such as Benny Goodman, Artie Shaw, and Count Basie. Various types of dance bands were among the most popular entertainment offering. For example, in the summer of 1939, Jitterbug contests were held in the Happy Valley Ranch located on the Gayway. The popularized dance form, with roots in the late 1920s, was associated with the new genre of swing. The free dance contest was "held every nite [sic.] except Monday" and the venue boasted the "longest bar in the world" as well as "the largest barbecue pit in the world."[811] Jack Winston and his band offered free dances at Festival Music Hall at 7 pm in June 1939.[812]

Several famous bands of the era made their way to the GGIE; Harry Owen,[813] Bob Hope, Eddy Duchin, Phil Harris, George Olsen, and Freddy Martin were among the headliners. Ted Lewis (1890–1971), a famed entertainer and bandleader, brought his dance orchestra and thirty entertainers for a four-performance-a-day musical revue with additional nightly dance band duties on July 28, 1939.[814] Lewis's band would continue to perform after Goodman's band departed and it offered swing-style dance band music. The show, "A Swingtime Revue," presented a cast "of musicians, dancers and comedians" that concluded with an orchestration of "Main Street Band,"

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[810] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 182.
[811] Happy Valley Ranch, Advertisement, *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 8, 1939.
[812] "Today at the Exposition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 9, 1939.
[813] Harry Owen and his Hawaiian-themed performances in addition to Bob Hope's apearance will be explored in Chapter 8.
[814] The performances were at 1:30, 3:30, 5:30, 7:30 pm and admission was forty cents for adults and twenty-five cents for children.

an act that recreated a "typical small town Fourth of July parade."[815] Ray Noble's Orchestra was engaged as a dance band at the start of the 1939 fair and performed from 7 p.m. until midnight.[816] Noble, an English-born bandleader and composer, wrote many popular songs including the 1934 jazz standard, "The Very Thought of You." (He and his orchestra had an engagement at the upscale and historic Palace Hotel in San Francisco.)[817]

Count Basie and his Sepians of Swing performed several daily concerts on Treasure Island from October 20th to October 23th 1939. Not as extensively reviewed as larger acts of the fair, his band performed free shows in the Temple Compound and the Music Hall. Basie was known for his unique emphasis on the rhythm and texture of a piece, rather than melody.[818] This characteristic set him apart from the melodic-focused swing charts of his contemporaries at the GGIE. After Goodman's band departed the fair, Basie's band filled the void with multiple performances. More than 30,000 people "attended the Count's two free jam sessions in the afternoon" with almost the same number attempting to get into the Music Hall for the free dance later that evening.[819] The demand for swing was at a record-high and fair audiences kept coming back for repeat performances.

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[815] "Music Hall: Ted Lewis Arrives With a Swing Revue," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 26, 1939.
[816] Ray Noble (1903-1978) was an English composer, bandleader, actor, and radio comedian.
[817] Clifford C. Fischer's *Folies Bergere* 1940, program, "The Palace Hotel, advertisement, San Franscico Ephemera: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society, San Francsico, CA.
[818] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 657.
[819] "SEVEN Days to Go! Crowds Cram the Isle," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 23, 1939.

Kay Kyser and his College of Musical Knowledge, touted as "radio's No. 1 attraction," was engaged for a week run at the 1939 GGIE (June 14–21).[820] Kyser's program was a very popular music quiz show that mimicked a classroom where the "singing faculty" (his band) would accompany the "professor" (Kyser) in a mock examination at the end of a concert. Set up as a simulated classroom, audience members would participate by answering musical trivia questions and could win prizes including "diplomas awarded to the winners of the 'examinations.'"[821] Kyser's band, "an exceptional organization,"[822] included "songstress Ginny Simms, vocalist Sully Mason, Ish Ka Bibble, and all the boys who toot the horns and scrape the fiddles and smash the drums."[823] Extremely popular, his appearance at the fair created mob-like scenes and acclaim usually "reserved for visiting monarchs."[824] Several of his performances at the fair were broadcast and the admission for these sessions was by invitation only.[825] Turned away at the door, Kyser devotees created a "throng around the Hall of Western States" eager to hear the show.[826] On July 14, Kyser's show moved to the newly renovated Treasure Island Theater (Music Hall) (previously known as Building G),[827] which had a seating capacity of four-thousand people.

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[820] "Kay Kyser and His Entire College of Musical Knowledge," Advertisement in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 21, 1939.
[821] "Kay Kyser's 'College': Band at Golden Gate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 21, 1939.
[822] "Kay Kyser Creates Near Mob Scene at Golden Gate Opening," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939, 8.
[823] "Kay Kyser: 'Professor' Will Swing It at Gate," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 19, 1939.
[824] "Kay Kyser Creates Near Mob Scene at Golden Gate Opening," 8.
[825] "Kay Kyser, 'Professor' Will Swing It at Gate." The cost of admission to his radio broadcasts was free, but tickets had to be secured by writing in advance to "Lord and Thomas Advertising Agency." "Kyser Orchestra To Broadcast," *Oakland Tribune,* June 16, 1939, 11.
[826] "Yesterday: Kay Kyser, the 'Old Professor' Played on Isle," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939.
[827] "Radio Men, Musicians Invade Isle," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 29, 1939.

Kyser would be the first of many "'name' bands to play at the theater" with a performance run of thirty shows.[828]

Benny Goodman

Swing and jazz bands were the most popular genre-specific bands engaged at the GGIE. The youth and young adults flooded venues for concertss, dances, and dance contests. Benny Goodman, the "King of Swing," was initially hired for a two-week engagement (that was later extended), starting on July 2, 1939. Goodman reportedly was paid $60,000 (equivalent to $1,080,517 in today's currency) for his band's run at the GGIE and his performances in the Temple Compound and Treasure Island Theater (Music Hall).[829] The *San Francisco Chronicle* touted his opening day at the GGIE with the headline: "The King of Swing Is In The Grove." He opened his performance run with four performances, which reportedly "captivated the enthusiastic crowds that swarmed around the elevated bandstand in the Temple Compound."[830]

At the time, Goodman's was the top swing band in demand and he was marketed as the "No. 1 clarinetist."[831] In the previous year, his historical 1938 Carnegie Hall performance catapulted jazz into the concert hall. Goodman reflected upon that night in an autobiographical monograph, stating that the night at Carnegie

[828] "Kay Kyser Will Open Building G," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1939, 3E.
[829] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: Musical Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, This World, 19.
[830] Willis O'Brien, "The King of Swing Is In The Groove," *San Francisco Chronicle Exposition Tabloid*, July 3, 1939, 1E.
[831] "Swing's King Due Sunday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 30, 1939.

Hall, "was a great experience, because it represented something—a group of musicians going on that stage and playing tunes by Gershwin[832]and Berlin and Kern in arrangements by Fletcher and Edgar Sampson, getting up and playing the choruses the way they wanted to, each of them just being himself."[833] Many of Goodman's bandmates became stars in their own right, including Louise Tobin (b. 1918), the vocalist who toured with the Goodman Band at the GGIE.

Goodman had a history of performing across musical genre divisions with the top orchestras. He surmised that regardless of what type of music one is performing, a true mark of the musician was not the type of music you performed but your musicianship level. Goodman said, "Maybe that's why I am such a bug on accuracy in performance, about playing in tune, and with just proper note values—because I think that a good musician should do that automatically when he sees something in an arrangement."[834] According to newspaper reports, Goodman did not just perform swing hits during his outdoor free performances, he in fact also played "modern interpretations of classic works."[835] Evidence of his cross-genre proclivity is evident in his luncheon on July 29 with Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge at the fair's Yerba Buena Club. Patroness of American commissions as well as the Coolidge Quartet in residence at the GGIE, Coolidge met with the King of Swing—regrettably, details of that luncheon conversation cannot be found at this time. (The impact of Coolidge's

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[832] Refer to Larry Starr's work on Gershwin and the impact of his Broadway and concert-hall contributions, *George Gershwin* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2011).
[833] Benny Goodman and Irving Kolodin, *The Kingdom of Swing* (New York: Editions for the Armed Services, [1945], c1939), a. Pop Cult Vintage: pop PN1.A76 P-10., Ray & Pat Browne Library for Popular Culture Studies, Bowling Green State University Library, Bowling Green, OH. [833]
[834] Goodman, 231.
[835] "At the Expositions: Swing's King Swings in July 2," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 24, 1939.

patronage at the GGIE is explored later in this chapter, under sub-heading "Roles of Women at the GGIE").[836] In an early advertisement for Goodman's GGIE performance series, he is shown with his clarinet and tuxedo—a nod to traditional western-art music attire (Figure 5.12).

Famously, Goodman was the first major swing bandleader to integrate his band during a period of rampant segregation. His actions influenced other bands to follow suit. Artie Shaw, who brought his band to the GGIE, followed Goodman's lead in the area of racial integration and famously hired Billie Holiday.[837] Both Goodman and Artie Shaw performed at the GGIE and were similar in several ways. The bandleaders both integrated their bands, rode the popularity of swing music, were raised in the Jewish faith, and were virtuoso clarinetists. While Goodman continued with his band, Shaw disbanded his in 1939 and formed a service band (Navy) during World War II (1943–44).[838] William Pryor details several similarities, but concentrates on differences between the two bandleaders, mainly in terms of performance style and personality.[839] Whereas Goodman was focused on virtuosic playing and pursuing jazz, Pryor argues that Shaw featured a "deep, warm tone" and approached the jazz medium without "a commitment to jazz as an art."[840] This difference was heard at the GGIE fairgrounds, with an article about Shaw's

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[836] Kevin Wallace, "Treasure Island Tales," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 29, 1939, 14.
[837] Larry Starr and Christopher Waterman, *American Popular Music: From Minstrelsy to MP3*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 167.
[838] Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair,* 30.
[839] William A. Pryor, "Benny Goodman & Artie Shaw; Two Musicians with Different Approaches to Music and Life," in *International Association of Jazz Record Collectors Journal*, vol. 49, no. 3 (October 1, 2016): 19.
[840] Ibid.

performances being described as follows: "We do feel though that, while he is leading a trend away from swing as we have known it, Artie is keeping his music honest and unsentimental."[841]

It is unfortunate that recordings of Goodman's concerts are not presently available, but an article written about his rehearsal techniques at the fairgrounds attests to his relationship with his musicians and his attention to detail. An unnamed *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter detailed a morning practice of the Goodman Band where Goodman and the famed African-American pianist-arranger Fletcher Henderson (1897–1952) led the rehearsal. Goodman stood in front of the melody section "talking up to the trumpets in the back row" working on the melody to "Stealin' Apples."[842] Goodman would hum the theme:

> "Play it like this," Goodman would say, and hummed, "Da, da, de da-da…" The brasses stabbed at the phrase and missed. "No, like this, "Da, da, de da," etc. It went on like that for some time. The four saxophone players had been just sitting, smoking cigarettes, but once the brasses mastered the phrase to satisfy Goodman and Henderson, they picked up their cumbersome instruments and joined in...[843]

This short rehearsal note is rare and can give insight into Goodman's rehearsal technique. First, the reporter details the equal relationship between Goodman and Henderson, which highlights the level of inclusiveness Goodman fostered within his band as well as how important Henderson was to the day-to-day operations.

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[841] Picture with caption, "Artie Shaw and Clarinet." "Artie Shaw and Clarinet: Opening an Engagement on the Golden Gate Stage Tuesday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1939; "On the Records: The Art of Shaw," *San Francisco Chronicle,* February 5, 1939.
[842] A piece composed by the famous jazz pianist and arranger, Fats Waller (1904-1943).
[843] "Here's How Benny's Band Gets That Way," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1939, 2E.

Henderson is given equal credit not only in rehearsal but also in the reporter's praise as "a great man in the history of swing music."[844]

Fair management did seem unprepared at times, especially when welcoming Benny Goodman and his band to San Francisco. In an interview with a *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, Goodman expressed his frustration at the inconsistent communication he received once he arrived in the City. "I don't know what is happening," Goodman explained. "They hired me, I can swear to that. They said they wanted me for two weeks with an option for two more. They said the engagement would open at Treasure Island Sunday. But they didn't tell me where, or why, or whether we were to play for dances or concerts."[845] In the same interview, Goodman expressed his preference for dance music over concert music for the fair going public: "American music shouldn't be put on display. Dancing is an old American custom. It should be encouraged. Our music belongs to the people."[846] According to the interviewer, Goodman desperately "began planning a chamber music concert with the Budapest String Quartet,… [at the time] playing at Mills College." The bandleader took a jab at fair management by stating, "Maybe they don't want me to play at the Fair. Maybe they'd prefer I'd give a course at Mills." The conclusion of the interview came when Goodman and Alexander Schneider (1908–1993) (member of the Budapest String Quartet) "disappeared into an adjoining room."[847]

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[844] Ibid.
[845] Carolyn Anspacher, "The King Is Here–And Nobody Went To Meet Him!," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 1, 1939, 3E.
[846] Ibid.
[847] Ibid.

Although surviving accounts from the fair management's perspective do not survive, the result of Goodman's tenure has been well documented. Positioning himself on the side of the American public by expressing a desire to entertain the masses endeared Goodman to a wide audience. He did, indeed, perform both concert repertoire and swing charts, and also showcased his versatile musicianship skills with a purely classical concert at Mills College accompanied by the Budapest String Quartet on July 12, 1939. "Benny Goodman will desert swing and turn classist for half an hour tonight," papers reported.[848] Goodman performed Mozart's *Quintet in A major for Clarinet and Strings*, K. 581 (1789) while "quartets by Haydn and Beethoven" by the Budapest String Quartet completed the program. [849] During this period, Mills College was one of the local musical host institutions, programming established and upcoming musicians. Concerts at Mills College were continuously advertised alongside fair musical happenings. Coinciding with the fair's run was a percussion performance by John Cage with William Russell and a separate concert by the Budapest String Quartet.[850]

[848] "Benny Goodman Goes Classic Tonight," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 12, 1939.
[849] Ibid. The Budapest String Quartet was in residence at Mills for the summer concert series.
[850] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: Musical Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1939, This World, 19.

Figure 5.12. "Swing's King Due Sunday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 20, 1939.

Goodman reflected upon the rise of the swing genre in American music by referencing the New Orleans and Chicago jazz artists, the majority of whom were African-American, who came before him in an autobiographical periodical:

> It's been my contention right along that there is nothing essentially new in what is now called swing, it is just the same jazz that bands like the Original Dixieland and the New Orleans Rhythm Kings and Louis and Jimmy Noone used to play. Of course it has been altered somewhat by the use of bigger bands with more instruments, playing arrangements instead of jamming all the time; and almost every outstanding band realizes the need for a fine drummer as the basis of a good rhythm section—which is the foundation of all swing.[851]

[851] Benny Goodman and Irving Kolodin, 227.

The rhetoric of the era's news reports and marketing is consistent with that of a questioning public. What is swing? Who defines it? Who is the best? For the sake of the fair going public of Treasure Island, Goodman was the answer to all of these questions. He was repeatedly asked to define the swing genre and became the band model by which others copied. Fair patrons who may not have known what "this thing call swing" was were urged by the *San Francisco Chronicle* to head to one of Goodman's performances to listen to "the world's greatest living authority."[852] Secondly, Goodman's method of oral rehearsal technique of accenting melodic passages can be a marker of the improvisatory pedagogical methods of jazz. Third, reports regarding any performance rehearsal, like the one detailed above, are extremely rare in fair histories. A reason for the lack of coverage may be because of the nature of a fair, which is a platform for products—music, a type of product, was presented to audiences finished and ready to be "consumed."

It is worth noting the importance of the exchange of ideas and collaborations that occurred at world's fairs within the musical field.[853] In the short amount of time Goodman and his band were at the GGIE, they influenced the surrounding musical milieu of the Bay Area. His pianist, the famed Fletcher Henderson, would leave Treasure Island and sit in on jazz clubs in the city of San Francisco. Henderson presented a three-hour solo concert, lecture, and discussion of "recorded music" as part of a special recreation week promotion on July 23, 1939.[854]

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[852] Willis O'Brien, "The King of Swing Is In The Groove."
[853] See Chapters 1 and 2.
[854] "Exposition: Goodman, Grable, Haley, Rubinoff–They'll All be at Music Hall Today," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1939.

Cross-genre performances occurred throughout world's fair musical histories, and arguably, most frequently at the fairs of the 1930s. The rise of the radio star from the concert stage created new audiences eager to hear music from various genres. At the GGIE, performers from the Western classical music genre would perform alongside swing bands and vice versa. For example, on July 23, 1939, there was a musical variety show, "America's Greatest Show Value: 60-Minutes of Fun Frivolity and Laughter," that starred Betty Grable, pianist Alec Templeton, David Rubinoff "who does to a violin what Templeton does to a piano," and Jack Haley.[855] Alec Templeton, the "brilliant blind English composer and pianist," had several high-profile performances at the GGIE, including a solo performance with the SFS and a highly publicized meeting with the carillonneur, J. Sidney Lewis, where he played the carillon.[856] Templeton and David Rubinoff,[857] both classically-trained musicians, performed alongside stars of the radio (Jack Haley)[858] and screen (Grable).[859] The management extended Goodman's contract to include a dance set for the jitterbug contest after the hour-long variety performance nightly from 9 p.m. until closing. Unlike his free performances in the Temple Compound, admission to this show and dance set was 40 cents for adults and 25 cents for children. A typical day during his

[855] Ibid.
[856] "Today's the Day to Browse Around and Take it Easy on the Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 31, 1939.
[857] Rubinoff (1897-1986) was a popular violinist (he would perform on a Stradivarius violin) in the 1930s and 1940s who was well-known for his radio performances.
[858] Haley (1897-1979) was a well-known vaudeville star who was known as the Tin Man in *The Wizard of Oz* (1939). It is interesting to note the dates of his performance at the GGIE and the impending premiere of the movie. The GGIE show was almost a month before the premiere date of August 25, 1939 for *The Wizard of Oz*.
[859] Incidentally, after her performance at the GGIE, Grable made an announcement of filing for divorce from Jackie Cogan. "Betty Grable: She'll File Her Divorce Suit This Weekend," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 28, 1939.

last week at the GGIE would include a dance set for the jitterbug contest in addition to two afternoon concerts in the Temple Compound.[860]

Goodman had a habit of seeking out other bands to listen to while on the road. He tried "to get around and hear what the good musicians were doing, and often that doesn't mean the ones everybody is talking about."[861] A concrete example of the importance of Goodman's appearance at the fair was the launching of guitarist Arnold Covarrubias's career. Benny Goodman was dining at the women's Yerba Buena Club[862] on Treasure Island and heard Covarrubias accompany Juanita de la Cruz, the club's "chanteuse."[863] According to Willis O'Brien from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Goodman liked Covarrubias's performance immensely and hired him on the spot to perform with the Benny Goodman Band in the Treasure Island Music Hall with "Benny, Ziggie Elman, Fletcher Henderson and the other top-flight musicians in the Goodman outfit."[864] When Goodman left the fair on July 30 for his next performance in Hollywood, he took Covarrubias as a permanent member of his band, thus launching Covarrubias's career.

The Goodman Band was an overall success. Fairgoers embraced Goodman and his band, dubbing him an "honorary San Franciscan," and the Governor of California conferred upon him "the title of honorary citizen of California.'"[865] Fair management attributed the increase of ticket sales, an estimated 5,000 to 8,000

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[860] "Exposition: Goodman, Grable, Haley, Rubinoff–They'll All be at Music Hall Today."
[861] Goodman and Kolodin, 236.
[862] See "Role of Women at the GGIE" for more information regarding the Yerba Buena Club.
[863] Willis O'Brien, "Funfare," *San Francisco Chronicle Exposition Tabloid,* August 1, 1939.
[864] Ibid.
[865] Willis O'Brien, "Yesterday Was Everybody's Day," *San Francisco Chronicle: Exposition Tabloid*, July 10, 1939, 1E.

fairgoers a day, to Goodman and his band during their original and extended run.[866] Goodman's appearance at the fair solidified his popularity on the West Coast, surpassing any initial crowd estimates. [867]

Cavalcade of the Golden West

What it meant to "go Western" in San Francisco was unique among contemporary Western States' narratives. The exceptionality of Californians' perspective can be seen in the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the frontier chronicle during the pre-fair events (see Chapter 4) as well as the adaptation of cutting-edge technology in the engagement of the narrative pageant, *The Cavalcade of the Golden West*. I argue that the *Cavalcade* productions were the first mass-performance to pinpoint sound production that mixed live and pre-recorded tracks while mirroring stage action.

The "sacralization of the heartland and the Wild West" was at the core of populism, the movement in American politics that combatted industrial capitalism.[868] The show was an outdoor narrative spectacle, drawing upon the Wild West pageants of William Cody, or "Buffalo Bill"[869]—complete with what Rydell notes as,

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[866] "Bennie: Strub Gets The Gate for Another Week," *San Francisco Chronicle: Exposition Tabloid*, July 11, 1939.
[867] When the United States entered World War II, he was tapped in an advisory role for the Committee for Music, Department of State (1942-1943). Fauser, *Musical Encounters at the 1889 Paris World's Fair,* 99.
[868] Alex Ross, *The Rest Is Noise* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2007), 269. Populism and the unique adaptation of the Western mythic narrative by San Francisco citizens are explored in Chapter 4.
[869] Presented at the Chicago Columbian Exposition (1893).

"narratives of heroic conquest for mass audiences."[870] Billed as the largest stage in the world, the Cavalcade portrayed the "great events in the history of the United States" ranging from the "landing of Columbus to the 'Gay Nineties' in San Francisco."[871] Offered three times daily, audiences could pay to watch twenty-four scenes unfold within an hour and eight minutes.

Each moving tableau detailed a specific moment in the history of the American West with a Californian emphasis. The first scene, "The Discovery of the Pacific 1513," portrays Vasco Nunez de Balboa's explorative journey followed by the depiction of Sir Francis Drake in San Francisco Bay and Father Junipero Serra establishing Mission San Diego. The scenes continue to highlight the Anglo-perspective of conquering California and Pacific territories, thus reinforcing the standardized Western historical narrative. While the pre-fair western-themed activities of Fiesta Week incorporated historically marginalized groups, the *Cavalcade* is a typical homogenized account from an American perspective. Touted as a "streamlined history of the West," the pageant acknowledged the Russian, Spanish, Argentine, and Mexican presence in the historical record, but set aside the contributions of the native peoples and *mestizos.*

[870] Robert Rydell, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna*, 31.
[871] *Motor Land*, May, 17.

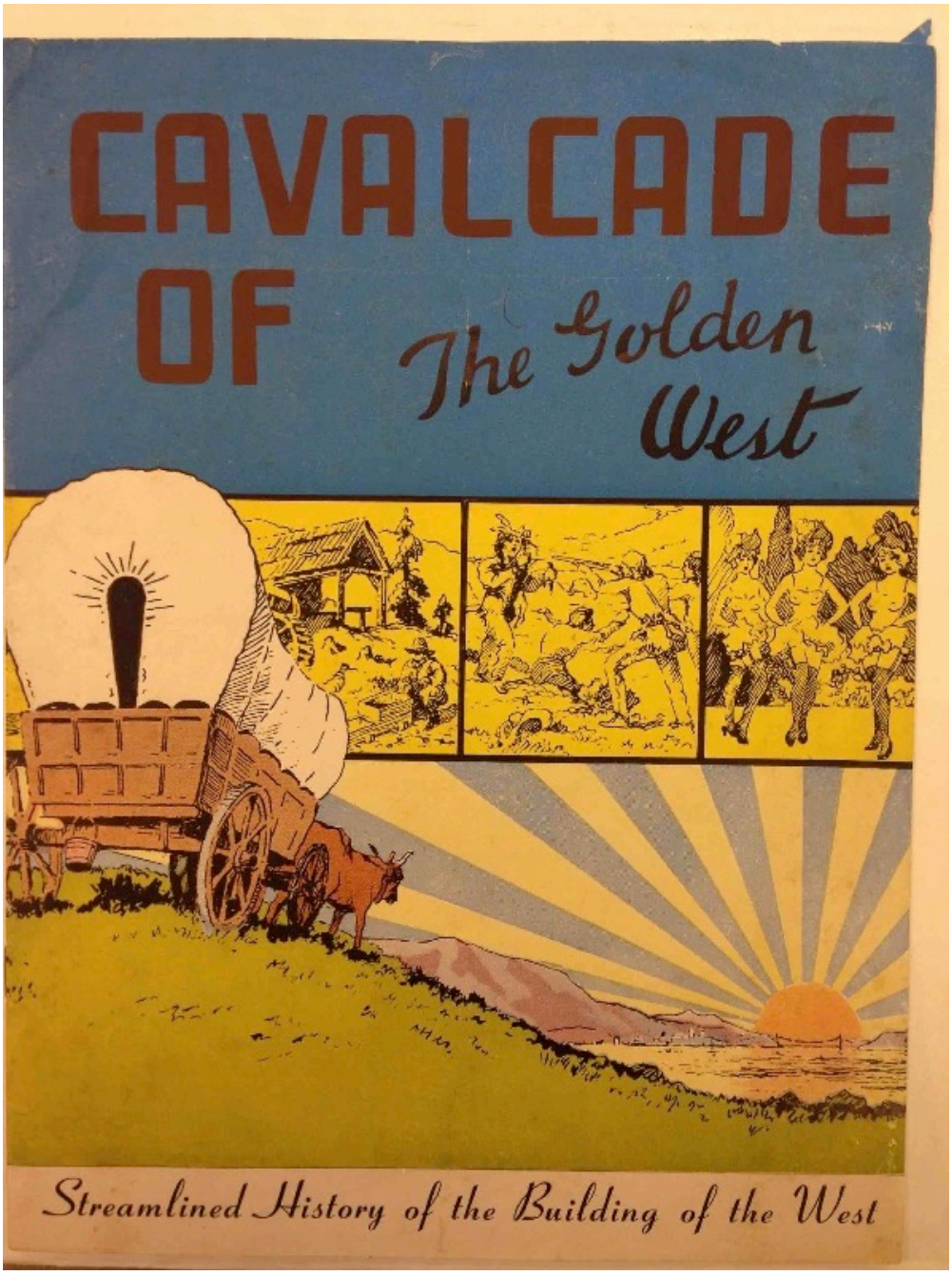

Figure 5.13. *Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West* (1939), program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Bowling Green State University Special Collections).

The first scene, "The Discovery of the Pacific 1513," portrays Vasco Nunez de Balboa's explorative journey followed by the depiction of Sir Francis Drake and

Father Junipero Serra founding of San Francisco and the latter, Mission San Diego. The scenes continue to highlight the Anglo-European perspective of conquering of the California and Pacific territories, reinforcing the standardized Western historical narrative. The Bear Flag Revolt (Scene 11), The Discovery of Gold (Scene 13), the Cavalcade of the Pioneers (Scene 15), and Custer's Last Stand (Scene 22) unfold in a sequence of mythic western narratives. The championing of the industrious pioneers and conquering of the wild, untamed frontier and its native inhabitants are celebrated throughout the script. Tying the past to the present, the performance ended with Scene 24: "Cavalcade Finale: Panorama of 400 years of progress!" (punctuation retained from original document):

> Meanwhile...throughout the West...hard-headed, hard-fisted men wrought mighty works....New achievements, torn from the wilderness as our heritage from the past. New Rails following old trails from border to border! Thus do we go forward in the West...blasting barriers...harnessing power...cultivating the land...building the cities! Thus...in 1939...a mighty Pageant of the Pacific...The Cavalcade of the Golden West!

The themes of fortitude, cultivation, harnessing power, and sheer determination resonated with a Depression-era audience.

In-depth accounts or studies of the *Cavalcade* by critics or newspaper reporters of the era are few—perhaps the event was dismissed as a popular pageant and not deemed important enough for a formal review or study. Due to this absence of material, information must be curated from obvious sources:

The official program booklets for both the 1939 and 1940 contain a fair amount of material as well as unlikely sources like lawsuits and audience member's personal memorabilia. A source of information regarding the personnel and operations can be

found in a lawsuit dated July 12, 1940 (the documents can be found at Fresno State Special Collection archive). Director Vollman replied to the SF District Attorney, Randell Larson regarding the claim that the *Cavalcade'*s management was breaking the 6-day work week law.

There is not a fully recorded version of either Cavalcade, thus determining choreography, musical accompaniment, and stage direction must be accomplished with a variety of sources and methods. For example, Figure 5.14 is a photograph, capturing static action. Displayed prominently in a photographic still from the official program (1939) are the American and Californian flags.

Figure 5.14. *Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West (1939),* program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Bowling Green State University Special Collections).

The image on its own could be construed as a patriotic display of American strength. But, a recently uncovered silent and colored newsreel footage shows this scene with the audience rising to their feet.[872] Thus, it can be determined that this flag scene was indeed intended for a patriotic moment, but also served as a moment for community patriotism rather than a static scene.

Produced and directed by A. L. Vollmann, the *Cavalcade of the Golden West* featured a script by A. G. Linkletter and music by Emil Gerstenberger.[873] Vollmann had produced and directed many different iterations of the *Cavalcade*, including the "Cavalcade of Texas" (Dallas) and the "Cavalcade of the Americas" (1936 and 1937), but the 1939 and 1940 productions were generally considered his best work. Complete with historical modes of transportation and two replica working steam engines, the production had over "1,500 characters"[874] and over a hundred head of livestock.

The scale of the stage, located behind the statue of Pacifica on the fairgrounds, was massive. The topographical outdoor venue for both productions had a "400 feet wide and 200 feet deep" stage with an audience seating capacity of over six-thousand.[875] With three to four shows daily, there was an estimated 18,000–24, 000 audience members who viewed the spectacle. I have conducted several interviews

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[872] FitzPatrick Traveltalks, Volume 1," directed by James Fitzpatrick. MGM: May 17, 2016.
[873] Art Linkletter, *Cavalcade of the Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West*, Program Book, pop T876 1929.B1 L55, Ray & Pat Browne Library for Popular Culture Studies, Bowling Green State University Library, Bowling Green, OH.
[874] Ibid.
[875] Art Linkletter, *Cavalcade of the Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West,* 6.

with fairgoers over the course of my research, and one provided a photo from his personal collection from the vantage point of an audience member (Figure 5.15):

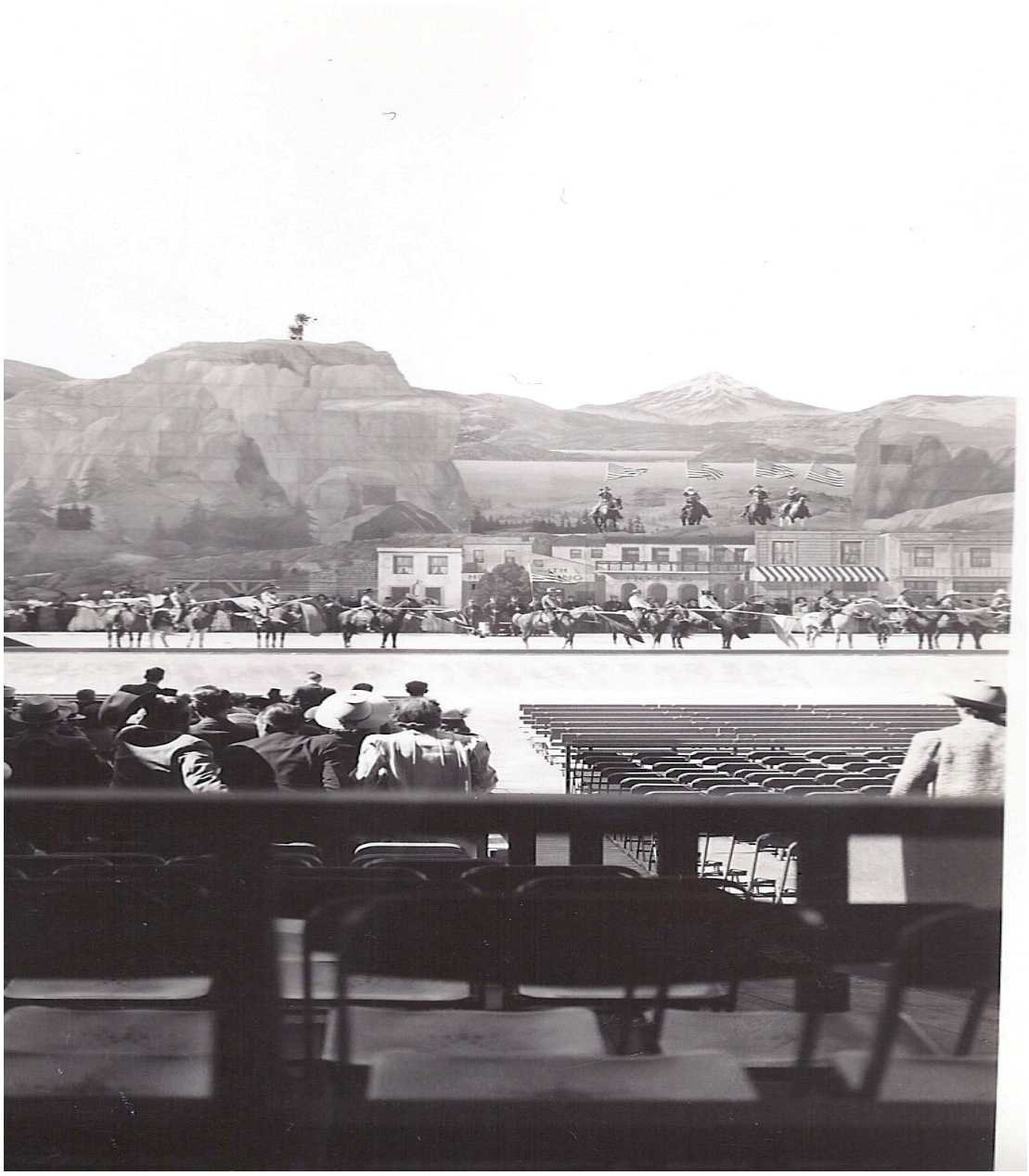

Figure 5.15. Audience vantage. (Photograph courtesy of Edward Lewis).

Complete with historical modes of transportation and two replica working steam engines, the production had over "1,500 characters,"[876] a cast of two-hundred actors, and over a hundred head of livestock (Figure 5.16). The Cavalcade prop masters made sure the entire production used authentic props—everything was previously used, including the pistols fire engines, and saddles for the fifty saddled horses. Incidentally, the technical director of the *Cavalcade*, Gilbert Kneiss, was also involved with the "Railroads on Parade" for the concurrent New York World's Fair.[877]

[876] Ibid.
[877] The Railway and Locomotive Historical Society Bulletin, no. 110 (April, 1964): 93–94.

Figure 5.16. View of the two working trains. *Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West* (1939), program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Bowling Green State University Special Collections).

The *Cavalcade* production offered jobs to out-of-work actors and local artists. For example, prominent San Francisco Bay Area choreographer, teacher, and director of the Song Chang International Folk Dancers Virgil Morton[878] performed in various troupes on the fairgrounds, including in the *Cavalcade*. He performed two roles in the *Cavalcade of America* in 1940: as a Mexican gunner (Figure 5.17) and as a part of the

[878] (1913–1981).

bicycle-riding trio (Figure 5.18).[879] His participation in the cast underlines the support the fair gave artists during the Depression as well as the fair management's inclusion of local talent. In addition, VIPs and visiting ensembles were given guest roles in the production—Herb Caen stood in as General Custer and the 30th Regiment Band, the Treasure Island resident ensemble, performed a ceremonial music for a military drill onstage for a special finale showing of the Cavalcade for San Francisco Day.

[879] Morton, who became a prominent teacher in the San Francisco Bay Area and director of the Song Chang International Folk Dancers.

Figures 5.17 and 5.18. Top (Figure 5.17): Mortenson as a "Mexican Gunner." Bottom (Figure 5.18): Mortensen as part of the bicycle trio. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Museum of Performance and Design.)

The Cavalcade was very much a Californian production–the performances took place in San Francisco with Lloyd G. Kerr as music director for the day-to-day productions, but the pre-recorded orchestral soundtrack was conducted by Elias Breeskin (1896–1969) with Southern Californians on a "Hollywood sound stage." [880] The "orchestra and sound-effects men recorded the fifty separate musical effects and numbers."

Figure 5.19. Elias Breeskin. "Artists of the Past," *Opera Musica*, accessed June 21, 2018, https://www.operamusica.com/artist/elias-breeskin/#biography.

[880] Art Linkletter, *Cavalcade of the Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West,* 6.

Breeskin was the conductor of the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra from 1928–1931 and the Hollywood Bowl Symphony from 1935–1940. He had a colorful and borderline criminal life that took the violinist, conductor-composer from Russia to the US and then to Mexico. The twenty-four scenes were accompanied by a score by the composer, Emil Gerstenberger (1881–1961), who was known as an orchestrator for early film composer Sigmund Romberg.[881] It is unfortunate that at this point in time, a recording of the music and/or the scores for the GGIE Cavalcades have not been uncovered.

"Third Dimensional Sound"

Enveloped in a nostalgic view of the frontier western narrative was a modern and complex technological production. Dubbed by the *Cavalcade* producers as "Third Dimensional Sound," the mathematical placement of speakers within moving set pieces and seventeen loudspeakers positioned among the audience was groundbreaking. This method of sound placement was the precursor to surround sound and would later develop into the field of acoustical engineering among other technological recording concepts.

The new audio technology "enabled producers to give to music, sound, and dialogue an auditory perspective."[882] This concept by the staff was an early attempt at surround sound, and the goal was to an imaginary realism of sound emanating from the stage. The moments of live-narrative and spoken dialogue originated in a sound

[881] (1887–1951).
[882] Art Linkletter, *Cavalcade of the Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West,* 6.

room above the grandstand also mirrored the movement on the stage. The auditory-perspective was achieved by incorporating the separate tapped tracks with the live voice actors' performance with "split-second cues by means of turntables" (Figure 5.20).[883]

[883] Ibid.

Figure 5.20. "Men of Many Voices." *Cavalcade of The Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West* (1939), program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Bowling Green State University Special Collections).

The stage itself was rigged with speakers and even the set pieces, contained speakers. For example, wagons pulled onto the stage carried carrying "loudspeakers

and interior lighting."[884] The production's sound design was an early attempt at surround sound. In the official program book of the 1939 *Cavalcade*, the speaker placement was of great importance:

> One of the technical phases of Cavalcade of the Golden West which provides character and meaning to the production and, at the same time, is most mysterious, is the system of "Auditory-perspective" sound, developed after several years of research and experimentation…. Loudspeakers are placed at specified intervals on the stage and microphones laced in mathematical ratio to them are contained in a small "sound room" above and to the rear of the grandstand.[885]

The placement of speakers and the discussion of microphone placement are early attempts at acoustical engineering. The stage was very large and great concern was taken to mimic the stage action with sound. Thus, the hidden speakers in the scenery and set pieces created a directed sound point that reflected the movement of the characters:

> This makes for complete flexibility of action. As the actor moves on the stage so does the actor in a sound room move in exact mathematical ratio. Not only does the sound emanate from the exact location of the character on the stage but with the exact intensity and tone necessary for dramatic effect. This technique makes Cavalcade's fast-moving scenes easily understood and provides the vital "life" needed for dramatic emphasis![886]

A person in the booth adjusted the volume level for the recorded soundtrack and narrator per performance.

Although the sound may have been at optimal levels for the Cavalcade audience, the volume of Cavalcade's performance was the topic of constant complaint by *San Francisco Chronicle* critic Alfred Frankenstein. While reporting on other

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[884] Art Linkletter, *Cavalcade of the Golden West: Streamlined History of the Building of the West,* 6.
[885] Ibid.
[886] Ibid.

musical events at the fairgrounds, Frankenstein bemoaned the horrible din caused by the outdoor venue as well as the ambient noise from the fairgrounds. He mentions how the *Cavalcade* interfered with the Edwin Franko Goldman Band's performances:

> Yesterday afternoon anything softer than a good, solid forte was completely covered by the competing musical drool from the loud-speakers, but the amplified barkers' voices, the shooting, and steam whistles from *The Cavalcade of the West*, the boom of the ferry whistles and hammering of miscellaneous carpenters in the vicinity."[887]

After the publication of Frankenstein's article, the location of the Goldman Band's venue did not change, much to his dismay.

America! Cavalcade of the Nation!

The Fair in '40 was the impetus to offer a new and reimagined brand of the *Cavalcade*. Rather than showcasing the prominence of the pioneers, the script included the rest of the United States (Figure 5.21).

[887] Alfred Frankenstein, *An Anthology of Music Criticism* (San Francisco: WPA in Northern California, 1942), 389.

Figure 5.21. *America! Cavalcade of a Nation: Souvenir Program* (1940), program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

Furthering the American-centric focus of history, the retitled performance *America! Cavalcade of the Nation!* was a purely patriotic pageant. Furthering the American-centric focus of history, *America! Cavalcade of the Nation!* contained a "392 feet in length" simulated ocean where "Christopher Columbus embark[ed] in the Santa

Maria and rediscover America." Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the colonial general, George Washington."[888]

The forward to the *America! Cavalcade of the Nation!,* written by supervising director Samuel G. Blythe, articulates the tenuous political issues of the era as well as the mission of the performance:

> America—our country—stands today dominant in a war-torn world, the bulwark and hope of democracy, the prayer of civilization, the transcendent power for peace…. The only way to judge the future is by the past, and to that end is here presented "America! Cavalcade of a Nation," which brings you the story of the building of our Republic from its pioneer beginnings to the glory and greatness of the present…. The only Nation in History where "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness" is not merely a political mouthing but is a resplendent American truth.[889]

With the economic depression and war looming in the Atlantic, the Pacific looked to be the answer to America's issues. By relying on the progress and "victories" of the past, the fair going audiences were lulled into a sense of teleological security.

The twentieth-century localized Californian identity articulated through musical programming was juxtaposed with the greater American national consciousness of the Western "frontier." The championing of the industrious pioneers and conquering of the wild, untamed frontier and its native inhabitants are celebrated throughout the script. The themes of fortitude, cultivation, harnessing power, and sheer determination mirrored the pioneering spirit the "Thirty-Niners" of San Francisco so desperately wanted to portray. Easily dismissed by previous historians as a spectacle pageant, an examination of the Golden Gate International Exposition's

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[888] *Motor Land*, April 1939, 3.
[889] *America! Cavalcade of a Nation: Souvenir Program*, "Forward."

pre-fair programming and *Cavalcade*, can provide new insight into technological advancements as well as the hybridity and constant fluid departure of the authentic.

Radio and Film

The introduction of new technology, mainly radio and the ability to amplify sound, changed the soundscape of the American expositions, especially the GGIE. The popularity of the radio and film entertainment avenues meant audiences came to the fairgrounds with predetermined tastes in music.[890] The Swing Era (1935–1945) depended upon radio (remote broadcasts and studio programs) for promoting specialized bands and songs.[891] To meet the demand for certain musical ensembles, the 1939 GGIE management, mainly the Managing Director Charles H. Strub,[892] contracted musicians and impresarios whose fan base was built through radio, film, and/or other large-scale spectacles at previous fairs. The broadcast medium and films created a mass market with sophisticated tastes upon which GGIE organizers capitalized. Unlike the fairs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the concept of "sideshows and the theater of curiosity" was outdated. Rather, audiences wanted to see and hear "the names and groups they heard on the radio and to participate in cultural offerings as much as take them in."[893] The GGIE contracted famed soloists and entertainers such as Count Basie, Jack Benny, Benny Goodman,

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[890] See Chapter 3.
[891] Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music,*159.
[892] The 1939 GGIE was composed of many committees and several appointees oversaw musical programming including Leonora Wood Armsby (Music Coordinating Committee) and Paul A. Bissinger (Special Events, Ceremonies, and Social Affairs Music Committee).
[893] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 128.

Artie Shaw, Kay Kyser, José Iturbi, and Leopold Stokowski for entertainment. And like radio entertainment of the era, the majority of performances were offered free of charge.

The importance of technology utilized at the GGIE and the era's quest for modernity and progress cannot be stressed enough. Since the last San Francisco-hosted world's fair in 1915, many technological advancements—such as amplification, microphones, and radio—changed the way in which GGIE audiences interacted with entertainers and musical offerings.[894] In addition, the rise of radio technology allowed international and domestic audiences to experience the soundscape of the GGIE without physically being in attendance. Thus, the impact of the GGIE far overreached the boundaries of the man-made Treasure Island. Data regarding the provision of free entertainment from the fairgrounds and how that impacted attendance cannot be determined at this time.

The technology available to 1930s audiences allowed them to be a part of a shared community. This "imagined community,"[895] a theory explored by sociologists and historians, created bonds among citizens from different socioeconomic, cultural, and political backgrounds.[896] An example of this "shared community" can be seen in the 1940 introduction to the John S. Young radio program that covered the GGIE. To the swell of a string orchestra, a male narrator states, "I am Radio, do you hear me America?" Answering him is a full mixed chorus singing in unison, "we hear, we

[894] This is nowhere more evident than the sound design for the *Cavalcade*, explored earlier in this chapter.
[895] The theory of "imagined community" can be ascribed to Walter Benjamin.
[896] See Chapter 2.

hear." The narrator continues, "I am Radio, the voice, the contraption of wood, steel, loops, mics, electric waves, tubes and flesh and blood. In the golden morning through to the enfolding evening, I speak to you with many musics, sounds, and voices."[897] The radio set is personified as a fellow citizen who provides services to all of America. Not unlike the narration in *Ballad for Americans*,[898] this radio program narrator sends a question out to an imagined audience and the listener inevitably identifies with the scripted chorus' answer.

Those who could not attend the fair in person were able to participate in a collective, shared experience through radio. Corporations marketed their methods of communication, and in the case of the Radio Corporation of America (R.C.A.), showcased radios alongside television (first debuted to New York World's Fair audiences in the spring of 1939).[899] Fairgoers at the GGIE were led through demonstrations and displays that exhibited "the result of the world's greatest electrical, radio and acoustical engineers and the masters of sound recording and music."[900] Familiarizing audiences with the possibilities of modern communication methods strengthened the relationship between technology and human users. During a Depression-era fair, professionally produced music at no admission fee underlined the powerful role music had in attracting fair patrons and in turn, displayed the star power of radio artists who came face-to-face with some of the largest audiences they had ever performed for live.

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[897] "Radio from NY," transcribed by E. La Barre, Library of Congress Sonic Archive, March 2015.
[898] See Chapter 2.
[899] Robert T. Hilliar and Michael C. Keith, *The Broadcast Century and Beyond: A Biography of American Broadcasting*, 4th ed. (Burlington, MA: Focal Press, 2005), 84.
[900] "Here is the Story Behind the Pictures," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 30, 1939.

Station W6XBE

For those who could not attend the fair, the GGIE had a shortwave radio station, W6XBE, built on the island. Sponsored by General Electric, this station was the "first major shortwave radio broadcast station in the United States West of the Mississippi."[901] Located in the California Auditorium, W6XBE provided news clips, broadcasts of the GGIE's programs, concerts, and ceremonies. (This station would play a role in the ASCAP concert at the end of the GGIE in 1940; see Chapter 10.) The *Official GGIE Guidebook* (1939) described the radio broadcasting studio as "the most complex technical radio installation in the country" with "a master control room through which twelve broadcasts may be monitored at one time, and facilities for remote 'pickups' from 26 spots."[902] The *San Francisco Chronicle* provided a short but detailed report of the equipment of W6XBE: "The station, operating on 19.56 and 31.48 meters with power of 20,000 watts which by use of a directional aerial are equivalent to 200,000 watts."[903]

The station's first broadcast was on Opening Day, February 18, 1939, in the afternoon.[904] In addition to a professional shortwave radio station, the GGIE hosted an "amateur radio station W6USA," which was located in International Hall.[905] W6USA was, at the time, "America's most powerful and complete amateur station" that was open for "the use of any licensed radio amateur."[906] Hundreds of domestic

[901] "Radio: Isle Station Is on the Air," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1939, 6.
[902] *Official Guide Book, 1939,* 71.
[903] "Radio: Isle Station Is on the Air," 6.
[904] Ibid.
[905] *Official Guide Book,* 25.
[906] "Hams Span World With Potent Station," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 11, 1939, 2E.

and foreign radio broadcasters used the station, including Arsenio Luz, the Philippines commissioner to the Exposition. Commissioner Luz used the facility to speak to relatives and staff in Manila, but because radio waves did "not carry well on the short lengths" it was "necessary to be at the station at the right time in order to talk to Manila. That time is 5 o'clock in the morning."[907] The station was also used by family members of the crew and officers of the Pan-American Clippers who traveled from the fairgrounds to Manila and Hong Kong, thus establishing a "two-way connection that permitted" conversations even though "nearly 7,000 miles separated the two groups."[908] There was also an attempt to link both the San Francisco and New York Fairs' amateur station (W2USA) with direct communication, thereby connecting the two concurrent events.[909]

An Opening Day *San Francisco Chronicle* article explained the pervasiveness of the radio's presence at this fair: "The major broadcasting companies throughout today will have a microphone hidden behind every piece of shrubbery and every drinking fountain….General Electric is shooting its new shortwave beams into the Orient and South America, and the amateurs are contacting everything from Alaska to Africa."[910] GGIE's participants, sponsors, and organizers had a common goal—to connect the static location of the fair (Treasure Island) to the global community. Radio technology was the primary method of communication, creating an instant connection to communities, thus creating a remote audience whose members could

[907] Ibid.
[908] Ibid.
[909] Ibid.
[910] "It's Today! The Fair! More About Opening," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 18, 1939, 6.

interact with the fair proceedings and programming.

In an effort to include the countries participating in the Pacific theme of the fair, the broadcasts were translated into non-English speaking languages. For example, daily broadcasts from the Latin American Court were read in English and Spanish.[911] The broadcasts from W6XBE, with a frequency of 15,330 kilocycles, would be relayed daily to "our neighbor nations of South and Central America between the hours of three and seven p.m. Pacific, Standard Time."[912] W6XBE broadcasted the opening ceremonies and the "program was directed towards the United States' Latin American cousins" by including "introductory remarks in Spanish."[913] The broadcasts were a movement towards inclusivity, but were also political ploys that served as a "possible American answer to the Nazi radio invasion of South America."[914]

The Treasure Island radio station was the first to be broadcast by an American station specifically for a Chinese audience in Japanese-occupied China.[915] General Electric, the sponsor of the station, coordinated with local Chinese companies (Chinese Six Companies) to provide talent for the programs. In addition, Chinese Village actors from the GGIE would "participate in the programs." Not only did the

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[911] "Program for Formal Dedication of the Golden Gate International Exposition Station W6XBE, Owned by the General Electric Company and Programmed by the National Broadcasting Company": Latin American Court, Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay, Thursday, March 2, 1939, Shortwave Broadcast to South American Countries, in Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, The Papers of George Creel, Box 7.
[912] Ibid.
[913] "Radio: Isle Station Is on the Air," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 19, 1939, 6.
[914] "Treasure Island Short-Wave Station Plans Broadcasts to 'Japanese' China," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 16, 1939, 6.
[915] After an exhaustive search, information regarding the specific content and a transcript of the first broadcast cannot be found at this time.

broadcasts connect the GGIE with the local Chinese community and occupied China, they also served as a political move to disseminate information to an occupied country. Geopolitics seeped into the seemingly carefree exposition grounds. One of the most heartbreaking examples was the broadcast of a mother who sang a Chinese lullaby in order to reach her missing son. Mrs. Louise I. Hseyn Kwang and her husband had left China four years previously, so the latter could complete his doctoral studies at Cornell, leaving their child with a grandmother. After the Japanese occupation, the parents lost contact with their child and hoped the broadcast would be heard by "someone in far off China" who could help locate their child. After her song, the couple left for Vancouver to catch a ship to China and hopefully find their missing child.[916]

Recorded broadcasts are very rare; thus, archival collections containing radio transcripts presented at the GGIE are of great importance. Radio transcripts are a valuable resource since they capture the ephemeral quality of broadcasts. The radio transcript for the dedication of GGIE Station W6XBE is an important document housed at the Library of Congress. This eleven-page document contains the entire broadcast transcript, including the information regarding the two radio stations that covered the event—KGO (a station currently still active in the Bay Area) and W6XBE. Major O. J. Keatinge, Director of Foreign Participation for the GGIE, served as master of ceremonies, starting his speech in Spanish:

[916] "Mother Radios Chinese Lullaby In Hunt For Baby," *Oakland Tribune*, June 21, 1939, 4D. Information of whether or not the reunification was possible cannot be determined.

> *De la isle del tesoro en San Francisco estamos tranmitiendo los ceremonios de la dedicacion de la estacio nueva de onda corta de la compania General Electric-W6XBE. Durante el programa oiran los representates consulares de casi todas las nationes latinas, ademas oficiales altos del gobierno federal de los Estados Unidos, de la esposicion, y de la National Broadcasting Company*.[917]

Keatinge continues his broadcast, interchanging between Spanish and English while guest speakers, such as President Leland Cutler, make remarks. Keatinge explains, "Because our Exposition Station, W6XBE, will be broadcasting programs from the Exposition and programs of the National Broadcasting Company to the Spanish and Portuguese speaking countries of the Western Hemisphere, much of the program this afternoon will be in those tongues."[918] A few surviving recorded broadcasts from the GGIE are available at the Library of Congress Digital Archives collection (transcriptions of these broadcasts will be incorporated throughout this study).

Technology and Amplification

There was not a moment when a fairgoer was not bombarded with sound. The prevalence of amplification (loudspeakers, microphones, and cars with bullhorns that made announcements throughout the fairgrounds), as well as large outdoor pageants (such as the *Cavalcade of the Golden West*), made quite a cacophony. Journalists and

[917] "From the treasure island in San Francisco we are transmitting the dedication ceremonies from the new shortwave station of the company General Electric-W6XBE. During the program, you will hear the consular representatives of almost all the Latin nations, as well as high officials of the federal government of the United States, of the exposition, and of the National Broadcasting Company." "Program for Formal Dedication of the Golden Gate International Exposition Station W6XBE, Owned by the General Electric Company and Programmed by the National Broadcasting Company. Latin American Court, Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay. Thursday, March 2, 1939," Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, The Papers of George Creel: Box 7, 2.
[918] Ibid., 2.

arts critics of the era made note of the level of ambient noise on the Island and how it impeded the ideal acoustics for music. *San Francisco Chronicle* critic Alfred Frankenstein (1906–1981) bemoaned the horrible din caused by the outdoor venue that interfered with "America's most distinguished concert band."[919] Frankenstein commented on the Goldman Band's performances in March 1939:

> Such, at least, was indicated by yesterday afternoon's programs, which was played under the worst conditions imaginable, but still exhibited the virtues of Dr. Goldman's ensemble…. Goldman and his band must be costing the Fair a good bit of money, and simply from the point of view of return on investment, the physical conditions under which they work should be changed at once.[920]

Frankenstein continued to support the Goldman Band's quality of performance and to issue a list of sonic interruptions:

> Yesterday afternoon anything softer than a good, solid forte was completely covered by the competing musical drool from the loud-speakers, but the amplified barkers' voices, the shooting, and steam whistles from *The Cavalcade of the West*, the boom of the ferry whistles and hammering of miscellaneous carpenters in the vicinity. To say nothing of the cold, which stiffened the musicians' fingers, raised Cain with the intonation, and certainly did not enhance the attractiveness of the occasion so far as the prospective audience was concerned."[921]

Although Frankenstein does not state the physical venue location, according to the GGIE schedule, printed daily in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Goldman's band performed in the Court of Honor.[922]

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[919] Alfred Frankenstein, quoted in *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 389.
[920] Ibid., 391.
[921] Ibid.
[922] After the publication of Frankenstein's article, the location of the Goldman Band's venue did not change. The Goldman Band's GGIE performance history as well as an in-depth musical analysis of a march by Goldman will be presented in Chapter 9.

The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra

By 1939, the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra (SFS), founded in 1911, was a nationally recognized musical ensemble. During the Depression, the SFS had a tumultuous tenure, including the cancellation of the 1934–35 season.[923] But the citizens of San Francisco supported their hometown orchestra by passing a ballot measure that included the "SOS" (Save Our Symphony) property tax that would fund the symphony as well as appropriated funds for the future site of the San Francisco Airport.[924]

Ever the supporter of the SFS, Alfred Frankenstein articulated the importance of world's fairs for the Bay Area by stating, "The heightened activity created for a brief time by the World's Fairs has frequently continued in certain departments far beyond the limited moment of the expositions themselves, and has had extremely beneficial long range results."[925] Frankenstein argues that a musical program at a fair should "balance two principles"—the first is the principle "of the unusual, the spectacular," which attracts audiences. The second is the "principle of civic responsibility" giving hometown talent a platform to perform, thus building a musical

[923] Leta Miller, "The Multitude Listens with the Heart, 188.
[924] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 248. Technically, the San Francisco Symphony was not the primary recipient identified for the funds, rather The Art Commission, "exercised control over the concerts it commissioned." (Regardless, the symphony would be funded and future seasons would not be canceled due to funding.) David Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony: Music, Maestros, and Musicians* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press, 1983), 41; Schneider, a violinist for the SFS, wrote an anecdote about his visit to the GGIE, where, at the American Telephone Company exhibit, he announced his engagement to his wife over the long distance telephone demonstration. Schneider, *The San Francisco Symphony,* 45.
[925] Frankenstein, *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 393-4.

community and future.[926] Indeed, the musical arts of San Francisco and the greater Bay Area benefited greatly from hosting all expositions, especially the PPIE and GGIE (see Chapters 2 and 3).

Assuming prospective audiences would want music from the popular genres of swing, jazz, and symphonic band music (and undoubtedly knowledge of financial issues with programming classical music at previous fairs), Managing Director Charles Stub did not set aside enough performances of Western classical music. The preference for band music over symphonic music is evident in the compensation gap; the SFS "received $50,000 for a few concerts in 1939, whereas Edwin Franko Goldman's Band was contracted for fourteen weeks at $112,000."[927] Frankenstein argued that although Benny Goodman's band received $15,000 a week for a total of $60,000 for a four-week run, the exposition organizers claimed they "could not raise $50,000 for ten weeks of symphony concerts."[928] Incredulously, even though the GGIE had no provisions for the hometown symphony to perform at the start of planning, the New York World's Fair Director of Music, Olin Downes, extended an invitation for the SFS to perform at his event. In a letter to Leonora Wood Armsby (SFS board president and manager), Downes expressed and eagerness to "hear this orchestra [SFS] as it has developed under [Monteaux's] leadership."[929] Because of

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[926] Alfred Frankenstein, "Beethoven Is Refused Fair Admittance," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 9, 1939.
[927] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 259.
[928] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: Musical Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1939, This World, 19. Although Frankenstein refers to a four-week run; in actuality, Goodman's contract was for two weeks.
[929] Larry Roth, *Music For A City, Music For The World: 100 Years With The San Francisco Symphony* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2011), 90.

financial constraints, however, the SFS never performed at the New York Fair; nevertheless, the invitation highlighted the lapse in GGIE fair management's inclusion of the hometown symphony.

Initial reports of the classical symphonic music programming stated that the organizers planned to have the SFS perform on Treasure Island since it was the hometown ensemble. In her book, Leta Miller recounts the history of the SFS and the rumor of the Exposition Company offering "Toscanini the phenomenal sum of $160,000" to appear at the fair, which he declined. Alfred Frankenstein surmises that that large performance fee was because the conductor "insisted on bringing his own orchestra with him" and that if he had indeed came to the fair, "there would have been at least a very strong probability that the SFS would have not been heard at the Fair at all."[930] At the time of the GGIE, Artuo Toscanini (1867–1957) was the foremost authority of classical music and was referred to as "the greatest conductor of all time."[931] The maestro's performances with the NBC Symphony were created for the mass media markets of radio, tours, recordings, and later, television.[932]

Frankenstein recognized the musical possibility of hosting Toscanini at the GGIE but pointed out that having the New York-based artist come at the "exclusion of our own orchestra would have been nothing short of criminal." He expands upon his argument of championing regional talent, writing:

> The centralization of American music in New York proceeds space. American youth is being drained off constantly to the big center, where it fights a dog-

[930] Frankenstein, *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 401.
[931] Richard Crawford, *America's Musical Life: A History*, 167.
[932] Ibid.

> eat-dog competition not only for the suffrage of New York, but also for the right to exist and find an audience in its own home town…. The result is that [the young American composers] strike no roots, establish themselves only on the surface, produce no native works, and can be blown away tomorrow, to be replaced with the next Eastern sensation.[933]

The struggle for a San Franciscan ensemble to prove their talent against an East Coast musical power was of great importance after Boston Symphony Orchestra's performances at the PPIE, which eclipsed the hometown ensemble (see Chapter 3). San Francisco wanted to showcase its improved symphony at the GGIE. Touring groups from the East coast were booked, but there was an effort to showcase West Coast talent at the GGIE, evident in special music festivals and special events days.[934]

In an unusual turn of events in fair programming history, San Francisco fairgoers' demand for classical music in 1939 forced the management to include more symphonic and Western-classical ensembles. Frankenstein bemoaned the lack of music in his column, writing, "San Francisco's Golden Gate International Exposition opened without benefit of music, has to date announced no musical program, and remains today content with band concerts."[935] In retrospect, Opening Day (see Chapter 3) did commence with music and parades but did not emphasize western-art music ensembles, such as the SFS, as the center of the festivities or programming. A month after Strub's hiring, Frankenstein blasted the new director in his column dated July 23, 1939: "Once again, and again as a matter of the record, we return to the vexed and vexing question of music at the Fair." Frankenstein continues:

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[933] Frankenstein, *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 402-3.
[934] See Chapter 7 for in depth information regarding special event days and music festivals.
[935] Frankenstein, *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 397.

> Dr. Charles H. Strub is quoted at that time as saying he always knew San Francisco was an amusement loving city. Some day, one hopes, the good doctor will be informed that San Francisco likewise prides itself on being a cultivated city, as is proven by the highly prosperous balance sheet of the Fine Arts Palace on Dr. Strub's own fairgrounds….So our pageant of the Pacific dwindles in part to a carnival of "amusements."[936]

Whether or not Strub responded to Frankenstein's negative assessment of his fair programming publicly, Frankenstein's plea was answered by the fall. In the official narrative of the GGIE, Jack James and Earle Vonard Weller claimed that it was not until "late in the '39 season, when the management and with it the entire entertainment concept had undergone complete change, was the Magic City to have its first taste of symphony music" with the SFS in their first performance of the series on September 13, 1939. The series required tickets. The price for a single ticket was $1 (equivalent to $18 in 2018) and season tickets for the eight concerts cost $6.00 (equivalent to $108) (box seats (6 per box) were available for $65.00 (equivalent to $1,170).[937] It is worth noting that even though the symphony series ticket prices were higher than other entertainment offerings at the Depression-era fair, there were sold out performances. José Iturbi conducted and performed Mozart's Piano Concerto, K. 488 to an estimated audience of five thousand.[938]

A matinee finale on October 21 packed the California Coliseum to capacity.[939] The performance of coloratura Lily Pons and her conductor husband Andre Kostelanetz with the SFS on October 21 was highly anticipated. Billed as a

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[936] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: Musical Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 23, 1939.
[937] "Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series." San Francsico Ephemera Colelction, the California Historical Society.)
[938] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 263.
[939] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 179.

"super attraction," more than 13,500 people came to hear the performance.[940] According to newspaper reports, the program consisted of solo performances by Pons of "The Hymn to the Sun from *Coq d'Or*," "*Blue Danube,*" "The Last Rose of Summer," and the "Bell Song" from *Lakmé*.[941] Andre Kostelanetz conducted the SFS with "purely orchestral selections" of Ravel's *Bolero*, the overture to *Der Freischütz*, and pieces from the *Coq d'Or* suite.[942] Pons signed programs after the performance for twenty-five cents a signature with all proceeds donated to "the French Red Cross."[943] The following Table 5.4 details the SFS Symphonic Series added to the end of the 1939 GGIE's program.

Table 5.4: 1939 September San Francisco Symphony GGIE Concert Series (source: *San Francisco Chronicle*)

Date	**Invited Guest(s)**
September 13	José Iturbi (pianist and conductor)
September 20	Albert Coates (conductor) & Mikizia Korjus (soprano)
September 23	Leopold Stokowski (conductor)
October 21	Lily Pons (soprano) & Andre Kostelanetz (conductor)

According to James and Weller, the GGIE proved that "cultural music" was a "sound venture in showmanship."[944] The public demanded more symphonic performances, evident in the successful audience attendance. Frankenstein pointed

[940] "Pons Will Sing," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 21, 1939.
[941] Alfred Frankenstein, "Musical Notes," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 15, 1939.
[942] Ibid.
[943] "Lily Pons: She'll Sing at The Fair Today," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 21, 1939.
[944] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 180.

out this fact in his review of the first symphonic concert (September 13) by stating that the SFS concert drew "about a quarter of the entire gate for the day, and represents, if I am not mistaken, the highest percentage of the total ever taken in by an extra-tariff attraction since the Exposition opened."

When the decision was made to remount the GGIE as the "Fair in ′Forty," the 1940 management "made early provision for a symphony program to run through the second season."[945] Heralded as a musical highlight, the SFS was engaged to perform several concerts as part of the Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series. Utilized as a marketing attraction, the SFS's presence at the fair was promoted by the press and magazines, which touted the ensemble's appearance at the Fair as a headlining event.[946] In an advertisement for the Fair, the SFS was singled out as an ensemble not to be missed: "The famous San Francisco Symphony under the direction of Pierre Monteux will be transported to Treasure Island for frequent concerts featuring famous guest artists and conductors."[947] Special program booklets advertising the series with a mail-in option for advance season tickets were made available (Figures 5.22 and 5.23). The multi-page booklet contained a cursory program list of the soloists, complete with headshots (Figure 5.23).

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[945] Ibid.
[946] *Motor Land*, April 1940. Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[947] George Besser, *Treasure Island: Go by Train, Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay–May 25 to September 29, 1940*, 1, in Scrapbook of clippings relating to the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco 1939/40: Fresno State University Special Collections, Fresno, CA.

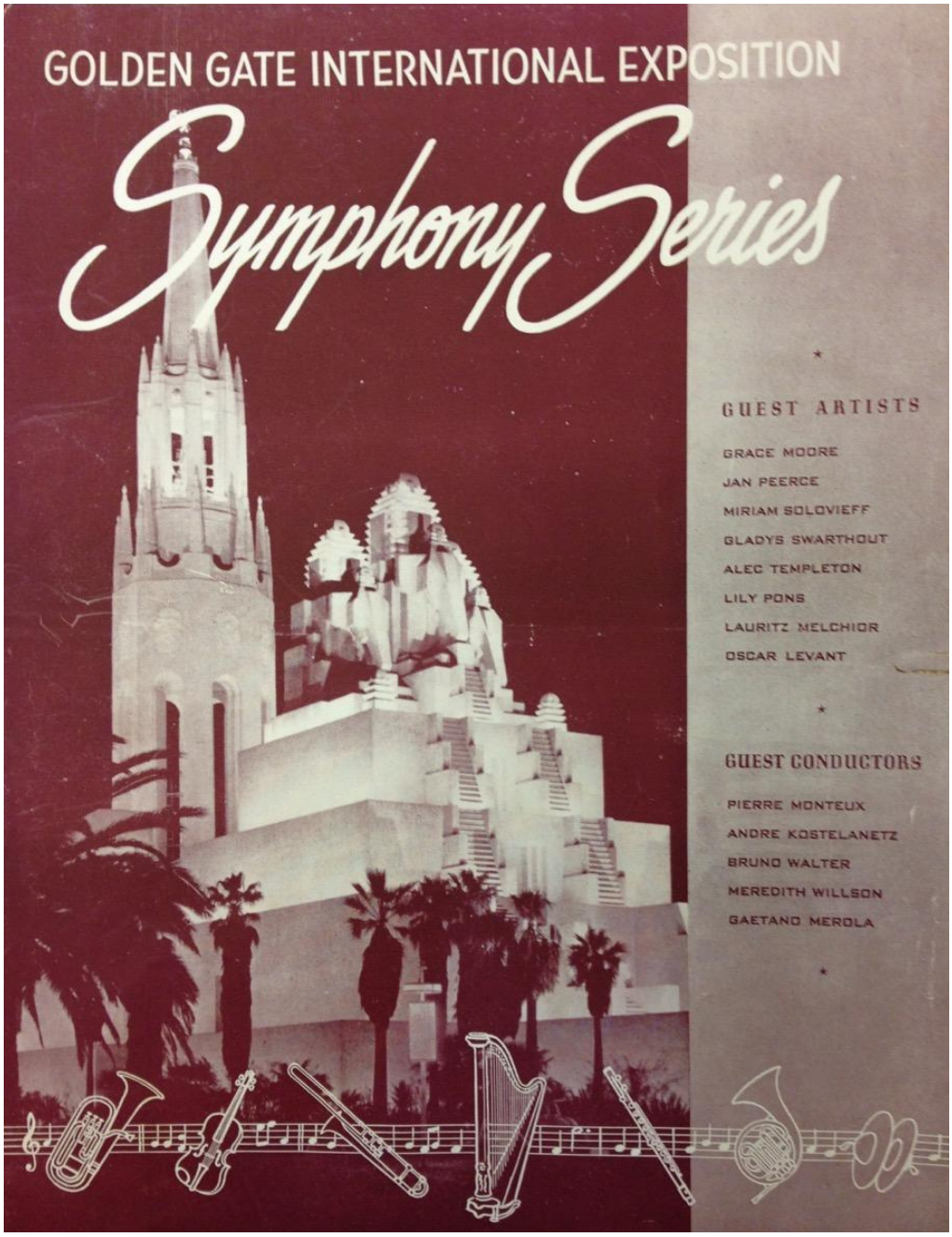

Figure 5.22. "Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series." (Photograph by author, courtesy of San Francisco Ephemera Collelction, the California Historical Society.)
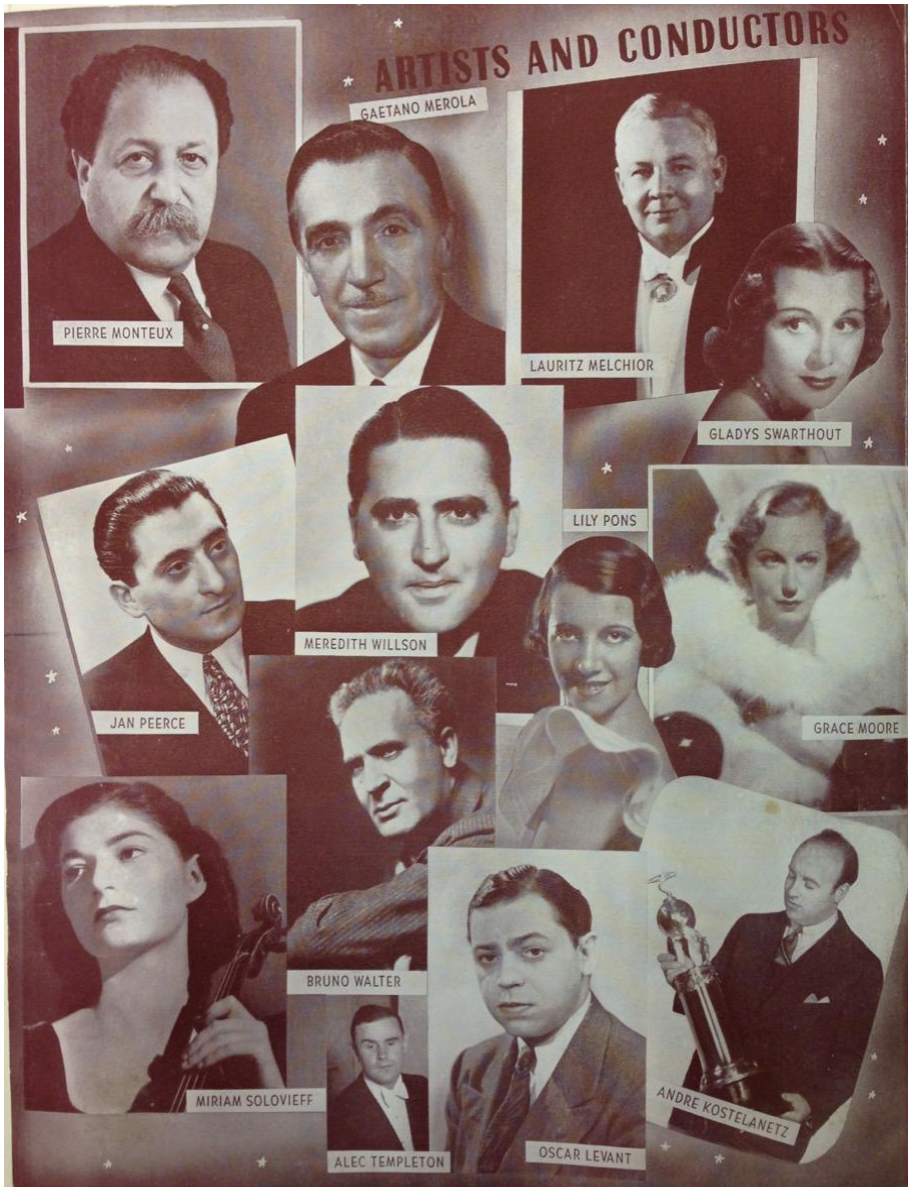
Figure 5.23. "Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series: Artists and Conductors." (Photograph by author), courtesy of San Francsico Ephemera Colelction, the California Historical Society.

The series was marketed as a special event of the summer:

> By special arrangement with the Musical Association of San Francisco, Leonora Wood Armsby president and managing director, the management of the Golden Gate International Exposition is pleased to present the San Francisco Symphony Orchestra in an Exposition Symphony Series. The only

> appearance of the San Francisco Symphony in the Bay Area this summer will be on Treasure Island.[948]

The presence of the SFS at the GGIE mandated cooperation from several organizations and Fair management, but the performance series would prove to be a success. The SFS Summer Series incurred the highest up-front cost of any musical performance at either the 1939 or 1940 Fairs.

Prospective patrons could mail-in their ticket order by June 1, 1940. Single-season tickets to the summer series cost $6.00 (in 2018 currency, equivalent to $108 in 2018) while reserved box seats (six seats total) was $65.00 ($1,169.95). Single-season tickets in boxes were available for $10.85 ($195.29).[949] After the June 1 deadline, single tickets were available for one dollar per concert. Arguably, the cost of tickets would prevent those who could not afford additional expense to hear the hometown symphony perform. But every concert was well attended and there was not an issue in the news about the cost of the series.

A star-studded lineup of soloists and guest conductors were engaged for the series. A list of the performances can be found in Table 5.5.

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[948] *Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series* (San Francisco: Sherman Clay & Co., 1940), San Francsico Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.
[949] Ibid. Inflation calculated by CPI Inflation Calculator, http://www.in2013dollars.com/.

Table 5.5: Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony Series, 1940

Date	**Invited Guest**
June 4	John Charles Thomas (baritone)
June 18	Jan Peerce (tenor) & Miriam Solovieff (violin)
July 2	Gladys Swarthout (mezzo-soprano) & Pierre Monteaux (conductor)
July 16	Alec Templeton (piano)
July 30	Andre Kostelanetz (conductor) & Lily Pons (soprano)
August 13	Bruno Walter (conductor) & Lauritz Melchior (tenor)
August 27	Meredith Wilson (conductor) & Oscar Levant (piano)
September 10	Gaetano Merola (conductor) & Grace Moore (soprano)

In the original program booklet, the September 10 date listed a "guest artist" to be announced later in the program while American soprano Grace Moore (1898–1947) was scheduled for June 4. By the time of the series' opening, Grace Moore's performance was moved to September 10 while John Charles Thomas (baritone, 1891–1960)[950] performed on the June 4 date.[951] The overall reception of the SFS concert series in 1940 was overwhelmingly positive. The newspapers supported the marketing of each symphonic concert with special sections and explanations of upcoming programs, encouraging fairgoers to see the hometown symphony.

[950] Frankenstein, *Anthology of Music Criticism*, 464.
[951] Thomas had performed with the SFS on "San Francisco Day" on September 20, 1939 (see Chapter 6) as well as a soloist at the ASCAP concert September 24, 1940 (see Chapter 10).

The Role of Women in Musical Programming at the GGIE

Women's organizations were a potent force in San Francisco's musical milieu during this era.[952] Gendered clubs and societies were established in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to champion issues important to the betterment of average life and to create female spaces within a male-dominated world. Clubs allowed women to create "a separate and socially acceptable institution"[953] that would champion causes important to the female sphere. Leta Miller's 2016 article, "Practical Idealism: The Musical Patronage of Phoebe Apperson Hearst" is an important addition to scholarship regarding the function and growth of women's clubs.[954] The arts, especially music were a "safe locus for women's philanthropy." Miller argues that the "support of music and the visual arts functions in part as a vehicle by which women could influence the public face of their communities without being seen as overstepping the constraints of their restricted domain."[955]

In the case of women's clubs, the majority of projects tended to benefit the community's advancements in education, health, and the arts. *Oakland Tribune* contributor, Alice Ryan Rood, articulated the importance of women's organizations, especially in the United States where "women's clubs have achieved an importance beyond the most hopeful visions of the women responsible for organizing those first

[952] An exploration of specific programming by gendered clubs can be found in Chapter 7.
[953] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 183.
[954] Leta Miller, "Practical Idealism: The Musical Patronage of Phoebe Apperson Hearst," in *Journal of the Society for American Music*, vol. 10, no.4 (2016): 383–421.
[955] Ibid., 387.

clubs of long ago."[956] Rood continues with a comparison to the historical legacy of men's clubs by stating, "the term 'long ago' is purely relative, for as compared with the centuries men have had their clubs, associations, guilds and other groups, the women's category is still pretty much in the infant state."[957]

California had a strong legacy of women's associations, "and in 1940 ranked high in such activities" high in activities of women's clubs."[958] Alameda County alone had thirty Federated Clubs, the manifest of which does not include "another long list of women's organizations, all of which fill a particular niche in the local scheme of affairs."[959] By the 1920a, there were many physical buildings erected by women's clubs, but the construction began to wane in the 1930s. This downward building trend, according to Shanken, occurred in part because women began to "assimilate into the public sphere" by "gaining jobs traditionally held by men" because of the economic pressures of a depression on philanthropic campaigns.[960] Private female autonomous spaces constructed in public areas were not as urgent in the 1930s. The GGIE did contain a women's club that was not purely political, but instead, served the needs of female patrons and acted as a hospitality house.[961]

Treasure Island had three clubs where membership was required: Yerba Buena Club, Press Building, and the Island Club. The Yerba Buena Club was

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[956] Alice Ryan Rood, "Women's Clubs and Organizations–Important Factors in Community Life and Welfare," *Oakland Tribune 1940 Yearbook*, 81, pamphlet, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[957] Ibid.
[958] Ibid.
[959] Ibid, 82.
[960] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 184.
[961] Ibid., 185.

designated for the explicit use of women members and their guests; thus, it was not open to the general public. The building, designed by William Wurster, was encased in glass and contained "spacious dining rooms, lounges, cocktail bars, children's room, beauty shops, and other feminine conveniences."[962] Shanken argues that the architecture of the club was "an oddity" among the other buildings of the GGIE.[963] The building's uniqueness underlined the function of the club; here, women's organizations would host luncheons featuring guest speakers and organize musical performances. Shanken argues that the pre-Modern movement stylized building served as a refuge for women patrons. It included showers and places to change clothes "for various types of events"[964] and areas to combat "exposition fatigue."[965] The building itself "worked out the persistent ambiguities that women faced in the public sphere" with "its own entrance and public spaces protected from the public gaze."[966] The club also offered special luncheons and dinners to precede the Symphony Summer Series of 1940 and Coolidge Quartet afternoon concerts.[967]

The Press Building was open to "newspapermen and other writers in various fields" and decorated with "original drawings and paintings contributed by cartoonists

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[962] *Official Program*, (1939, rev. ed.), 101.
[963] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 180.
[964] The GGIE influenced many aspects of culture, fashion, and design. Special advertisements for men and women's "exposition fashion" can be found in almost every periodical of the era. Companies like The White House on Sutter and Post Street placed GGIE-themed advertisements beckoning patrons to purchase "fair-going wardrobes." The White House, advertisement, *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1939, This World.
[965] Shanken, *Into the Void Pacific,* 185.
[966] Ibid., 181.
[967] Treasure Island Women's Club Presents As A Weekly Feature In The Coral Room, menu, San Francisco Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.

and illustrators of newspapers and periodicals."[968] The main club building was the $75,000 Island Club, at first open to male membership only. After a "scene of an armistice during which men were permitted to bring women guests to dinner," the club was opened to both sexes.[969] Members and their guests could relax in the lounge and bar or in the "card room, private dining rooms, barbershop. Locker room and steam room."[970] Members distributed tickets to the Island Club to guests or as a special admittance for a "special events day" (Figure 5.24).

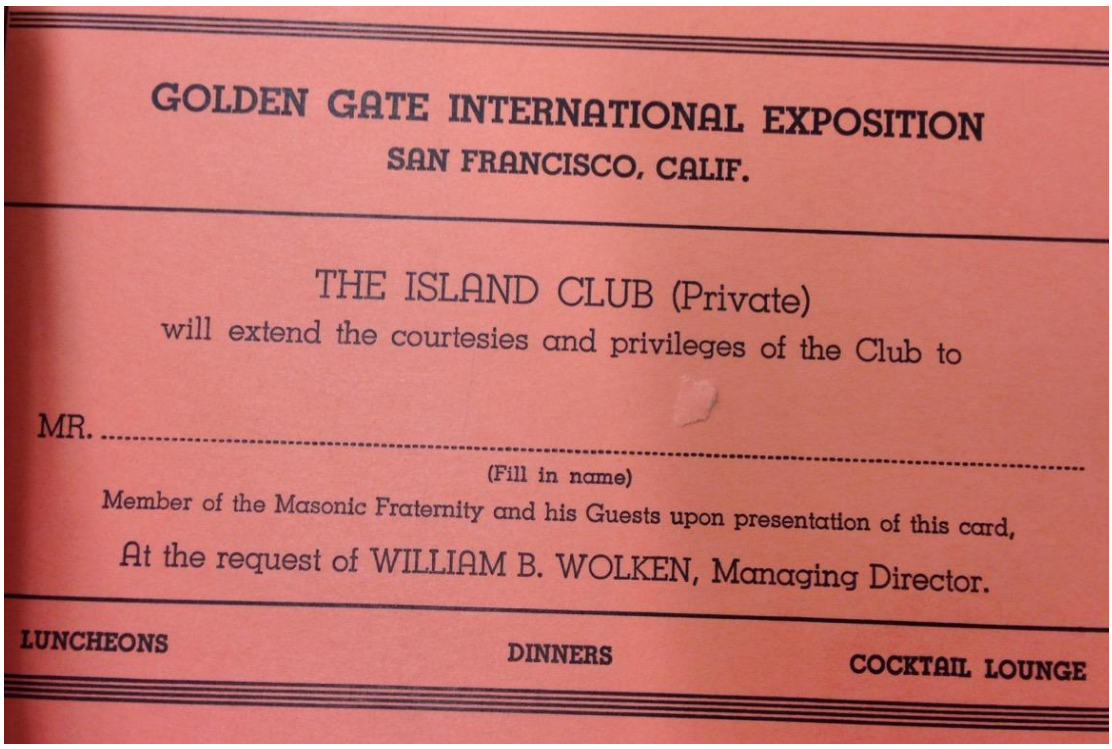

Figure 5.24. Ticket to the Island Club for the special event day for the Masonic Fraternity. Courtesy of San Francisco Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.

Women's role at American world's fairs has always been important to musical

[968] *Official Program* (1939, rev. ed.), 101.
[969] "The Island Club's a Good Place to Eat," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1939, 2E.
[970] *Official Program* (1939, rev. ed.), 101.

programming, especially western-classical music.[971] The Women's Board of the GGIE was created to be an advisory body that would not only promote "women's interests and activities" but also "sponsor exhibits and special entertainment."[972] Women's roles were relegated to the traditional spheres of (e.g., arts and crafts, county organization, gardens and clubs, drama, education, and recreation).[973] In 1936–1937, Director of Promotion, Frank Feliz, created an image folio of tri-fold presentations detailing specific campaigns by GGIE organizers. One specific board showcased "Women's Activities" where an organizational chart of the role of the Women's Board, as well as details regarding the program, progress, and activities, was detailed. Since notes and proceedings of the Women's Board meetings are not available at this time, Feliz's image portfolio is a reliable source that can give us a window into the organizer's goal for the role of women at the GGIE.

Unlike previous fairs, however, the Women's Board had an expanded role in the following organizations: Advisory Committee California County Organization; State Executive Committee; State Advisory Committee; Executive Committee; and Steering Committee.[974] But at the executive level, the only female chairperson of an official committee for the Exposition Company was Leonora Armsby.[975] According to Feliz's 1936–1937 promotional board, the activities toward which the Women's Board was originally directed were "art competitions, essay contests, and historical

[971] See Chapter 2.
[972] Frank Feliz, "Golden Gate International Exhibition," scrapbook, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[973] Ibid.
[974] Ibid.
[975] Mrs. Leonora Armsby was a force for the San Francisco Symphony. See Chapter 6 for more details.

societies." Underneath the "Progress" category, women were to "stimulate Western and nationwide interest in the 1939 World's Fair" by "stressing Western historic attractions," "supporting foreign participation," all the while reinforcing traditional feminine cultural spheres of "garden," "arts and crafts," and "club exhibits" as well as "developing exhibits of social welfare and education."[976] In addition to promoting the GGIE throughout the West, the Women's Board would also bring in special conventions and develop "major contests through the Schools and Counties."[977]

Women from the 1939 Fair who served in leadership roles ranged from experts in their fields to politicians and wives of business titans. Some of the women (identified mainly by their married names, as was common in that era) of note were: Mrs. George T. Cameron, Chairman of the Women's Board, (daughter of Michael H. De Young) and Mrs. Julius Kahn (Women's Committee of the California Commission and "former member of the U.S. House of Representatives)."[978] Dr. Aurelia Reinhardt, President of Mills College, was involved with the proceedings of

[976] Feliz, "Golden Gate International Exhibition."
[977] Ibid.
[978] Additional prominent women who served on committees included: Several of the other women on committees were Mrs. William Denman (Vice-Chairman) "authority on the American Indian; Mrs. Henry Potter Russell, of California's Crocker family; Mrs. Duncan McDuffie "a Director of International House"; Mrs. George Creel (Theatrical Consultant); Mrs. Hazel P. Faulkner (Director, Women's Activities); and Mrs. Dorothy W. Liebes (Director, Decorative Arts). Other prominent Bay Area women took part in other organization roles. For example, the famous philanthropist, Rosalie Stern, organized the musical programming for the San Francisco Recreation Commission (SFRC) (see Chapter 5). Aurelia Reinhardt, "Women's Role in Pacific Pageant," *Think*, February 1939, Mills College Library & Special Collections, 40. After Julius Kahn's death, his wife Florence Prag Kahn succeed his San Francisco District Congressional position in 1925. Incidentally, she became the first Jewish woman to serve in Congress as well as the first woman to serve on the Military Affairs Committee. "Kahn, Florence Prag," History, Art & Archives: United States House of Represenatives, accessed July 22, 2018, http://history.house.gov/People/Listing/K/KAHN,-Florence-Prag-(K000002)/#biography.

the GGIE and wrote on the subject of women's roles at the exposition.[979] In an article never before examined by GGIE fair historians, Reinhardt details women's issues and champions the work conducted at the GGIE in the February 1939 issue of *Think*. Reinhardt argues that women's roles in society have changed dramatically since the last San Francisco-hosted world's fair—American women were now "photographing new stars, counting invisible atoms, laboring in countless social services, creating fresh beauty and performing duties that make them in every way a political citizen."[980] Reinhardt acknowledges the advancements made by the "masculine genius" that created the physical island and then details the importance of women in constructing the final aspects of that island: "To visit Treasure Island in its second phase was to recognize the creative energy given by women—draftsmen of blue prints, artists in stone and color, executives in bringing together and placing collections, committee workers in buildings and exhibits, secretaries and hostesses—was to see women as makers and as enjoyers."[981] The emerging role of women in the 1930s was not confined to the United States, but also internationally. She writes:

> In so brief a space, I should like to speak specifically of the Women's Board of the Golden Gate International Exposition and its plans on behalf of women. Their program includes bringing to the Fair for the particular pleasure of women visitors, a group of women who have, in their own countries, contributed to contemporary culture, and worked in behalf of women in their own lands.[982]

The programs that the Women's Board planned for the fair's run included leading women scholars, artisans, politicians, musicians, and scientists. Not only is an insight

[979] Dr. Reinhardt received her doctorate in literature from Yale in 1905.
[980] Aurelia Reinhardt, "Women's Role in Pacific Pageant," 40.
[981] Ibid.
[982] Ibid.

into women's views of their shared experience at the fair rare, but also the inclusion of women from other parts of the world by their contemporaries is extraordinary.

Reinhardt lists the invited speakers and their topics in her article and designates them by country. From France, the invited speakers were writer, journalist, and pianist Ève Curie (daughter of Marie and Pierre Curie) who "represents her country women in her rare intellect and in her capacity as an artist" and "Mme. Nadia Boulanger" the "renowned musician and artist." Lady Astor from England was "expected to bring her message on democratic citizenship and intellectual problems," and from Norway came Sigrid Undset the "distinguished novelist and Nobel Prize winner." Two American novelists were invited by the Board to speak: Pearl Buck "novelist of contemporary China" and Anne Morrow Lindbergh, author of *North to the Orient* and *Listen! The Wind*.[983] One of the most fascinating invitations was to Mme. Chiang Kai Shek, the wife of the President of the Republic of China. Reinhardt writes, "Whether or not Mme. Chiang Kai Shek can leave her distressed and harassed country is not certain, but her name is on the program of noted women visitors."[984] The inclusion of Mme. Chiang Kai Shek alongside literary and artistic figures from Europe and America showcases the desire to include nations that border the Pacific.

Women composed the majority of the audience attendance at the Fair. In an article observing the audience on Opening Day (1939), *San Francisco Chronicle* reporter, Carolyn Anspacher, dedicated an entire column titled, "The Women: They Were the First to Arrive and Discover Treasure Island's Secrets" to the day's

[983] Ibid.
[984] Reinhardt, "Women's Role in Pacific Pageant," 40-1.

festivities.[985] Women exerted the most influence on the GGIE's musical programming and performance. Coinciding with the rise of women in the compositional field throughout the 1930s, there were several women composers who presented work at the GGIE. Some were well known, like Nadia Boulanger (1887–1979), Dana Suesse (1909–1987), and Mary Carr Moore (1873–1957), while others were only known in their local communities, like San Francisco-based composer Julia Klumpkey (1870/5–1961).[986] Specific compositions dedicated to the GGIE by the aforementioned composers will be investigated further in Chapter 9.

Nadia Boulanger

The most famous Women's Board sponsored event at the GGIE was the lecture series by famed French composer and conductor, Nadia Boulanger. Engaged by the Women's Board of the Golden Gate International Exposition, Boulanger visited Treasure Island in June 1939 to give several lectures. Boulanger's schedule began with a program presented in her honor where she met with members of the Women's Board at their headquarters. Afterwards, she was an honored guest at a luncheon at the Yerba Buena Club.[987] The following day, the composer gave a "musical lecture" accompanied by "piano selections at 3 p.m. in the lounge of the San

[985] "The Women: They Were the First to Arrive and Discover Treasure Island's Secrets," *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 19, 1939.
[986] Klumpkey studied with Boulanger at the Conservatoire Américain.
[987] During her stay, Boulanger was the houseguest of Mr. and Mrs. Langdon Warner in Berkeley. "Mlle. Boulanger Will Be Feted at Fair: Symphony Leader, Composer of Paris to Arrive for Exposition Events," June 12, 1939, San Francisco Public Library San Francisco History Room, Press Clipping File.

Francisco Building."[988] On Friday evening, she presented a second lecture in the California Building lounge."[989] A third lecture was scheduled "at a children's matinee meeting" located in the State Recreation Building's "Little Theater."[990] Admission to all of the lectures was free, but prospective audiences had to secure "cards of admission" from the "headquarters of the women's board in the Administration Building on Treasure Island."[991] Securing cards for entry was a normal practice for special performances and were also required for any Coolidge Quartet performance.

Boulanger was not only exposed to the western art music performances, but William Denman also gave her a tour of the Indian barracks.[992] There, Boulanger "heard Indians chant their native rhythms at a feast arranged in her honor…. The Indians are participating in the Federal Exhibit on Treasure Island."[993] In addition, she was the guest of "Mr. and Mrs. Langdon Warner in Berkeley" for the length of her stay. Langdon Warner (1881–1955) was the Director of the Far Eastern Division at the San Francisco Golden Gate Exposition (1938–1939) and famed curator, archeologist, and Harvard instructor.[994] During her visit, Boulanger was given a tour of the GGIE's musical offerings. After a reception at the Pacific House on June 19 at

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[988] Ibid.
[989] Ibid.
[990] "Columbia Opens Fair Pavilion," *Oakland Tribune*, June 15, 1939, 13.
[991] Ibid.
[992] Denman was vice chairman of the women's board and member of the Indian presentation committee of the Exposition. "Nadia Boulanger Honored by Indians," June 16, 1939, San Francisco Public Library San Francisco History Room, Press Clipping File. A reaction to her interaction with the Native-American performers is unfortunately unavailable at this time.
[993] Ibid.
[994] Harvard University Library, "Warner, Langdon, 1881-1955. Langdon Warner papers, circa late 18th century-1987 (MS Am3138): Guide, accessed June 28, 2018, http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hou02874. Incidentally, Warner is rumored to be the model for the character of Indiana Jones.

3 p.m., Boulanger partook in "the second in a series of concerts" by the Coolidge Quartet and was "entertained at dinner at the Yerba Buena Club."[995] While Boulanger was in San Francisco, she had visits with her former students at Fontainebleau. These interactions were mentioned in the press: "Among the dinner group were many of her former music students at the conservatory at Fontainebleau."[996] In addition, several women composers who had works premiered or performed at the fair were students of Boulanger, such as Bay Area composer, Julia Klumpkey (see Chapter 9).[997] After the final day's luncheon in her honor, Boulanger left for "her home in Paris."[998]

Nadia Boulanger had visited the United States to give lectures during the 1920s and 1930s; her stardom in America was "at its highest peak" during her three tours from 1937 to 1939.[999] As a pedagogue, she had taught most of the "composers and teachers" who were heads of "many of the United States' major institutions."[1000] It is also worth noting that at the time of Boulanger's 1939 tour, her country was at the brink of war. In her book, *Teaching Stravinsky*, Kimberly Francis includes diary entries of Boulanger that highlight the composer's fear of another war outbreak; one entry from September 12, 1938 states: "We live always with a terrible anxiety [about] the war…. We wait minute by minute!"[1001] Boulanger embarked on January 2, 1939

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[995] "Mlle. Boulanger Will Be Feted at Fair."
[996] "Mlle. Boulanger To End Visit Here," June 20, 1939, San Francisco Public Library, San Francisco History Room. Press Clipping File. Documentation of the guest list of these dinners or any diary entries by Boulanger or her pupils regarding meetings at the GGIE are unfortunately unavailable at this time.
[997] After rigorous research, information regarding a possible interaction during the GGIE while their teacher was visiting could not be found.
[998] Ibid.
[999] Kimberly Francis, *Teaching Stravinsky* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 18.
[1000] Ibid., 90.
[1001] Ibid., 97.

for her "third and final tour of America"; a year after her lecture at the fair, France would be occupied by Nazi Germany and she, alongside Igor Stravinsky and other composers, would be exiled. Although records of her Rice University lectures survive, her GGIE lecture transcripts or any personal documentation could not be found. It can be presumed that themes from American institutional lectures overlapped with the overall content of her GGIE lectures.

Coolidge Quartet

The Women's Board presented a concert series by the Coolidge Quartet, which performed nine concerts during the 1939 season of the GGIE and five in 1940.[1002] Sponsored by "the world's foremost patron of chamber music," Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, the Coolidge Quartet performed in the Hall of Western States and the California Ball Room.[1003] In 1938, the Women's Board "entertained" Mrs. Coolidge while she was visiting San Francisco and during that visit, Mrs. Leonora Wood Armsby (chairman of the GGIE Music Committee), arranged for the guest to sponsor a concert series at the GGIE. Coolidge had an established history commissioning and propagating promoting contemporary music performed around the nation; perhaps her most famous donation was to the Library of Congress in 1925 for a recital hall and concert series where commissioned-composer Aaron Copland

[1002] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco,* 251. The 1939 concerts were programmed on consecutive Monday afternoons.
[1003] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: The Musical Notes of the Week," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 4, 1939.

premiered *Appalachian Spring*. Coolidge visited the fair during the 1939 season, and as mentioned in Chapter 3, she dined with Benny Goodman at the Yerba Buena Club.

The 1939 the Coolidge Quartet membership included William Kroll, Nicolai Berezowsky, Nicholas Moldovan, and Victor Gottlieb and their performance was deemed "one of the cultural highlights of the World's Fair."[1004] When a score called for additional instrumentation, additional musicians were invited. For the July and August 1939 performances, two former performers from the London String Quartet were engaged: Thomas Petre (viola) and Warwick Evans (violoncello).

The structure of the performances was set in advance and there was an effort to incorporate modern and American works. Programs typically included an "unusual and unknown" classic work, a modern piece, and "one work of the standard repertoire." An example of a program can be found for the first of the 1939 concert series, which includes "a quartet by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, the famous pianist and pupil of Mozart, whose chamber music is all but completely neglected at the present time, a string trio by Ernst Toch, German composer now in Hollywood, and Beethoven's Opus 59. No. 3."[1005] The final concert of the nine in 1939 presented the same format as the first, with "two great classics of the chamber music literature and one modern American work."[1006] Frankenstein gave the performance a positive review, commenting on the "good, plastic variation tune" of Roy Harris's "Three

[1004] "Today's the Day to Browse Around and Take it Easy on the Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 31, 1939.
[1005] Alfred Frankenstein, "A Concert By Coolidge Quartet," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 1, 1939, 3E.
[1006] Ibid.

Variations on a Theme."[1007] Harris's composition was dedicated to Coolidge and the theme was based on the initials of her name.[1008] The quartet's performance of this work had "energy, point and craftsmanship, and among the many works for whose existence Mrs. Coolidge is responsible, this is far from the least significant."[1009] Thomas Petre [1010] joined the ensemble as second viola to perform Mozart's *String Quintet in G minor*, K. 516. Frankenstein compared the performance to the artwork at the GGIE: it was "as flawless in finish and exquisite in design as the ancient Chinese porcelains in the Fine Arts Palace."[1011]

The performances were well attended and the reviews were favorable. The concerts were free of charge but attendees were required to reserve seats because The Hall of the Western States' 1,000 person occupancy could easily be reached.[1012] Audiences could secure the gratis tickets by "writing to Mrs. Marshall Darrach, room 164 Administration Building, Treasure Island" to secure a seat.[1013] The number of chamber concerts and the chosen repertoire give an insight into the chamber ensemble world during this era, as well as the power of women philanthropists.

[1007] Ibid.
[1008] Other pieces dedicated to Coolidge were included on programs; for example, David Stanley Smith(1877–1949)'s *Quartet No. 8, Op.77* on the June 10, 3:30 pm program. The Coolidge Quartet, program, June 10, 1940, San Francisco Ephemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.
[1009] Frankenstein, "A Concert By Coolidge Quartet," 3E.
[1010] London String Quartet.
[1011] Frankenstein, "A Concert By Coolidge Quartet," 3E.
[1012] "Coolidge Quartet Concert," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 26, 1939.
[1013] Frankenstein, "A Concert By Coolidge Quartet," 3E.

Women's Days

The Women's Board sponsored special events days at the GGIE; the 1939 and 1940 Fairs each had a special day dedicated to women. On October 25, 1939, women of California were invited to take part in special programs sponsored by the Women's Board. This particular event was to celebrate and recognize the women who had planned and worked for the Exposition.[1014] Special entertainment was programmed, San Francisco schools were closed, and young children were granted a reduced admission price. More than 100,000 visitors attended the Fair and all fifty-eight California counties' female delegates were present.[1015] Special programs and lectures on "feminine interests" in culture and the economy were scheduled alongside several operatic performances and a special concert by Walt Roesner and his orchestra.[1016] The 1940 iteration of Women's Day surpassed the previous year's programming.

The second special event day dedicated exclusively to women was held on Treasure Island on September 18, 1940.[1017] Women's Day at the Fair was "programmed elaborately" and "arranged carefully" so that a wide variety of women could find interest in the Fair's offerings. Fair organizers went to great lengths to include and celebrate women, so much so that all San Francisco public schools were closed "in co-operation [sic.] with the celebration of Women's Day" and special

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[1014] "Women's Day Tomorrow On Treasure Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 24, 1939.
[1015] "The 'Gentler' Sex Storms Island and Captures It," *San Francisco Chronicle,* October 26, 1939.
[1016] Carolyn Anspacher, "Women Will Reign Today Over Stellar Program on Isle," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 25, 1939. Incidentally, Walt Roesner became the musical director of the Folies Bergere of 1941. *Clifford C. Fischer's Folies Bergere 1940*, program, San Francsico Emphemera Collection: Golden Gate International Exposition, California Historical Society.
[1017] This special event day happened to also coincide with the California Music Festival. An explanation of special events days can be foundin Chapter 7.

discount pricing was offered for children.[1018] Attendance surged and surpassed officials' projections; with a goal of six million attendees for the 1940 season, Women's Day helped them to bring in visitors during the last twelve days of the Fair's run.[1019] The formal program for the day included a luncheon hosted by the Women's Board at the Treasure Island Club where "twelve nationally famous California women" were guests.[1020] One of the twelve women honored was San Francisco native, soprano, Maud Day Symington (1878–1964). After the luncheon, a special hour-long concert by "the Hollywood Women's Symphony and other entertainment" was presented.[1021] The all-female Hollywood Women's Symphony was also known as "The Symphony of Loveliness,"; the group performed alongside choral ensembles "provided by the California Federation of Music Clubs."[1022]

An entire study of gender politics and representation at the GGIE is worthy of investigation. Advertisements and marketing campaigns used a hyper-sexualized female figure to promote the fair ("Pirate Girl Zoe Dell Lorandis") as well as the promise of nude figures in Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch*. As seen in Chapter 4, marketers used the female figure in almost every photo promotion for the Fair. The juxtaposition of women portrayed as sexual objects to promote the Fair versus the

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[1018] "Women will Rule Exposition Today: Elaborate Program for Feminine Guests; Only 12 Days Remain," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.
[1019] Ibid.
[1020] The guests listed are as follows: "Novelist Gertrude Atherton; Anna Klimpke; Annette Abbott Adams; Kathleen Norris, Julia Morgan; Dorothy Arnzer, motion picture director; Dr. Aurelia Henry Reinhardt, president of Mills College; Louise A. Boyd, explorer; Dr. Margaret Smythe; Maud Day Symington, singer and patron of music; Mrs. Florence Prag Khan, former Congresswoman, and Dr. Mariana Bertola." "Women will Rule Exposition Today: Elaborate Program for Feminine Guests; Only 12 Days Remain," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.
[1021] Ibid.
[1022] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 186.

female as community leader and moral overseer was very much apparent. An example of this dichotomy is the participation of the entertainer Sally Rand. Although Rand's entertainment was the most provocative and exploitive of the female figure, she was one of the only women represented in the business dealings of the Fair.

The expanded role of women resulted in lectures, concert series, and special events which showcased local and international talent. The era's issues of geopolitics and gender dichotomies unfolded within the Fair's grounds. Tied to the traditional structure of American expositions of the past, the GGIE incorporated innovations and technology to showcase the music within its boundaries. Depression-era audiences came with predetermined tastes in music, including favorite bandleaders and symphonic stars, resulting in large crowds. Entertainers and impresarios created performances accompanied by music where mass audiences were able to see the exotic and new. Technological advancements in entertainment sound design and radio allowed audiences and remote listeners to experience new methods of interacting with the music presented at the GGIE.

CHAPTER 6
MUSIC SPONSORSHIP" FEDERAL, CIVIC, ACADEMIC, AND CORPORATE

The realization of a fair in San Francisco was the result of public support efforts by civic leadership and federal financing. Overall, the agencies with the most musical representation at the GGIE were civic, state, academic, federal, and corporate. Unlike the previous San Francisco fairs of 1894 and 1915, the GGIE was a Depression-era fair that depended on the direct support of the federal government. Both the 1939 and 1940 GGIE iterations were supported by the government, mainly through Congressional funding: the House Foreign Affairs Committee appropriated $606,650 to "finance Federal participation in 1939."[1023] The labor to build Treasure Island was provided by the Army Corps of Engineers from specially earmarked Congressional funding.[1024] President Roosevelt stressed the "close partnership" between the GGIE and the American federal government in his Opening Day speech. He explained that different federal groups not only helped "financially to build the Bay Bridge and the Golden Gate Bridge" but also physically constructed permanent structures that would stand after the end of the exposition.[1025] The City of San Francisco's Fair was a prime location in which to display American culture and politics on the global stage.

[1023] "Fair Opening: A Week-End [sic] Festival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939. $606,650 (1939) converts to approximately $10,988,520.86 (2018). Official Data Foundation, accessed August 24, 2018, http://www.in2013dollars.com/.

[1024] See Chapters 3 and 4.

[1025] The permanent structures President Roosevlet referenced were mainly for the proposed airport, which did not end up being built on Treasure Island due to its small size. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "February 18, 1939, Key West, FL—Radio address opening Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, CA."

The Works Progress Administration's Federal One Project, which included four divisions—Federal Theater Project (FTP), Federal Music Project (FMP), Federal Art Project (FAP) and Federal Writers' Project (FWP)—provided work for unemployed musicians and artists. California was the "nation's largest state FMP" with a total of fifteen simultaneous music projects statewide.[1026] The Great Depression coincided with the development of sound films (around the late 1920s) which contributed to the employmnet of casual musicians in the 1930s. In part because of the size of the state and its geographic barriers, federal projects were divided into several regional categories. For example, the Bay Area had two units of the FMP—Oakland and San Francisco—because (at the time of the WPA project's conception) there was no bridge to connect the two trans-bay regions.[1027]

The choice to book federally-funded ensembles as well as collegiate, civic, and regional musical groups by organizers was financially driven. Not only did it keep the overhead cost for entertainment low, but it also ensured low ticket pricing and free events for fairgoers. A different policy for 1940 Fair entertainment was put

[1026] Leta Miller and Catherine Parsons Smith, "Playing with Politics: Crisis in the San Francisco Federal Music Project," *California History* 86, no. 2 (2009): 27. Even though California was physically removed from the epicenter of national politics and the headquarters of public projects, it was an important state with resources imperative to Washington politicians. Kathryn Olmstead dedicates her monograph, *Right Out of California: The 1930s and The Big Business Roots of Modern Conservatism,* to the rise of the conservative movement's reaction in California to FDR and his policies. She claims that the popularity of aviation as a transportation method resulted in a hike in interest in the state: "California was not just easier for national political leaders and businessmen to get to during the 1930s, it was also richer, more populous, and more politically significant than it had been just a few years before. The number of its electoral votes swelled from thirteen in the 1920s to twenty-two in 1932, and then to twenty-five after the reapportionment of 1940. In other words, the state's relative political importance almost doubled from 1930 to 1940." The concurrent Fairs highlighted the relatively new arrival of California as a state equal to that of one from the East Coast. Kathryn Olmstead, *Right Out of California: The 1930s and The Big Business Roots of Modern Conservatism* (New York: The New Press, 2015), 4–5.

[1027] Leta Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus: Creating an Artistic Identity in Depression-Era San Francisco," *Black Music Research Journal* 30, no. 2 (2010): 308.

in place with the creation of the Events and Ceremonies Department (a subdivision of the Production Division). The new department planned for "more free attractions and lower expenditures for feature acts and name bands."[1028] As a result, the GGIE relied heavily on federal works projects (WPA) for programming such as the Federal Theater Project (FTP) (until its termination in June 1939) and the Federal Music Project (FMP).

To keep financially solvent, the GGIE engaged musical entertainment that would not demand large sums of funding; this programing choice is evident in the wide variety of civic, regional, and institutional ensembles that performed at the GGIE. Table 6.1 lists a sample of several federally-funded ensembles that performed during April 1939, and these selected performances comprise only a sample set of the federal musical offerings at the GGIE.

[1028] H.C. Bottorff, *Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor for The Golden Gate International Exposition, Research Department May 7, 1942,* GGIE Reports, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Historical Society, 78.

Table 6.1: Sample of federally-funded ensembles from April–May 1939

Ensemble	**Date(s) at GGIE**	**Event Sponsor/Location**
Oakland Symphony Orchestra (Orly See, director)	April 26, 1939	CA Federation of Music
Exposition company of the 30th US Infantry Division	Daily, 1939–1940	Court of the Nations
San Francisco Federal Chorus	April 23, 1939	
U.S.S. Nevada Band	April 4, 1939	Military Representation
Oakland Federal Chorus	April 30, 1939	Robley Lawson
Musicians' Union Band	May 9, 1939	
30th Infantry Regimental Band	every afternoon at 4:25 p.m.	US Government
Myra Kinch and the Modern Dance Group	various dates in April 1939	Federal Theater
Bay Region Federal Symphony Orchestra	April 9, 1939	Federal Theater
Bay Region Federal Chorus	April 9, 1939	Federal Theater
San Francisco Municipal Chorus (Dr. Hans Leschke, director)	April 26, 1939	CA Federation of Music
Community Singing	April 27, 1939	State Recreation Building
"Hansel and Gretel" operetta	May (entire month) 1939	Federal Theater

The Northern California WPA Music Project, in particular, provided a large part of the musical programming at the GGIE, especially in 1940 (reportedly, the

"combined units of the Northern California Music Project had performed creditably before the surprising total of 37,502 exposition visitors" since the 1940 Fair opening).[1029] According to the report compiled by the WPA in 1940, nine units participated in the GGIE's "extensive program" in both the Federal Theater and outdoor performance areas.[1030] A popular group was the San Francisco WPA Dance Band that performed "out-of-doors twenty-two times before 7,710 people."[1031]

The regional division directors of the FTP and FMP were influential in shaping musical taste and providing access to certain genres and ensembles, which in turn affected the programming at the GGIE. FMP Director Nikolai Sokoloff (1886–1965) prioritized relief work for classical music professionals.[1032] Sokoloff's musical background was from the western art tradition, thus he was, as authors Audra Bellmore and Amy Jackson argue, "predisposed to a European classical bias."[1033] Conversely, regional FMP units preferred to schedule dance bands as well as "cultural music" such as concerts of spirituals performed by Elmer Keeton's famed "all-black FMP chorus,"[1034] discussed below in connection with the fair's production of the *Swing Mikado*. FTP divisions reportedly had "the most inclusive policy" towards race, including sixteen national "Negro Units."[1035] The District of Oakland

[1029] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), *Report of WPA Activities of the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1940* (San Francisco, CA, 1940), Record Group 69: Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922–1944, 296087, National Archives at College Park, 33.
[1030] Ibid., 31.
[1031] Ibid., 32.
[1032] Miller and Parsons Smith, "Playing with Politics," 35.
[1033] Aura Bellmore and Amy S. Jackson, "The New Mexico Federal Music Project: Embodying The Regional Spirit Of Roosevelt's New Deal," in *Notes*, vol. 69, no. 1 (September 2012): 24.
[1034] Ibid.
[1035] Mark Davidson, "Recording the Nation: Folk Music and the Government in Roosevelt's New Deal, 1936–1941" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Cruz, 2015), 334.

provided the GGIE with four distinct units: Oakland WPA Negro Chorus (mentioned above), Oakland WPA Chorus (an all-white group that presented eight programs in 1940), Oakland WPA Dance Band (twenty-one performances from June–September 1940), and Oakland WPA Concert Orchestra (performed four times in 1940).[1036] Despite the racial segregation of the WPA units, the contribution of African-American musicians, artists, and entertainers at the GGIE was significant and is examined further in this chapter.[1037]

The GGIE's musical direction provided a national platform to showcase the diversity of WPA (especially FMP) funding. United States Commissioner to the Exposition, George Creel, addressed the federal government's participation in the GGIE as "discharging an obligation, rather than conferring a favor."[1038] Creel was instrumental in directing the presentation of government organizations at the GGIE, thus showing the government in action. He did so by making sure the exhibits were presenting government organizations in dynamic exhibition methods.[1039] Creel was influential in the design of federal exhibits at the GGIE. Lisa Rubens highlights the innovative technique Creel used to garner interest in the federal government's displays. Previous expositions utilized a department-by-department approach to display but Creel "insisted on cross-departmental exhibits" in order to highlight the coordination among federally-funded resources "under the leadership of the New

[1036] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 32–3.
[1037] See Chapter 7 for information on the "Negro Music Festival."
[1038] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 67.
[1039] Ibid.

Deal."[1040] Thus, the use of the arts—especially the involvement of the FMP, FTP, and other WPA groups—is an excellent example of Creel's direction.

Federal Sponsorship

The centerpiece of Creel's design was the $1,500,000[1041] Federal Building (built over seven acres), which became the venue for large outdoor presentations including "pageants, military drills, concerts and ceremonies."[1042] San Franciscan architect Timothy L. Pflueger (1892–1946) created a building with forty-eight columns that represented each state at the center, flanked by two large murals "done by artists of the Federal Art Project from plans drawn by Herman Voltz" titled "Conquering of the West by Water" and "Conquering of the West by Land."[1043] Inside, the building housed exhibits showcasing national defense and branches of military service[1044] as well as presentations by the WPA and other government programs that served the American citizenry.

Federally-supported ensembles and artwork were the majority of programmatic offerings at the GGIE. After a meeting with the Northern California WPA Division heads and Creel, the WPA was given more exhibit spaces for demonstrations in 1940. According to the official WPA report, the 1940 plan divided

[1040] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair," 104.
[1041] *Official Guide Book, 1940*, 72.
[1042] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 70.
[1043] *Official Guide Book, 1940*, 76. The murals were lit at night until 8 p.m. Fair visitors who were exiting the *Folies Bergere*'s latest show in the California Auditorium were surrounded by darkness and petitioned for the Federal Building's exterior lightening to be left on post-performances. "Night Attraction At Fair: Federal Lighting to Be Prolonged," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 2, 1939. In the same article, federal area managers requested a "lighted band stand in the California Building area" that would be sheltered from the San Franciscan wind and cold.
[1044] See Chapter 9 for the Marine Corps' use of sheet music to promote their exhibit.

The Federal Building and Recreation court area into four sections, two of which specifically programmed music, dance, film, and theatrical productions:

> **Area One:** *Sylvan Theater*—"outdoor concerts by orchestras, bands and symphony groups from the Music Project; outdoor pageants, dramas and dance concerts by various western school, college and community organizations."
>
> **Area Two:** *Main Theater in Recreation Court*—"documentary motion pictures, depicting activities and accomplishments of the WPA; dramatics, band, orchestra and symphony concerts, pageants, marionette performances and demonstrations in the manufacture, manipulation, costuming and designing of marionettes."[1045]

The federal government planned and funded a wide variety of musical and entertainment programming specifically designed to take place in the aforementioned areas.

Specifically designed exhibits were meant not only to educate, but also to introduce the general audience to innovative teaching methods and concepts to music educatiors. An example of a focused educational exhibit was the "Rhythm Band" booth where "a varied stock of home-made musical instruments, principally of the percussion type" could be played.[1046] The WPA report states that

> the principal object of this type of rhythm, which is said to have originated in San Francisco, is to teach youngsters the orderliness of time—or, the "beat" when translated into musical terms; and to show them how they may derive a great deal of wholesome fun in constructing and playing such inexpensive instruments.[1047]

The history of percussion music on the west coast is well-documented by Leta Miller in her article, "Henry Cowell and John Cage: Intersections and Influences, 1933–

[1045] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 6.
[1046] Ibid., 29.
[1047] Ibid.

1941."[1048] West Coast composers, like Cowell, Cage, and Harrison were at the forefront of creating percussion-centric works during the 1930s and 1940s. In March 1933, Cowell published a collection of percussion music in his *New Music Orchestra* series publication (distributed from San Francisco)[1049] and besides composing several percussion pieces, he began a "rhythm course" in 1934 in San Francisco.[1050] Cage and Harrison performed percussion works around the Bay Area, and their participation is explored further in Chapter 7. The primary purpose of this percussion demonstration, besides providing musical enjoyment to a Depression-era audience, was to teach a musical topic: rhythm. The patrons of this booth were "educators from outlying districts" who wanted to learn primary-level teaching techniques.[1051] The Fair became a source of entertainment and a platform to showcase music education methods and techniques to not only local, but regional educators and non-musicians.

Shown in the breadth of musical programming in the fair's second year (1940) for a wide variety of audiences and age groups, music and the arts attracted a substantial number of fairgoers. From the period between May 25, 1940 (opening day) and September 29, 1940 (closing day), approximately 598,130 persons visited the Theater while 1,346,655 visited the Federal Building.[1052] Remote audiences were also able to appreciate the educational programming by tuning into to broadcasts from

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[1048] Leta Miller, "Henry Cowell and John Cage: Intersections and Influences, 1933–1941," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 59, no. 1 (Spring 2006).
[1049] Ibid., 57.
[1050] Ibid., 59.
[1051] Ibid.
[1052] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 7. Included in the official WPA report is a caveat regarding the attendance numbers: "Participation: The same person may visit a number or all of the WPA exhibits in Recreation Court and subsequently be counted in the attendance of each," 8.

the GGIE on radio station KGO. For example, on May 2, 1939, a "public schools program from the Exposition" was aired at 1:30 p.m.[1053]

Each branch of the military had an exhibit, ranging from a U.S. Army "Canton encampment" to the Navy's "large diorama showing the modern fleet in operation."[1054] The Marines handed out free colored copies of *The Marines Hymn* in sheet music form to visitors.[1055] During the GGIE, demonstrations of America's military branches were aimed at informing citizens and visitors of the country's prowess and readiness to act, even though the United States government was (at the time) practicing isolationist policies.[1056] July 4, 1939 witnessed a full day of music that included a massed band concert by the combined bands of the U.S.S. Pennsylvania, California, West Virginia, and Chicago.[1057]

The 30th Infantry was the resident military corps assigned to Treasure Island. Originally from Camp Hunter Liggett[1058] but temporarily assigned to Treasure Island for the GGIE, the 30th Infantry was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Francis B. Mallon. On May 1st, 1939, the new commander, Major Maurice G. Stubbs, was announced and his duties included overseeing all of the U.S. Army exhibits at the Exposition.[1059] The 30th Infantry Regimental Band provided music and military drills

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[1053] "Radio Log," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1939.
[1054] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 77.
[1055] See Chapter 8.
[1056] This is the practice of staying out of other countries' affairs, especially politics. Although the United States was neutral during this time period, the country was supporting its political allies in trade and commerce.
[1057] "Yesterday at the Fair–Jive, Jitterbugs, Jollity," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1939, 3E.
[1058] At the time, Fort Hunter Liggett housed over "250 officers and men," *Official Guidebook,* 1940, 76.
[1059] "Exposition: Major Stubbs Heads Treasure Isle Camp," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1939, 10.

twice every day during the Fair's tenure as well as ceremonial music for special events. The Retreat Ceremony "witnessed by thousands" occurred at 4:25 p.m. where the Regimental Band performed daily concerts in front of the Federal Building before the Color Guard retired the Colors.[1060] The Regimental Band also performed at almost every ceremonial event, which included foreign pavilion openings, arrivals of dignitaries, parades, and festivals. The ensemble is depicted in Figure 6.1 performing in the Federal Plaza with the Federal Building in the background.

[1060] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 77.

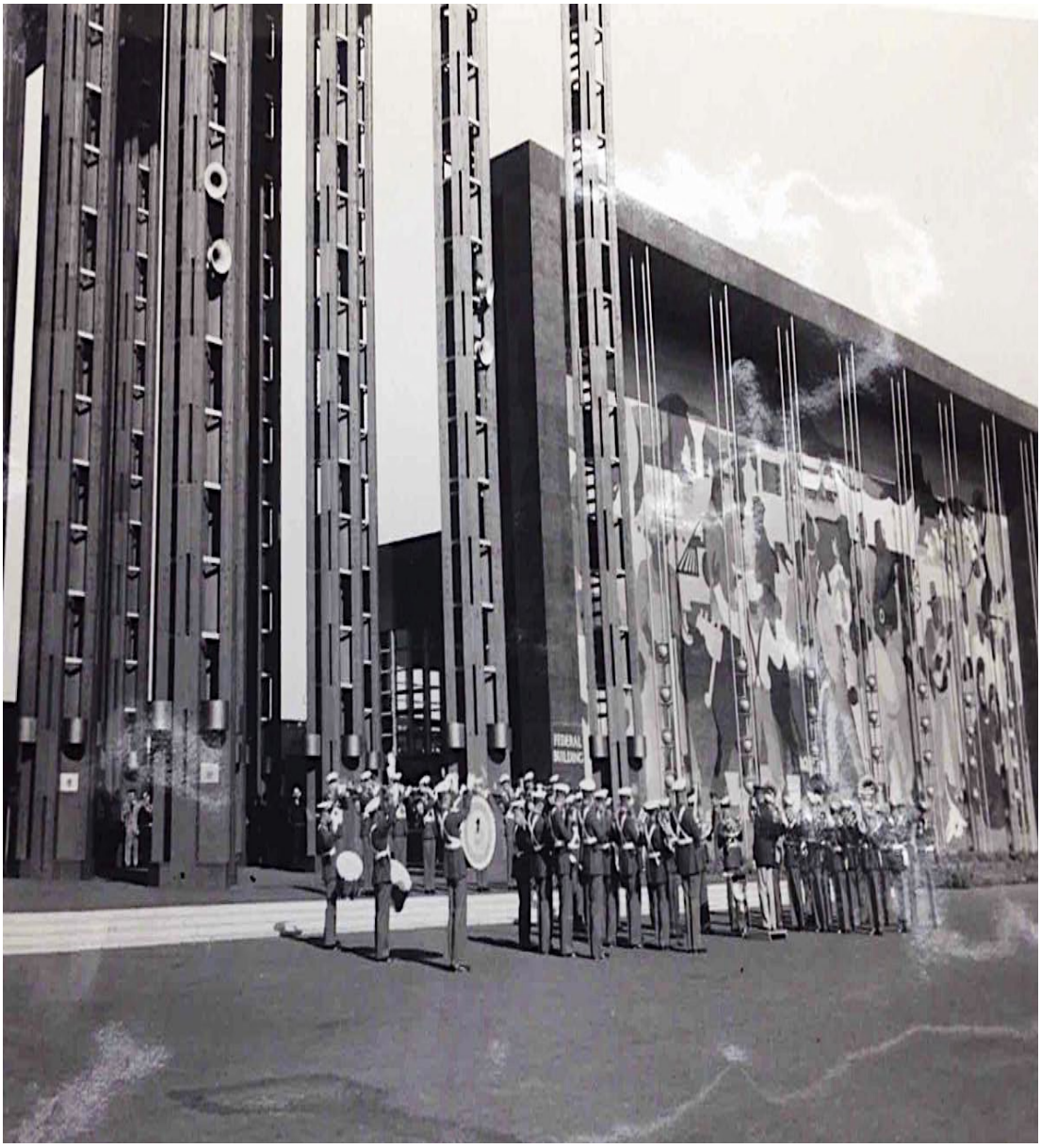

Figure 6.1. "Thirtieth Infantry Band concert in front of Federal Building. (Photograph by author). Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), *Report of WPA Activities of the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1940* (San Francisco, CA, 1940), Record Group 69: Records of the Work Projects Administration, 1922–1944, 296087, National Archives at College Park, 39.

The largest exhibit of Native-American history, culture, arts, and activities at an American world's fair was located in the Federal Building.[1061] There, visitors

[1061] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 77.

could see "forty Indian artisans" from the "six broad cultural groups"[1062] display indigenous arts and crafts. The most popular demonstrations were the basket weavers.[1063] A wide variety of Native American tribal groups participated in the Indian Arts and Craft Exhibit; those included the Haida (Southwestern Alaska); Coeur d'Alene (Idaho); Blackfeet (Montana); Flathead (Montana and Dakota); Pomo, Hoopa, Paiute, and Mission of California, Shawnee (Oklahoma); and Papago, Navajo, and Pueblo (including Taos and Cocheti) from Arizona.[1064] Several different versions of marketing posters for the Indian Court exhibit were created by Oakland-born artist Louis Siegriest (1899–1990).[1065] The posters were based on Native American artwork. For example, Figure 6.2 is a promotional poster with an image of a "devil dancer" from the Apache tribe.

[1062] *Official Guide Book, 1939*, 73.
[1063] Ibid.
[1064] "Today Let's Go To See The Indians," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1939.
[1065] Siegriest was a Californian artist known for his abstract modernist works. In 1915, he attended the PPIE and was inspired by the Spanish artist, Zuloaga, who displayed his artwork at that Fair. In the 1930s, Siegriest worked as an illustrator for *The San Francisco Chronicle* and was starting to do work for the WPA when he hired to create the posters for the Indian Court by the Indian exhibit's division-head, Rene D'Harnoncourt. He was paid three dollars an hour with no time cap (which was more than the WPA's salary of around ninety dollars a month). The posters are silk screened, which was the popular method of the time. Siegriest designed the poster while another artisan cut the stencils and produced the silk-screened poster product, which amounted to around fifteen-hundred units. "Oral History Interview With Louis Siegriest, 1978, June 21," Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 6.2. "Indian court, Federal Building, Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco, 1939 Apache devil dancer from an Indian painting, Arizona, Siegriest," Indian Court Federal Building Poster, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., accessed June 21, 2017, https://lccn.loc.gov/98518787.

According to the reports, there were representatives from twelve tribal groups who resided in the barracks on Yerba Buena Island during their time at the Fair.[1066] The U.S. Navy and Department of the Interior sponsored the artisans and their families in the former's barracks and living quarters, which included a dining and living room complete with a "grand piano with both swing and classical music on the rack."[1067] Frankenstein reviewed the exhibition of American Indian art and came away amazed at the "tremendous" showcase. He states that the exhibit was the "most significant exhibition of its kind ever gathered together" because the new methods of "display and exposition of art objects" may have begun a "new era in museum technique."[1068] The exhibition space itself was innovative; artworks were displayed in immersive-themed rooms where the primary focus was on the *object d'art* and secondarily on the "culture that produced it."[1069] Nadia Boulanger famously visited the Indian Court during her June 1939 lecture and concert series, sponsored by the Women's Committee.[1070] The exhibit was so successful that it was expanded in 1940 to include "a special Maya exhibit and an Andean room dealing with the Inca and pre-Inca period."[1071]

Demonstrations of Native American music were also presented in the Hall of Western States, located in a separate area next to the Federal Building complex. On

[1066] "Today Let's Go To See The Indians," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 3, 1939. See Chapter 3 for the configuration of Yerba Buena Island and the man-made Treasure Island.
[1067] At this time, further information regarding the type of music performed within the living quarters on the fairgrounds as well as the particular dance and music program from the Indian Court is not available. "Today Let's Go To See The Indians," *San Francisco Chronicle*.
[1068] Alfred Frankenstein, "The Critic Rushes Down An Indian Trail," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 1939.
[1069] Ibid.
[1070] See Chapter 4 for information regarding Boulanger's visit to the 1939 GGIE.
[1071] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 78.

"Santa Fe Day" at the Fair (July 2, 1949), "Indian music" with an accompanying program was presented in the Hall at 3 p.m.[1072] The Hall served as a space where individual states (Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, and Washington) built exhibits that highlighted each region's "resources and industries." Visitors were able to watch a popular puppet show (Salici's Puppets) in The Auditorium as well as view a "gigantic relief map" of the West. The Hall of Western States organizers promised prospective patrons a quick "trip of the country" that would "probably stimulate the curiosity" of non-Western State citizens.[1073]

Three specially-built theaters were located in the Federal Building—the Sylvan Theater, the Children's Marionette Theater, and the Federal Theater Auditorium. The Sylvan Theater was an "outdoor theater bowl in which symphony concerts, historical spectacles, dance concerts and pageants may be seen."[1074] With a seating capacity of 500, audiences could listen to symphonic concerts, including those presented by the Northern California WPA Symphony Orchestra. Under the direction of Nathan Abas (1896–1980), the orchestra presented seven symphony concerts to "enthusiastic near-capacity audiences" in the months of June and August 1940.[1075] Abas had previously served as Concertmaster of the San Francsico Symphony for the 1931–1932 season and also created the Abas String Quartet. During the Depression

[1072] "Today's Program on Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1939.
[1073] *Official Guidebook,* 1940, 74.
[1074] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 31–3.
[1075] Ibid.

years, Abas conducted the Northern California WPA Orchestra.[1076] According to the official report, a total of 3,200 people "heard the symphony at the Fair."[1077] In addition, the San Francisco WPA Chorus presented six programs to an audience totaling "2,750 people" in the Sylvan Theater.[1078]

The Recreation Center and its Auditorium was a central spot for people to congregate and listen to music. The San Francisco WPA Play Opera Group "appeared six times" at the Auditorium.[1079] The District of Oakland also provided musical programming, "chief among these being the Oakland WPA Negro Chorus." founded and conducted by Elmer Keeton. The Negro Chorus was very popular and gave eleven concerts in the Auditorium[1080] "semi-monthly."[1081] The employees of some Gayway shows tended to head to the Recreation Court in the Federal Building. The WPA official report states that the area had become "a social center for Exposition employees" and cast members of the larger resident shows (*Folies Bergere* and Billy Rose's *Aquacade*) could be found there as well.[1082]

The primary theater, the Federal Theater Auditorium (hereafter referred to as the Federal Theater), was "the first Federal show house to be erected" and was "so novel and ultra modern that it has been called a preview of the theater of the

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[1076] "Principal Musicians of the San Francisco Symphony: A Chronological Listing With Biographical Remarks," Stokowski.org, accessed March 28, 2018, http://www.stokowski.org/Principal_Musicians_San_Francisco_Symphony.htm.
[1077] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 32.
[1078] Ibid.
[1079] Ibid.
[1080] Ibid.
[1081] "Orchestra, Chorus To Be Heard," O*akland Tribune*, June 23, 1940, B-1.
[1082] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 25.

future."[1083] The performance space had a seating capacity of four-hundred and seventy-three and housed popular musical productions by the Federal Theater Project (such as the *Swing Mikado* discussed below) and "government motion pictures."[1084] The films depicted the United States' progress in industry, defense, and the betterment of civilian life.[1085] In addition to weekly programming, on Saturday and Sundays the Federal Theater showcased music and dance with an "operatic fantasy for children and adults" of Humperdinck's opera *Hansel and Gretel* as well as repeat performances of "One-Third of a Nation" and dance performances.

It was very common to have federal ensembles present simultaneous programs at the fair as well as theaters around California. One of the most popular modern dance groups that presented a program in the Federal Theater was Myra Kinch (1904–1981) and her Modern Dance Festival. Kinch was an active choreographer and director of the West Coast Dance Project of the FTP. Kinch created productions for the FTP that toured around California and hired local musical talent.[1086] The Federal

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[1083] "World's Great Ski Stars Will Compete on Treasure Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 1939.

[1084] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 31; James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 78. An undated Federal Theater program lists the available film selections, screened Mondays through Thursdays at 2, 3, and 4 p.m. as *The River*; *Wasted Waters*; *U.S. Marines*; *Today We Build*; *The Tree of Life*; *Clouds*; *The Army Carries On*; *The Navy Ashore and Afloat*; *The Plow That Broke the Plains*; *Shock Troops of Disaster*; *Washington, The National Capitol*; The *Story of the United States Coast Guard*. Federal Theater Program, February 22, 2014, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State Special Collections.

[1085] Aaron Copland (1900–1990) wrote the film score to *The City* (1939) that was presented at the New York World's Fair. There is no supporting evidence that a film was created expressly for the GGIE that gained any rival amount of popularity as *The City*.

[1086] The FTP sponsored a Kinch directed a performance called "Festival of American Dance" with a selection called "An American Exodus" (music composed by Manuel Galea). Performance locations included Royce Hall at the University of California, Los Angeles and Hollywood Playhouse. Federal Theatre Project, "University of California at Los Angeles presents festival of American dance featuring "An American exodus." California Los Angeles, 1937, photograph. "California: Federal Art Project," Library of Congress, accessed August 15, 2018, https://www.loc.gov/item/98518972/.

Symphony Orchestra and the Myra Kinch dance troupe presented a performance at the San Francisco Opera House on June 16, 1939.[1087] Kinch directed and choreographed the Modern Dance Festival production, which provided "interpretative dance classics" at the GGIE's Federal Theater.[1088] Manuel Galea composed and performed the music for the performance and artist Robert Tyler Lee (1910–1987) created the costumes.[1089] In a newspaper interview, Kinch described her relationship with Galea as a close one (they eventually married)[1090]. She states:

> Manuel Galea, the composer, and I usually work together in originating and perfecting a new dance…. We work much as a lyricist and composer work. The choreographer is a lyricist who uses steps, postures and rhythmic motions in place of words.[1091]

Kinch continues to explain her process in the realm of chorography, and how she draws upon influences from ballet and folk dances.[1092] Edith McLaughlin, wardrobe mistress for the Myra Kinch Company, looked after the nine-hundred costumes used in the production, whose cost totaled around $15,000.[1093] In an undated performance, Kinch's production followed final scenes from the FTP's production, *Run Little*

[1087] Alfred Frankenstein, "In the Realm of Music: The Musical Notes of the Week" *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 4, 1939.
[1088] "Federal Theater Program," program, 1939/40 SF Fair, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1089] Lee would go on to become a Hollywood art director and set decorator for film and television. "Robert Tyler Lee," *Internet Movie Database,* accessed July 6, 2018, https://www.imdb.com/name/nm0498135/.
[1090] Jennifer Dunning, "Myra Kinch, 77, Choreographer," *The New York Times*, November 24, 1981, accessed on June 17, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/1981/11/24/obituaries/myra-kinch-77-choreographer.html.
[1091] Dorothy Thompson, "On The Knave: Islands," *Oakland Tribune*, March 1, 1939, 17.
[1092] Ibid.
[1093] "Huge Wardrobe: It's A Job To Costume Federal Actors At Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 5, 1939.

Chillun', and preceded "Snow White," a marionette play set to music by Edison Von Ottenfeld.[1094]

The Swing Mikado

The most famous FTP production at the Federal Theater was *The Swing Mikado*, a re-imagined rendition of Gilbert and Sullivan's operetta, *The Mikado*. Musical productions of the WPA were mostly presented by the FTP in collaboration "with other Federal One projects."[1095] The popular production departed from the original operetta through the exclusion of lyrics with racist remarks, the change of setting to a mythical "coral island" in the Pacific, and the addition of five new swing arrangements and "specialty dances."[1096] Musically, changes to the original score were made to include the new swing-style instrumentation; saxophones (alto and tenor), trumpets, drum kit, harp, and piano." Jazz-styled indicators such as syncopation and augmented harmonies were added to the arrangements as well.[1097] Gentry Warden (Chicago FTP) arranged the music for the Chicago production.-Elmer Keeton, who directed the production and whose chorus sang in it, may have made additional arrangements to Warden's score, but according to Miller, the score to the San Francisco production is not available at the present time. Without the score or

[1094] "Federal Theater Program."
[1095] Miller and Parsons Smith, "Playing with Politics," 45.
[1096] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus": 303.
[1097] Ibid., 321.

orchestral parts, a true comparison of the different versions of *The Swing Mikado* and the San Francisco's production cannot be accomplished.[1098]

The Swing Mikado originally opened in Chicago in 1938 and moved to Broadway before its opening at the GGIE on June 15, 1939.. Miller highlights the choice of this particular operetta as interesting, but not surprising, for the FTP because the plot was a "clever satire on overbearing and unthinking bureaucracy" with "overt insensitivities toward Japan."[1099] The coded meanings and messages of both versions would have resonated with American audiences, especially the themes of imperialism and exotic fantasization towards Japan.[1100] The Japanese government had occupied China (Manchurian Invasion) and both Britain and the United States accused Japan of overt aggression in the Pacific. During the GGIE, the Japanese government approved aerial bombing missions in China and on British ships. Thus, themes of imperialism and a fascination with Japanese culture were of interest to *Swing Mikado* audiences. The original operetta was so popular at the time that in addition to the FTP version, it was also released as a major motion picture directed by Victor Schertzinger (1888–1941). *The Mikado* (1939) was a film adaptation of the original Gilbert and Sullivan operetta and did not include any of the new elements of *The Swing Mikado*.

[1098] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 323.
[1099] Ibid., 260.
[1100] Miller explores the historical relationship between the United States and Japan as well as between African-Americans and the Japanese in both of her works: *Music and Politics in San Francisco* and "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus": 303–36.

Well-known Bay Area conductor, William Elmer Keeton (1882–1947), directed the San Francisco production.[1101] Born in Missouri, Keeton graduated from Northwestern University with a Certificate in Piano and Theory and moved to Oakland, California to teach music.[1102] He continued to teach, compose, and publish "popular songs and piano-vocal arrangements of spirituals."[1103] In 1935, Keeton began to create and direct a "colored chorus" for the FMP's Oakland unit.[1104] Keeton's approach to racial issues was "quiet" and he "walked a tenuous line" between the WPA and promoting the "musical heritage of U.S. blacks."[1105] According to Miller, he was able to "adjust his skill to shifts in political winds" and created ensembles and productions that would highlight African-American talent at a level of excellence that would supersede racial prejudices.[1106] The *Swing Mikado* featured members of his famed Bay Area Negro's Chorus, which was heralded as one of the "most prominent ensembles in northern California's Federal Music Project."[1107]

The Bay Area's FMP divided Oakland and San Francisco into separate units, and then further into racial divisions within those units. Keeton directed the Negro Chorus and John Fuerbringer conducted the (predominantly Caucasian) East Bay

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[1101] Keeton composed and directed *Run Little Chillun* and *The Swing Mikado*. An in-depth analysis of Keeton's career, the history of Keeton's Negro Chorus, and the race issues in San Francisco and the Bay Area are explored thoroughly in Leta Miller's article, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus."
[1102] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 306.
[1103] Ibid.
[1104] Ibid., 308.
[1105] Ibid., 304.
[1106] Ibid., 305.
[1107] Ibid., 304.

Chorus.[1108] According to Miller, this racial segregation example was "typical of most FMP units" on the national level.[1109] On the other hand, she also notes that racism directed against the black population in and around San Francisco was "less virulent" than in many other regions in the United States. The GGIE's operations were not halted due to racial protests, unlike other Depression-era fairs (in Chicago and New York), which witnessed demonstrations resulting from the lack of African-American employees and representation.[1110]

Among the reasons for the less-overt racial tensions was the small number of African-Americans who lived in the region; the Chinese community "absorbed the brunt of racist sentiment."[1111] In June 1938, the newly appointed FMP Northern California director (and former SFS conductor) Alfred Hertz combined the San Francisco and Oakland projects by "uniting their two orchestras into a single "Bay Area Federal Symphony" and Keeton renamed his group the "Bay Area Negro Chorus."[1112] The decision to combine the units was financial and deemed a success, with an increase in audience attendance almost twofold in the first month of Hertz's hiring.[1113]

[1108] Ibid., 308.
[1109] Ibid.
[1110] Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, "Introduction: Making America (More) Modern America's Depression-Era World's Fairs," in *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, Robert Rydell and Laura Burd Schiavo, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 13.
[1111] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 108–9. Miller continues her argument by presenting census numbers from the era: "San Francisco's black population increased from .8 percent to 5.6 percent between 1940 and 1950. Anti-black responses followed, particularly because many of the newcomers hailed from the southern states" (Ibid., 109). The transfer of directorship to Hertz was not smooth and fraught with political undertones that are explained in detail in Chapter 9 of Miller's monograph, *Music and Politics in San Francisco: From The 1906 Quake to the Second World War*.
[1112] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 310.
[1113] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 229.

Due to the success of Keeton's chorus, there was an "air of angry resentment" among the supporters of the East Bay Chorus (also referred to as the Oakland Chorus or Oakland choral unit).[1114] Miller refers to the editor of a small Oakland paper, *The Free Press*, who "lambasted the FMP and cast the white chorus in the role of a victim of reverse discrimination" in several blistering editorials.[1115] Although the editor's opinions were among the few (if not only) expressed vocally in the press, it does highlight the "racist (almost paranoiac) attitude among the working-class population" during the lean economic era of the Depression.[1116] Regardless of the attacks on the merit of Keeton's chorus, the ensemble and its unique repertoire proved to be very popular; the reviews and demand for concerts by the public serve as proof of its success as do the recordings of the chorus made for broadcast by the WPA that now reside at the Library of Congress.[1117]

Bay Area audiences were well acquainted with Keeton's Negro Chorus in the earlier 1939 FTP production of *Run Little Chillun'*; the very popular musical theater production ran at the Alcazar Theater in San Francisco (off-island) for five months (opening on January 26) and, just like the *Swing Mikado*, required an all-Black cast.[1118] *Run Little Chillun'* was a musical written by Hall Johnson (1888–1970) with arrangements by Gentry Warden that pivoted around the revivalist Christian tale of a

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[1114] Ibid., 233.
[1115] Ibid.
[1116] Ibid., 234.
[1117] Miller includes transcriptions of the radio broadcasts in her article: "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus." She lists the various WPA recordings housed at the Library of Congress [i.e. Library of Congress control number: 99470851]. Although Miller lists the orchestral parts and the published versions of the Chicago production available at the Library of Congress, there is record of the Treasure Island version.
[1118] "Mikado Done In Swing," *Oakland Tribune,* June 18, 1939, 4-B.

minister's son, Jim Jones. Originally premiered in New York in 1933, the production was revived by the Los Angeles FTP in 1938 to great success with more than five hundred performances from 1938 to 1939.[1119]

The San Francisco production opened on January 26, 1939 with Keeton's ensemble providing a strong accompanying chorus. The principal performers in *The Swing Mikado* were also cast members of *Run Little Chillun'*:

> Justitia Davis, the Sulamai of the Alcazar Theater, will play Yum-Yum; Margaret Swanigan has been given the role of Pitti-Sing, and Shirley Williams will play Peep-Bo. Arnold Baranco, who led the chorus in the title song, "Run Little Chillun," will swing into the part of the Mikado; Joe James, the Moses of the "Chillun" production, sings Poo-Bah, and Viola Lee, Sulamai's mother, will be seen at Katisha."[1120]

Joseph James[1121] (Brother Moses) would later become a labor activist championing racial integration of unions in California[1122]and Justitia (Sulamai) would assume the lead role in *The Swing Mikado*. *Run Little Chillun'* cemented Keeton's role in FMP and FTP productions. Even after the production's closure, selections from *Run Little Chillun'* were continuously performed at the Federal Theater at the GGIE. The WPA report from 1940 states that both *Run Little Chillun'* and *The Swing Mikado* "played to capacity crowds from all over the world" while "many of them [are] receiving their first impressions of American show business" in the Federal Theater.[1123]

The Swing Mikado's run at the GGIE began on June 15, 1939 in the Federal Building's theater (Figure 6.3). Keeton's Negro Chorus was accompanied by a

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[1119] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 318.
[1120] Jimmy Fidler, "'Swing Mikado' Has a Fine Cast," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939, 24.
[1121] See Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 318.
[1122] Leta Miller, "Racial Segregation and the San Francisco Musicians' Union, 1923–60," in *Journal of the Society for American Music*, vol.1, no.2 (2007): 192.
[1123] Works Projects Administration, California (Northern Division Office), 31.

"specially selected orchestra" of twenty musicians[1124] and performed to sold-out audiences.[1125] The show was an instant success, catapulting FTP programming at the GGIE to a new level. *Oakland Tribune* drama critic, Wood Soanes, applauded the production, likening the FTP to an invalid who had been woken up by a miracle (*The Swing Mikado*):

> With practically no warning at all, the invalid leaped out of bed, tossed his crutches and wheelchair out of the nearest window, and proceeded to dance his way into topnotch entertainment in "The Swing Mikado." If this show doesn't make the turnstiles whirl for a prolonged period, then George Creel may as well turn in his badge as Federal commissioner, for it has all the elements of popular greatness, thanks to the combination of Gilbert and Sullivan and the quick step of modern tempo.[1126]

The production updated the Federal Theater's usual offerings to include "hot swing" and "jazz" elements. The anticipation for the production was reflected in several Bay Area news columns; "Mikado Done in Swing" was one headline that promised a "melodiously and enthusiastically" brilliant production.[1127] Local reviews were positive, especially towards Keeton's chorus, classifying the up-tempo changes to the traditional score as "swell."[1128] One *Oakland Tribune* reviewer applauded the "jazzed-up arrangement" of the "Japanese jitterbugging" version, although conceding it was a change to the original that may have caused Gilbert and Sullivan to "turn over in their graves."[1129]

[1124] "Mikado Done In Swing," *Oakland Tribune,* June 18, 1939, 4-B.
[1125] "State Librarians Meet On Island: Writers' Club Holds Program National Society Fetes Composer," *Oakland Tribune*, June 20, 1939.
[1126] Wood Soanes, "'Mikado' at Treasure Isle Wows 'Em: 'Sick Man of Show World' Does Flip Flops With Aid of Swing," *Oakland Tribune*, June 16, 1939, 10-B.
[1127] "Mikado Done In Swing," *Oakland Tribune,* June 18, 1939, 4-B.
[1128] "'The Mikado Gets Swingin To Hot Tempo At Fair," *Call-Bulletin*, June 16, 1939.
[1129] "3-Day 'Swing Mikado' Run Opens Here," *Oakland Tribune*, September 21, 1939.

Figure 6.3. "Federal Theatre [on] Treasure Island 'Swing Mikado' A cast of 100: Sensational success: Hot from New York: The big hit of the Golden Gate International Exposition," Swing Mikado Poster, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C., accessed June 21, 2017, https://lccn.loc.gov/98519064.

After the first two weeks of the show's opening, however, Congress shut down the FTP due to rumor and speculation that the program was a harbinger of communist tendencies.[1130] The termination of the FTP reverberated throughout the entire Federal One organization. Soanes remarked that the closure of the FTP was

[1130] Miller, "Elmer Keeton and His Bay Area Negro Chorus," 108.

ironic because, finally, the organization had two theatrical successes running at the time: *Two-A-Day: A Cavalcade of Vaudeville*[1131] and *The Swing Mikad*o.[1132] The former, a "glorified variety show," was a California FTP Los Angeles unit production.[1133] According to Catherine Parsons Smith, the reorganization of the arts projects shifted power from federal agencies to the state level while simultaneously "stressing local participation and responsibility."[1134] After the FTP was disbanded in June 1939, the GGIE's Federal Theater still presented admission-free programming, such as films (aforementioned), dance, and dramas.

The Swing Mikado was closed at the fair immediately but due to the success of the production, theater producer Paul Posz, sponsored the production and took it on a tour of California. After several changes to the personnel and a script that added an extra "push over the measure of decorum demanded by the Federal project," the production headed to the Auditorium Theater in Oakland for a three-day engagement in September.[1135] Reviews of the remounted operetta praised the music and the

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[1131] After the closure of *Run Little Chillun'*, *Two-A-Day* was engaged for a run at the Alcazar Theater on May 18, 1939 (It did not have an engagement at the GGIE).""Two A Day' Coming," *San Francisco Examiner*, May 11, 1939, 22. The premise of the production was to trace the history of vaudeville, "that great form of mass entertainment from 1890 until the present time." "WPA Theater Ends 2nd Year in S.F.," *Oakland Tribune*, April 23, 1939, 4-B. A program found in a scrapbook housed in the Fresno State University Special Collections details the production's staff and scenes. One segment is based on the 1893 Columbian Exposition. The production was by Gene Stone and Jack Robinson and the Federal Theatre Orchestra was conducted by Ron Phillips. The USA Work Program WPA, "Two-A-Day: A Cavalcade in Vaudeville," program, scrapbook, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1132] Wood Soanes, "FTP Projects Die With Two Hits On Hands," *Oakland Tribune*, July 2, 1939, 4-B.
[1133] Jane DeHart Matthews, *Federal Theater 1935–1939: Plays, Relief, and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 237.
[1134] Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 229.
[1135] "3-Day 'Swing Mikado' Run Opens Here," *Oakland Tribune*, September 21, 1939.

overall production as supplying original "points of worth" and finding fault with the "disappointing" dialogue.[1136]

Keeton's chorus continued to perform at the Fair and was widely marketed for its participation in the FTP productions. On October 26, 1939, Keeton's Chorus of "40 Negro singers" who "won acclaim for their performance in *Run Little Chillun'* and *Swing Mikado* will be heard at the Temple of Religion."[1137] That particular performance was not of selections from the FTP productions but entirely composed of spirituals, many of which were set by Keeton in inventive four-part arrangements.[1138] The 1940 Fair season brought Keeton's Chorus to perform semi-regular engagements, including a series of programs at the Federal Building.[1139]

Informal Music Making

Informal music-making occurred around the fairgrounds, for example: demonstrations for music educators, impromptu performances by the pavilions, and strolling ensemble concerts in the large courtyards. As mentioned earlier in previous chapters, strolling musicians were hired to perform in different open spaces throughout the Fairgrounds. An interesting anecdote of causal and impromptu music-making at the GGIE was documented by Sidney Robertson Cowell for her California Folk Music Project. Prior to the fair, one of her interviewees, George Vinton Graham

[1136] Ibid.
[1137] "A Capella Choir To Sing Tomorrow," *Oakland Tribune*, October 26, 1939, 8-D.
[1138] Ibid.
[1139] "Orchestra, Chorus To Be Heard," *Oakland Tribune*, June 23, 1940, B-1.

performed his entire repertoire of "almost 70 songs" for Robertson's collection.[1140] Her first meeting with the "over seventy years old" Scots-Irishman, was conducted on October 12, 1938 in San Jose.[1141] His addition to her collection of folk recordings was unique because Graham was the "only singer of this type" that she knew of who has "spent almost all his life in California."[1142] Most of his selections were from a "wide range of folk types," and were performed on voice and his guitar. He made a trip to the Fair and was surprised that he was not charged an entry fee because he was holding a guitar (apparently the ticket taker believed he was a Fair entertainer). "This surprised Mr. Graham, who then felt under obligation to make some return for the favor," Robertson recounted. Thus, Graham chose a court to give a day-long performance to "anyone who would listen." Robertson wrote:

> This of course prevented him from seeing any of the exhibits, but, as he said himself, he liked singing better, anyway. His guitar playing is fragmentary; the instrument is tuned at random and strummed rhythmically to provide a percussive background to his singing, with no attempt to make the accompaniment conform harmonically or in tonality to the melody.[1143]

Graham's performance is not recounted in any official record, nor has it merited a mention in fair ephemera (postcards, family scrapbooks, photo albums, etc.) at this time. Because of Robertson's study and the WPA's folk song collecting projects, we know not only Graham's story but also the quality and style of performance. Graham represents the fluidity of performance at the GGIE, and it is important to recognize

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[1140] Sidney Robertson Cowell, "The Recording of Folk Music in California," *California Folklore Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1942), 12. Collection E Series was the category Robertson Cowell created for English language folk songs.
[1141] Davidson, "Recording the Nation," 605.
[1142] Ibid., 606.
[1143] Cowell, "The Recording of Folk Music in California," 13.

the local musicians who may have attended the fair and participated as music makers, and no record made of their performances.

State & Civic Sponsorship

The second main governmental sponsor was the State of California, which performed an "important part" in exhibiting and financially supporting several main venues and attractions.[1144] Established in 1937, the California Commission for the Golden Gate International Exposition (created by the California State Legislature) worked with the San Francisco Bay Exposition Company to mount the world's fair in San Francisco.[1145] The State of California invested $5,350,000[1146] in addition to providing administrative support and collaboration with Exposition officials and tasking the Governor of California with overseeing the various buildings, exhibits, and programs.

The positive ramification of California's supportive backing for the Exposition impacted the the unemployed citizens of the Bay Area region. In order to mount a massed spectacle of this scale, local unemployed workers, including artists and musicians, were provided with jobs. The West Coast had a vibrant and productive artistic community; arts critic, Alfred Fried, described the musical scene in San Francisco as "universally recognized as the leading center of musical activity on the

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[1144] *Motor Land: A Travel Magazine for Western Motorists*, vol. XLVI, May 1940, 17. Chapter 5 explores in detail the California Commission's buildings and concert venues.
[1145] See Chapter 4. *GGIE Official Guidebook*, 1939, rev. ed., 65.
[1146] Adjusted for inflation, the amount would equate to approximately $96,995,115.11 in 2018. *CPI Inflation Calculator,* accessed August 24, 2018, http://www.in2013dollars.com.

Pacific Coast and one of the leading music centers of the country."[1147] Visiting shows, including large productions like Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, employed local musicians and performance artists.[1148] Not only did the Fair call for musicians and entertainers, but also employed other artisans in the fields of stage production, costuming, visual artists, artisans, interior and lighting designers, horticulturists, etc. The California Commission sponsored exhibits and supervised buildings such as the Hall of Flowers, Recreation Building, Livestock Pavilion, Treasure Mountain in the Mines, Metals and Machinery Building, California Education exhibit in the Hall of Science, and the landscaping of the California Area (where visitors could view a large oak tree as well as indigenous plants).[1149] Exposition organizers continuously acknowledged the Commission's support throughout the 1939 and 1940 Fairs (see Chapters 2, 3, and 4 for more information regarding the cost of creating Treasure Island).

The Commission oversaw several performance spaces, including the Recreation Building, the California Coliseum, and the California Auditorium. According to Exposition officials and contemporaneous historians, the Recreation Building was the first space dedicated specifically to recreational activities at a world's fair.[1150] Inside was a small theater where dramas, puppet shows, and films were programmed as well as a "music room for vocal and instrumental programs."[1151]

[1147] Fried, *An Anthology of Music Criticism*, 396.
[1148] See Chapter 4 for more information regarding Billy Rose and his *Aqaucade*'s influence on the GGIE and the employment of large shows of local talent.
[1149] *GGIE Official Guidebook*, 1939, rev. ed., 65.
[1150] Ibid., 65; James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 89.
[1151] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 89.

Regional groups like the San Francisco State Teachers' College Chorus, "The Westerners,"[1152] and the Allan Hancock Ensemble[1153] performed free of charge in the theater.

The San Francisco Recreation Commission (SFRC), chaired by arts philanthropist Rosalie Stern, organized the musical programming.[1154] In 1931, Stern founded Stern Grove in memory of her husband, Sigmund, who was the nephew and co-beneficiary of Levi Strauss' fortune (one of the architects who helped renovate the grove was Maybeck, the architect of the PPIE). The Sterns were patrons of the arts, and their legacy continues to this day with the Stern Grove free summer concert series.[1155] A subdivision of the California Commission's State Recreation Committee, the SFRC invited various orchestras to perform on the Island. For the 1939 "San Francisco Day,"[1156] the SFRC created a specialized program for the proceedings. A Toy Symphony, Puppet Show, a presentation of "native dances," a girls' choir of 100 voices,[1157] and an orchestra (unnamed) were engaged to perform in the California Recreation Building's Music Room.[1158] The final performance of the evening was the Girls' Choir and a play in the California Recreation Building Theater.[1159] The San Francisco Recreation Junior Symphony with conductor Robert Pollack can be seen in

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[1152] "Today's Program," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 2, 1939, 10.
[1153] Alfred Frankenstein, "Musical Notes Of The Week," *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 22, 1939, This World–25.
[1154] Alfred Metzger, "Music: Recreation Commission Plans," *The Argonaut*, February 14, 1939, 14. SFPL History Center, vol. 118, 1939.
[1155] "About," Stern Grove.Org, http://www.sterngrove.org/.
[1156] See Chapter 7 for more information regarding musical programming on "San Francisco Day."
[1157] Directed by Chas. M. Dennis, "San Francisco Day," program, GGIE Events, California Historical Society, 4.
[1158] Ibid., 2.
[1159] Ibid. The Girls' Choir and its director were listed without more description of whether it was a civic or private organization. It can be presumed that the girls' chorus was from San Francisco.

an undated photo with older unidentified musicians amongst the student musicians (Figure 6.4).

Figure 6.4. "Recreation Building GGIE: San Francisco Recreation Junior Symphony." (Photograph by author, courtesy of California Historical Society, folder 32, "Golden Gate Exposition, Misc. 1940.)

The location of the photograph (Figure 6.4) is listed as the "Recreation Building" but the exact venue cannot be determined at the present moment. As stated earlier, the Recreation Building had two performance spaces—a small theater and a music room. Due to the casual atmosphere of the space (paintings on the wall and a cabinet in the corner), the space could be the music room. The note inscribed in

pencil on the back of the photo directs the reader to Pierre Monteux (1875–1964), conductor of the San Francisco Symphony, who can be seen in the photo holding the viola (fourth person from the right). Monteux and his wife Doris would continue to serve musical youth and founded the Monteux School, a summer session for "conductors and orchestra musicians."[1160]

Cities and counties showcased their amateur, academic (i.e., Placer Junior College Band), and semi-professional musical ensembles at the Fair, especially during "special events days." Composed of local musicians, these groups allowed the community to connect with the global event of a world's fair. A small sample of civic-sponsored ensembles can be found in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2: Civic Funded Ensembles

Ensemble	**Date(s) at GGIE**	**Event Sponsor**
Tournament of Roses Band	April 30, 1939	Pasadena, CA
Modesto Symphony Orchestra	May 6, 1939	Frank Mancini, director; soloist Paulena Carter (8 years old)
Placer Junior College Band	May 7, 1939	N/A
Burlingame Glee Club and Orchestra	April 7, 1939	Burlingame

Bands and orchestras were popular choices for entertainment by civic sponsors. City and country ensembles allowed a larger number of non-professional participants and

[1160] "About," Monteux School and Music Festival, accessed June 1, 2019, https://monteuxschool.org/about/history/.

community members to attend and participate, rather than, say, a small ensemble like a string quartet, created more revenue at the ticket gates.

Many of the regional cities in the Bay Area celebrated special days at the Fair (which will be covered more in-depth in Chapter 7). An example of a civic events day was "Oakland Day" on May 29, 1939. Oakland ensembles participated in a day-long program that included music from the symphonic band and orchestral genres. Groups were primarily composed of school-age children. The programming unfolded as follows: the seventy-two piece Junior High School Symphony performed a concert in Festival Hall followed by the Oakland Municipal Band in the Alameda-Contra Costa Counties Building, the Junior High School Chorus [combined] (1,046 voices) performed in the Cavalcade Building, the Symphonic Band (fifty-five members) and (separately) the Saturday Morning Choir gave concerts in the Rotunda of the California Building, and the seventy-six member High School Symphony Orchestra presented an 8 p.m. performance in Festival Hall.[1161] The ensembles performed in the California Coliseum,[1162] which was the venue for a performance of the San Francisco public schools All-City Band on April 21, 1939. Under the baton of the San Francisco public schools' director of music, Charles M. Denis, over six-hundred vocalists from twelve Northern California high schools,[1163] accompanied by one-hundred members

[1161] "Oakland Day Program: Treasure Island Monday May 29, 1939," CAHS.
[1162] See Chapters 3 and 9 for architecture and programming specifics for this particular performance space.
[1163] According to James and Weller, the high schools that participated were "Palo Alto, Hollister, Gilroy, San Jose, Mountain View, Campbell, Los Gatos, Salinas, Hayward, Oakland, and San Francisco." James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 226.

of the All-City Band, performed a concert.[1164] The Oakland Day program serves as only one example of the many event days and participating cities featured at the GGIE. The Bay Area and surrounding Californian cities, in addition to visitors from Western States and the rest of the country, participated in these localized performance programs within the confines of the fairgrounds.

In the 1930s, music clubs were popular groups and had a substantial programming presence at the GGIE.[1165] The California State Federation of Music Clubs held their convention on the Island from April 19 to 21, hosting one-thousand musicians with an additional five-thousand high schoolers who participated in "an instrumental and choral festival."[1166] For example, on April 28, 1939, the Convention of California Federation of Music Clubs sponsored the performance of the following organizations: Women's Lyric Club, La Gitana Club, The Melodians, Dominant Club, Harmonica Club, MacDowell Club of Allied Arts, Schubert Club of Los Angeles, String Trio of Eagle Rock, Schubert Choralist of Pasadena, Flo Ensemble of San Fernando, Women's Music Club of Long Beach, and the Mandolin and Guitar Orchestra of California Club.[1167] On the opening day of the convention, the California Federation of Music Clubs offered free music programs in the California State Building Ballroom.[1168] Clubs that were not designated as "musical" happened to sponsor musically themed events. For example, the California's Writer's Club sponsored a program at the Pacific House on September 12, 1939 that included

[1164] Ibid., 225-6.
[1165] Women's Clubs were involved in programming, see Chapter 5.
[1166] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 226.
[1167] "California Club Music Convention," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 23, 1939.
[1168] "California Federation of Music Convention," *San Francisco Chronicle*, April 26, 1939.

musically-inclined lectures by San Francisco Opera director Gaetano Merola ("Grand Opera Today") and musician and author, Helena M. Redewell ("Why Musical Biographies?").

Academic Sponsorship

Academic institutions and educational organizations were well represented in the GGIE's programming. Glee clubs, marching bands, music clubs, music education societies, choirs, and orchestras from around the nation and visiting nations were all present at the GGIE. Visiting universities and conservatory ensembles, like the Hawaii Conservatory of Music, performed at the Fairgrounds. [1169] Schools from the Western region of the country came to perform; for example, The Nogales High School 110-piece band performed with "girl tumblers from the Arizona State School for the Deaf and Blind" at the Arizona exhibit in 1939.[1170] Table 6.3 shows nine examples of the academically-funded ensembles present at the Fair:

[1169] "Featuring the ensemble of 100 guitars on June 4, 1939." James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 186.
[1170] "110 Piece Band," *Call Bulletin*, June 16, 1939.

Table 6.3: Academic/Educational Institutional Ensembles

Ensemble	**Date(s) at GGIE**	**Event Sponsor**
College of Holy Names Orchestra	April 23, 1939	College of Holy Names
Madrigal Singers of S.F. State College	April 30, 1939	S.F. State College
Junior Musicians of America Orchestra Concert	June 25, 1939	Junior Musicians of America
University of California Symphony Band (Charles Cashing)	April 29, 1939	Recreation Committee
San Jose State College Symphony Orchestra	June 3, 1939	San Jose State College
Southern Pacific Band & Jefferson Union High School	October 22, 1939	"Community Days" entertainment program
S.F. State College Music Workshop Band Concert	July 13, 1940	San Francisco State College
S.F. State College Ballet, Chorus, Orchestra Concert	May 6, 1939	S.F. State
Burbank High School Band	May 10, 1939	California State Commission

The San Jose State College program was highlighted in the local news reports. The 110-member orchestra performed an afternoon concert that included César Franck's (1822–1890) *Symphony in D Minor* (1888) and Antonín Dvořák's *Carnival Overture* (1891). The students left San Jose early to arrive in time to see the sights of the

Fair.[1171] San Francisco State student ensembles performed a "satirical skit and ballet" based on Franz Schubert's *Rosamunde* on May 6, 1939 that included a group of 125 dancers, a chorus of three-hundred voices, and a hundred-piece symphonic orchestra.[1172]

The GGIE's theme permeated every stratum of Bay Area life, including arts programs in public schools. Music programs from San Francisco and the Bay Area's public primary and secondary schools between 1938 and 1940 showcased elements of the theme of the GGIE, including pictures of the Tower of the Sun and Pacifica ("Come To The Fair" was the program title for Alvarado School's May 25, 1938 program).[1173] An example of this extensive theming can be taken from the Hawthorne School's pageant on June 2 and 3, 1938. Eight months before the Fair's opening, the school mounted a pageant dedicated to "The Glory of the Pacific." Scenes with the titles "East Meets West," "Native Cultures of the Pacific," "The Age-old Wisdom of China," and "Ancient Cultures and Modern Marvels" were presented, based upon the impending GGIE's theme and pan-Pacific message.[1174]

Special programs were created for academic institutions in the form of a dedicated concert program or an entire "special events" day. For example, "University of Redlands Day" took place on Tuesday, April 4, 1939 and included several performances from three college vocal ensembles: Women's Glee Club, Men's Glee Club, and the Combined Glee Club. Pieces programmed for the 11 a.m.

[1171] "Fair Concert By San Jose Group Today," *San Francisco Examiner,* June 3, 1939, front page.
[1172] "Exposition: S.F. State College Show Set Saturday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 3, 1939, 7.
[1173] San Francisco Programs, *Music: Public Schools Music Programs, part 2, 1937–1947*, San Francisco Public Library.
[1174] Ibid.

Women's Glee Club concert in the Auditorium of Western States included various vocal selections (sometimes accompanied by a harpist, pianist, and violinist). These selections included *Ave Verum* by Josquin des Prez (1450/55–1521), *Steal Away*–a spiritual arranged by Hall Johnson (1888–1970), and other various folk songs.[1175] Two works performed were by composers who had a great presence at the GGIE. Johnson[1176] composed the score for the very popular FTP production, *Run Chillun'*.[1177] The penultimate piece of the afternoon program was *Song of Bohemia* arranged by Deems Taylor (1885–1966). Taylor, president of the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), would have a leading role in the final music festival of the GGIE in September 1940.[1178]

Academic organizations and institutions sponsored music festivals to showcase regional talent. For example, the Junior College Music Festival programmed five a cappella choirs and a men's chorus from the Northern California region to perform in the Western States Auditorium on May 1, 1939.[1179] Festivals promoting school-aged musicians from western regions were organized by Fair management and very popular. California school music programs participated in festivals, like the Regional School Band, Orchestra and Chorus Festival, that invited groups from Nevada and Arizona to compete in a three-day long event.[1180] These events not only showcased local talent, but also fostered collaborations among music

[1175] "University of Redlands Day," program, California Historical Society, GGIE Music Programs.
[1176] Johnson, an African-American composer, championed the African-American spiritual as an essential American genre.
[1177] Incidentally, his chorus lent their voices to Disney's *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*' film score.
[1178] See Chapter 10.
[1179] "5 Choirs On Music Program At Fair," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 30 1939, 23.
[1180] "Exposition: Old Folk Given View Of Wonders," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1939, 26.

educators in the west. Regional competitions and festivals reinforced the concept of a "western identity" that Fair organizers capitalized upon in marketing and theming—concepts explored extensively in previous chapters.

Higher-education institutions not only provided musical entertainment but also lent expert faculty to programs where speeches and lectures at the invitation of exhibitors and clubs were presented. The intellectual elite, college professors, and other experts gave presentations that were offered for the public's general education. Experts spoke on a wide range of topics from art history to advancements in science; several speeches tied into the "Pacifica" theme of the Fair.[1181]

Themed anti-war and pro-peace lectures were given throughout the run of the GGIE. An example of a pro-peace directive was a lecture series called "Keep America Out of War." Various speakers gave lectures on the topic in The Court of Honor (the same location as the Goldman Band concerts), including one given on October 8, 1939 by University of Pacific President, Dr. Tully C. Knoles.[1182] The Hall of Western States also had a wing dedicated to "Peace or War," sponsored by Peace Projects, Inc. The exhibit showcased the "costs of war" and made a "plea for international peace." The focus of the display was a physical representation of the theme in the form of a "two-story glass pylon" titled "The Beacon of Peace."[1183]

[1181] In addition to lectures located on the island, remote courses with exposition themes were offered in special course offerings at host schools. For example, Eugen Neuhaus (professor of art) offered a summer session course in the "Art of the Exposition" at the University of California, Berkeley. "Art at Fair To Be Discussed," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939.
[1182] "Exposition Offers Variety of Entertainment Features," *Oakland Tribune*, October 8, 1939.
[1183] *Official Guide Book, rev. 1939*, 76.

Educational societies and organizations sponsored their conferences at the GGIE. The Music Teachers' Association of Alameda County and San Francisco held a program and reception on June 28, 1939 to welcome members from the Oregon and Washington associations. The "pre-convention rally" included a performance by the Roth Quartet whose performance was sponsored by the Friends of Music of Stanford University.[1184] The Roth String Quartet (1922–1969) was founded in 1922 by Feri Roth (1899–1969) a Czechoslovakian-born violinist. After an invitation by Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge in 1928, the Roth Quartet performed at the Pittsfield Music Festival.[1185] In 1939, Roth created a "new group from the members of the Manhattan String Quartet: Rachmael Weinstock, Julius Shaier, and Oliver Edel." After WWII, relocated to Los Angeles where he taught at University of California, Los Angeles as a faculty member.[1186]

The Junior Musicians of America presented a performance "said to be the largest mass performance ever attempted" as part of the GGIE's 1939 "Summer Opening" festival.[1187] Several large organizations hosted their annual concerts and festivals at the Fair. For example, the School Music Festival of the California School Band, Orchestra, and Chorus Association was held on Treasure Island April 27–29, 1939.

[1184] "Music Teachers to Meet on Island," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939.
[1185] "Finding Aid for the Feri Roth Collection of Papers, Photographs and Recordings, 1930–1969," Online Archive of California, accessed June 21, 2017, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt0r29q0sr/entire_text/.
[1186] Ibid.
[1187] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 186. Stiska composed a piece dedicated to the GGIE titled *Back to Treasure Island: March*. The march is analyzed in Chapter 8. The Summer Opening festival is further explored later in this chapter under the "Special Event Days" subheading.

Corporate Musical Sponsorship

There has been a strong presence of corporate sponsorship at American world's fairs, and the Depression-era fairs were certainly no exception.[1188] The federal government was not the only entity sponsoring the push for world peace at the GGIE; peace was also good for business. Companies with stakes in Latin-American and Asian trade, such as Chevron, General Electric, and Ford Motor Company, sponsored exhibits at the GGIE displaying their American-made products and services.

Corporate missions, developments, and plans were introduced to audiences on a large scale, thus shaping American consumer culture.[1189] Bruce Lenthall attributes this trend of corporate involvement to the era's tendency of centralizing control and the simultaneous rise of technology, specifically radio. Although there were "waves of immigration and migration" that contributed to ethnic and cultural diversity in the United States in the 1930s, there was a desire to assimilate. Lenthall theorizes that this cultural homogenization was due to the rise of American businesses that were creating a "national network" that made "important economic and political

[1188] National Building Museum, *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, exhibition guide, (Washington, D.C.: National Building Museum, 2010), 1. Due to the confines of this study, an entire examination of corporate sponsorship at world's fairs, and even the GGIE, cannot be performed. The National Building Museum dedicated an exhibit (October 2, 2010–September 5, 2011) on American world's fairs titled, *Designing the World of Tomorrow: World's Fairs of the 1930s*. In the exhibit records, Depression-era fair ephemera was displayed, including many brochures and paper materials sponsored by companies like General Electric ("General Electric Building brochure" from the New York World's fair) and Westinghouse Electric ("Westinghouse Elektro pin" from the New York World's Fair). The resulting exhibition publication, *Designing Tomorrow: America's World's Fairs of the 1930s*, is a valuable resource for world's fair studies.

[1189] National Building Museum, *Designing Tomorrow,* 4.

decisions."[1190] Businesses were allowed to test new "public relations techniques on a broad scale" while the fairgoers felt that by purchasing and consuming the goods presented would be a "worthwhile activity, even a civic duty."[1191] The GGIE allowed companies to exhibit and express corporate goodwill and products through exhibits, displays, advertisements, notices, articles, broadcasts, and most importantly, musical programming. Evidence of displays of musical instruments, akin to those from the fairs of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2) cannot be found at this time. Demonstrations were focused more on education rather than the technological developments of instruments. One of many examples of advertisement utilizing aspects of the Fair can be seen in an advertisement from PG&E (Figure 6.5).

[1190] Bruce Lenthall, *Radio's America: The Great Depression and the Rise of Modern Mass Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 9.
[1191] National Building Museum, *Designing Tomorrow,* 1.

Figure 6.5. PG&E,"'Hi-Pardner' Welcome to California!," advertisement, *San Francisco Examiner*, February 14, 1939.

Two men greet each other in a handshake, one wearing traditional "western" wear (complete with neckerchief and Stetson hat) while the other is in "city" clothes. The western man holds his other hand up in a salutation, both depicted above a layout of the GGIE (the Tower of the Sun and Elephant Towers). The caption reads:

> **This is the land where superlatives are outdone by reality—where every home is an Exposition of happy living!** WELCOME—all visitors to our marvelous Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island in San Francisco Bay. Be prepared for superlatives. Be prepared to be hailed as "pardners…." Welcome, each and every one of you, to our homes in California. Each and every home is an Exposition of easier, happier, better and cheaper living. Step into one of these homes on a day we call cold and wintry—here in California. Feel the soul-satisfying warmth that comes from a Natural Gas heating machine…. Then we hope some day to welcome you back as friend or neighbor in this land where life is better.[1192]

Utilizing the perceived tropes of the mythic Old West: colloquialisms (the use of "pardner"), the open and frank friendship of neighbors, and the largeness of ideas and events, PG&E (the company) is personified as a friendly Westerner who beckons visitors not only to the Fair but also into the Californian home. The blurring of reality and fantasy, between corporate and private, is exemplified in this marketing campaign. The adoption of the tropes of the Old West and the stereotypes of California (good weather, friendly people, and in that era, cheaper living) was very common among GGIE's corporate sponsors.[1193] Advertisements ingratiating businesses into the homes and lives of fair visitors and Californians was not the only method of corporate sponsorship at the GGIE.

Music was a method of marketing and corporate-sponsored ensembles and musical events were programmed. For example, the Southern Pacific Railroad Company sponsored the Southern Pacific Railroad Chorus, which gave performances on April 23, 1939. Entertainers were sponsored by corporations, such as Bing Crosby (1903-1977) for Safeway Day (see Chapter 5) and Grace Moore (1898-1947) for IBM

[1192] PG&E,"'Hi-Pardner' Welcome to California!," advertisement, *San Francisco Examiner*, February 14, 1939.
[1193] See Chapters 4 and 5 for more information regarding corporate adoptions of nationalism and Western stereotypes that connected to GGIE's audiences.

Day.[1194] Crosby gave two free performances (3 and 5 p.m.)[1195] during his one-day contract, and he was accompanied by John Schott Trotter (1908–1975)[1196] and George Olsen (1893–1971).[1197] In an advertisement for the fair, musical themes were presented alongside products. For example, notice the essentialized iconicity of the non-white peoples presented in this promotional pamphlet by Chevron (Figure 6.6):

[1194] Carpenter and Totah, "Lyle Bramson," 111. See Chapter 7 for "special event days."
[1195] "Diversity At Fair Sunday," *Oakland Tribune*, October 7, 1939, 9.
[1196] Trotter is known for leading the accompaniment orchestra for Bing Crosby in the 1930s through the 1950s.
[1197] Olsen was known for his many band recordings on Victor and Columbia records. "Exposition Offers Variety Of Entertainment Features," *Oakland Tribune*, October 8, 1939, 7.

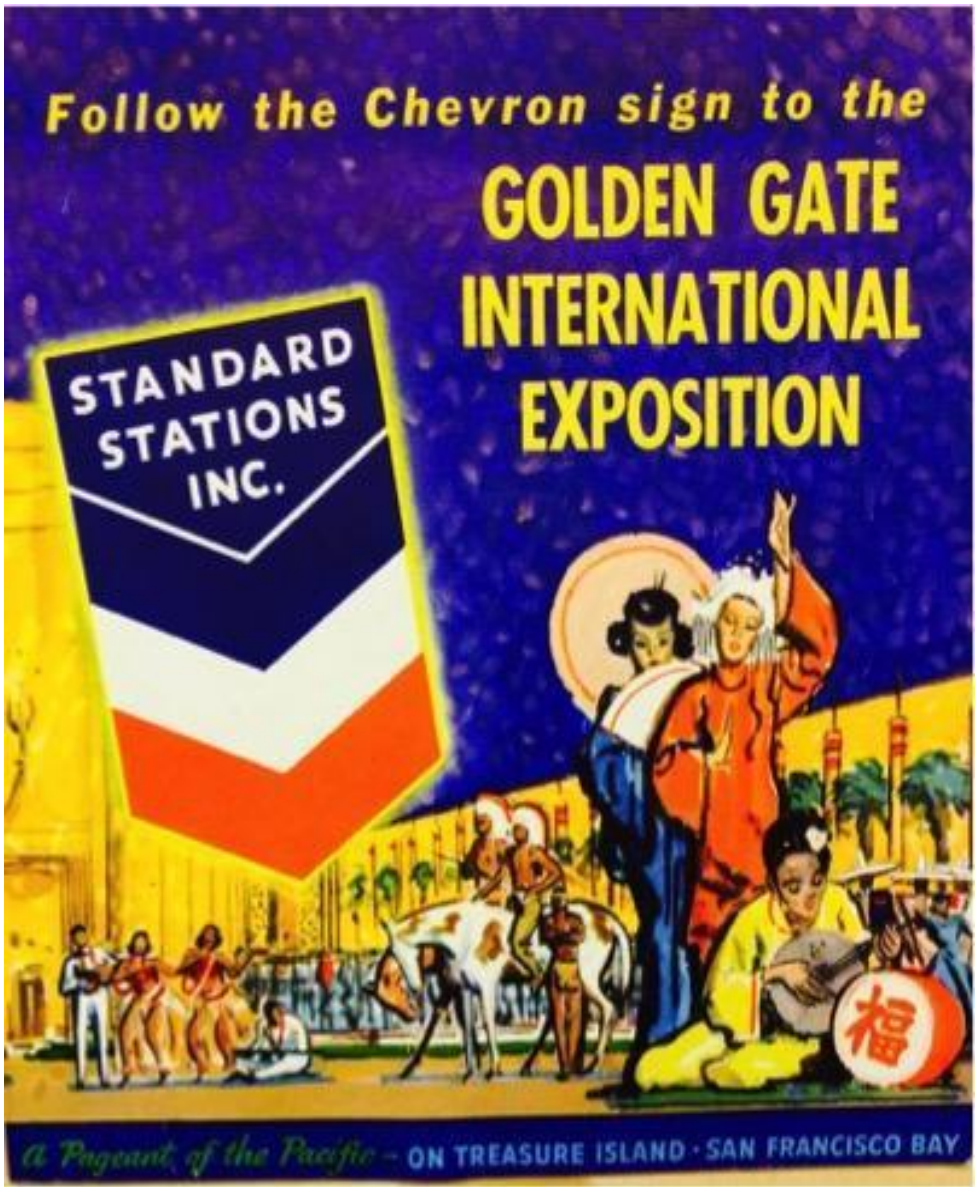

Figure 6.6. Chevron's corporate marketing pamphlet. Photograph by author, Standard Stations, Inc., "Follow the Chevron Sign to the Golden Gate International Exposition," advertisement, 1939/30 scrapbook, (Photograph by author, courtesy of Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

Peoples representing the cultures of the Pacific (Hawaiian, South East Asian, Latin, and Native American) are seen congregating in the Court of the Pacific. Some are seen playing musical instruments—the Hawaiian group on the left is performing the *Hula* with ukulele accompaniment while on the right, a Chinese woman musician is

performing a stringed instrument (the *ruan* or "moon-lute"). The promotion of Chevron as a sponsor and inclusive partner in the Fair's theme comes across to the reader. This example is only one of many instances of corporate advertising that incorporated the Pageant of the Pacific theme.

"IBM Day" & *The IBM Symphony*

International Business Machine's (IBM) corporate mission was to "promote world peace through world trade."[1198] By connecting and establishing trade agreements, there was the hope that a world war would not take place. IBM marketed the company's mission in the myriad of advertisements for its exhibit at the Palace of Electricity and Communication at the GGIE. One advertisement depicts the Tower of the Sun rising out from an image of Earth with the headline: "THE PAGEANT OF THE PACIFIC—an expanding center of World Trade."[1199] A multi-paragraph statement is written below, outlining the importance of the GGIE and IBM in global trade and politics. The positive outlook is expressed in the wishful statement:

> To this great Exposition will come visitors from the four quarters of the globe to learn of other people and their customs, methods and products—to exchange ideas and ideals. Better relations and closer friendships are bound to result as first-hand knowledge develops a clearer understanding among nations. For this reason, the Exposition will be an important world goodwill center.[1200]

[1198] "IBM Day Gives Human Touch To Peace Plea," *Business Machines* (New York) 21, no. 24, Section 1, May 25, 1939, IBM Corporate Archives, 3.
[1199] "International Business Machines Corporation," advertisement, *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1, 1939.
[1200] Ibid.

As one of the few global companies of the era (IBM conducted business in approximately seventy-nine countries in 1939),[1201] the peaceful political position was a profitable one. World's Fairs historically were hyperbolic efforts to exchange ideas and the GGIE was no exception. But, the statement by IBM highlights the difference between the GGIE and previous fairs. The position of the GGIE was global; as a "world goodwill center," the fair would serve both American and the global commnity's interests.

The company hosted a specially designated "IBM Day" at both the New York and San Francisco Fairs. IBM's day on May 18, 1939 was held jointly with "World Peace Day" at the GGIE. IBM President Thomas J. Watson was quoted in a discussion with GGIE President Cutler stating,

> I look upon the Exposition as a world institution during the time it will be in session. The things that will cause trouble in this world are things that people do not understand. Such gathering as the Exposition give people an opportunity to come together, meet with each other and discuss their problems. People must have opportunity to co-operate as well as incentive, and the Exposition furnishes both.[1202]

The GGIE would serve as a global collaborative platform to showcase the argument for peace.

The press advertised that the proceedings would start at 2 p.m. in the Hall of Western States and be broadcast "to every part of the world by short wave" by The Mutual Broadcasting Company.[1203] The promotion for world peace was not to be heard by only Americans, evident in the international broadcast provided by

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[1201] Ibid.
[1202] "Fair Awards Day to Corporation: Business Machines Firm to Keynote Peace May 18," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 1, 1939.
[1203] "World Peace," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 18, 1939.

WIXAL[1204] (the non-profit educational station provided by the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation).[1205] Speakers from IBM, and federal, state, and city dignitaries stressed the importance of peace for global trade: "Properly directed, international trade possibly can do more than any other kind of endeavor to secure and maintain international security and maintain international peace and goodwill."[1206] In a speech made for IBM Day, Commissioner Creel presented his political theory that war could be with fought as "soldiers" or as "salesmen."[1207] California Governor, Culbert Olson, agreed by adding the sentiment that trade was "an important cure for war."[1208] Current IBM Corporate Archivist, Lewis Stumpf explains, "Thomas J. Watson, Sr.,[1209] longtime IBM President, believed that cultural and political divides across the globe could be bridged through art and music; IBM's involvement in the San Francisco exposition was reflective of those aspirations."[1210]

The San Francisco Symphony, conducted by Pierre Monteux, concluded the official proceedings with a concert and broadcast.[1211] The symphony's participation in the Peace Day proceedings was deliberate as in the expression of the organization's stance regarding politics—an example of a civic entity expressing a private

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[1204] WIXAL was created by Walter Lemmon to produce educational programming for CBS. The headquarters of the Foundation were located in Boston and its motto was "Dedicated to Enlightenment." Jerome S. Berg, *The Early Shortwave Stations: A Broadcasting History Through 1945* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2013), 105.
[1205] "World Peace," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 30.
[1206] "World Faces Choice Of Arms Or Trading, Says Mr. George Creel," *Business Machines* (New York) 21, no. 24, Section 1, May 25, 1939, IBM Corporate Archives, 5.
[1207] Ibid.
[1208] "IBM Day Gives Human Touch To Peace Plea," *Business Machines* (New York) 21. no. 24, Section 1, May 25, 1939, IBM Corporate Archives, 5.
[1209] 1874–1956.
[1210] Lewis Stumpf, email communication, March 29, 2017.
[1211] The San Francisco Symphony's participation at the GGIE will be explored in Chapter 6.

corporation's policy. Leonora Wood Armsby (1874–1962), the symphony's first female and "longest tenured president of the orchestra,"[1212] served as emcee of the concert program and introduced each piece with a short narrative. Armsby spoke on behalf of the symphony by stating, "The San Francisco Symphony hopes to adequately convey Mr. Watson's message and that of his associates to our radio audience. We offer our music in the same spirit which animates this conference—the spirit of peace, goodwill and friendliness among all peoples."[1213] The SFS positioned itself in alliance with the corporate and federal positions on peace and public trading. In addition, after the argument for more SFS participation, news reports detailed San Francisco citizens' pride in their orchestra being "heard around the world" as a part of IBM Day.[1214]

The musical program included several works, including the "specially composed International Business Machine anthem, 'Hail to the IBM'"[1215] and *The IBM Symphony* (1937), composed by Vittorio Giannini (1903–1966)[1216] for the International Business Machines Corporation and dedicated to "World Peace Through

[1212] "The San Francisco Symphony at 100," *SF Gate*, January 1, 2012, accessed July 22, 2013, https://www.sfgate.com/entertainment/article/The-San-Francisco-Symphony-at-100-2431367.php.
[1213] "IBM Day Gives Human Touch To Peace Plea," 6.
[1214] "S.F. Symphony Will Broadcast From Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 15, 1939, 4.
[1215] Euny Hong, "Hail to the IBM and other corporate anthems to sing along to," Quartz, posted October 9, 2012, accessed August 15, 2018, http://qz.com/2330/hail-to-the-ibm-and-other-corporate-anthems-to-sing-along-to/.
[1216] Composer and violinist Giannini was born in Italy and came to the United States to study at Julliard with Hans Letz and Rubin Goldmark. A thrice Prix de Rome winner, he joined the staff at several prestigious American schools: Julliard, the Manhattan School of Music, and Curtis Institute of Music. The Neo-Romantic composer became the "first director of the North Carolina School of the Arts where he served until his death." Walter G. Simmons, "Giannini, Vittorio," *Oxford Music Online*, accessed August 15, 2018, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.oca.ucsc.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000011077.

World Trade."[1217] The work had been premiered at the dedication ceremonies of the IBM World Headquarters (New York) on January 18, 1938.[1218] A physical copy of the orchestral score cannot be found at the time of this study, but a recording (11'12") of the *IBM Symphony* by the Columbia Symphony Orchestra can be found on YouTube, pemitting an aural analysis.[1219] The only surviving recording has a few issues that made transcription difficult, including static and several moments of instrumental intonation issues. In addition, archival footage of the performance, complete with speeches, is housed at the IBM Corporate Archive, but the video, unfortunately, does not have sound.[1220] Although program notes are not accessible due to the missing score and any program from the event, Armsby read them to the radio audience during the ceremonial proceedings, which were included in a detailed article published in IBM's corporate newspaper, *Business Machines.*[1221]

The Neo-Romantic programmatic single-movement work in e minor is subdivided into three sections.[1222] The *Allegro*, *Sostenuto,* and *Allegro Ritmico* expressed "various aspects of humanity."[1223] Armsby remarked that the *Allegro* reflects "the unrest and confusion of the world today. The martial spirit is symbolized by trumpets sounding the call to arms. The *Allegro* in 12/8 reaches a climax and then

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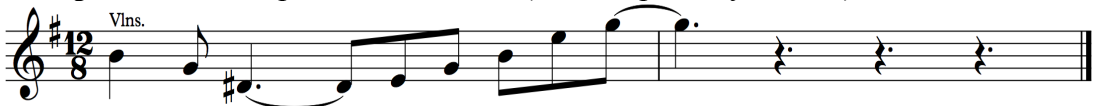
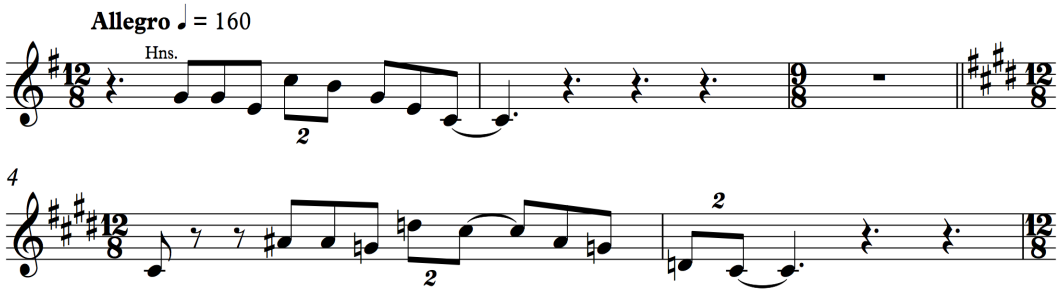
[1217] Musica Americana, "Vittorio Giannini: IBM Symphony (1937)," published April 24, 2012, YouTube video, accessed April 19, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=geStJytgOwc&index=13&list=PLAtNmDRGjkUlxDpqEEX3UW6nOsHYzP4R8.
[1218] Stumpf, email correspondence.
[1219] Musica Americana, "Vittorio Giannini: IBM Symphony (1937)."
[1220] Lewis Stumpf, email communication.
[1221] "IBM Day Gives Human Touch To Peace Plea," *Business Machines* (New York), 21, no. 24, May 25, 1939, 2, IBM Corporate Archives.
[1222] Michael L. Mark, "The Life and Works of Vittorio Giannini, 1903–1966" (Ph.D., diss., Catholic University of America, 1969), 103.
[1223] Strumpf, email correspondence.

softens gradually in an expression of the weariness of mankind."[1224] Indeed, the eight-note theme (Theme A) begins with an outline of a descending e melodic minor triad, starting on the fifth scale degree and ending on the seventh scale degree (Example 6.1):

Example 6.1 Transcription of Theme A. (Transcription by author.)

Each section of the orchestra processes Theme A and is continually interrupted by the martial call of the trumpets and ascending horn lines (Example 6.2):

Example 6.2 Trumpet and Horn's martial-like motivic material Theme A. (Transcription by author.)

The second section, the *Sostenuto*, "depicts the exhortation of those who strive for peace and love amongst humanity." The first six measures borrow from the IBM song, "Ever Onward," as an attempt to connect the "spirit of IBM with the world movement for international understanding."[1225]

The *Allegro Ritmico* begins as a sudden interruption of the *Sostenuto* with differing rhythms among the violas followed by the violins and cellos. This abruptness describes the "renewed activity in industry" and the disjointed rhythms

[1224] "IBM Day Gives Human Touch To Peace Plea," 2.
[1225] Ibid.

represent the "different anthems of the nations as they unite their common efforts for the prosperity and the betterment of mankind."[1226] The fragmented anthems of the United States, France, and the United Kingdom are easily distinguishable. As the composition nears the *finale*, the fragmented anthems and the busy strings gradually meld into a "joyous, triumphant tone, while the brass, playing in a broadened tempo repeats 'Ever Onward'" from the *Sostenuto* section in its entirety.[1227] Overall, the piece recalls a Wagnerian treatment of thematic and harmonic material and adheres to Neo-Romantic orchestration techniques and structure.

"IBM Day," and specifically the *IBM Symphony*, is a physical symbol of the push for peace and an excellent representation of a combined effort by corporate, civic, and federal sponsors to promote anti-war messages. The *IBM Symphony*'s programmatic theme is supportive of the different idealistic qualities that IBM desired to impart to audiences (humanity's evolution, industry and progress, modernity, pan-global relations, etc.). Federal policy and corporate mission melded into one focused goal; the GGIE was a microcosm where massed audiences could see firsthand the importance of peace in the United States as well as the potential for corporate enterprise.

[1226] Ibid.
[1227] Ibid.

CHAPTER 7
MUSIC FOR THE MASSES: SPECIAL EVENT DAYS AND MUSIC FESTIVALS

Special event days and music festivals underwritten by exposition management and corporate, academic, and civic sponsors were used as marketing ploys to attract audiences and promote institutional missions. Special programming was a proven method to attract audiences with "indirect revenue through attendance and direct revenue through special admissions."[1228] Corporations sponsored special musical guests and daylong programs of entertainment for fair audiences.[1229] In addition, programs were offered without cost to the Exposition and provided publicized moments that honored individuals who visited the Fair (royalty, visiting foreign officials, celebrities, etc.). The special event days explored in-depth in this chapter are: French Day (1939 & 1940); Jewish Day; San Francisco Day 1939 & 1940; I.B.M. Day Summer Opening of 1939; and the "Fair in 'Forty" Fiesta.

Music festivals, especially among schools and fraternal societies, were very popular programming choices at the GGIE. The most highly attended single event at both the 1939 and 1940 Fairs was a music festival—the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers' Music Festival in September 1940.[1230] This particular event warrants an entire chapter; thus, Chapter 10 is dedicated to this landmark event that took place in the final weeks of the GGIE's 1940 season. There are too many special events and festivals to cover in this work; therefore, a sample of

[1228] Felix Feliz, "Events and Ceremonies," scrapbook, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1229] Examples of corporate sponsorship at the GGIE are explored in Chapter 6.
[1230] See Chapter 10.

the most historically significant and popular (five music-specific festivals in total, four in this chapter) will be examined. The four festivals explored in detail here are the 1939 California Composers Festival, the California Music Festival (1940), the Negro Music Festival (1939), and the Eisteddfod (1939). Organizers at the management and program committee levels took great care to ensure all elements of the festival and special events programs—including marketing, set lists, and works performed—attracted potential audiences. More importantly, the special events were an articulation of the management and sponsor's adherence to the GGIE's theme of peace. The majority of festival programs examined in this study express international collaboration and support of friendly relations with the United States' allies, as well as staunch patriotism.

Special Events Days

Special programming was also used to open both the 1939 and 1940 versions of the Fair as well as celebrate different seasonal changes, such as the Summer Opening of 1939 and the "Fair in 'Forty Fiesta."[1231] Special events were so popular in the 1939 Fair that they were offered "on every one of the 128 days the Exposition" ran in 1940.[1232] A wide variety of potential fairgoers could be attracted by the special

[1231] See Chapter 4 for the "1939 Fiesta" preceding the GGIE's 1939 season as well as the "Opening Day" celebration.
[1232] George Besserer, "Treasure Island: Go by Train," Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay–May 25 to September 29, 1940, 1, advertisement, Southern Pacific, in *George Besserer, Scrapbook of Clippings Relating to the Golden Gate International Exposition, San Francisco 1939/40*, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.

event day promotions. Federal, academic, and civic entities sponsored "Special Days" at the GGIE and each event utilized musical performances and programs.

Felix Feliz, Director of Promotion (1936–1939), outlined the projected roles of events and ceremonies in an organizational display during the planning phase. Under "Events and Ceremonies," there would be a total of 1,598 "special events" that included Music (288 events, 18% of the total special events offerings), Aviation (288, 18%), Military Spectacles (247, 15%), Fireworks (123, 8%), Sports-Recreation (Competitive Exhibition) (364, 23%), and Novelty Sports (288, 18%.[1233] In an effort to attract audiences, specially designated themed days or weeks (there could be more than one theme per day) at the fair were announced in the newspapers.[1234] Examples of "Special Days" at the GGIE include M-G-M Day (April 13, 1939), Los Angeles Day and Japan Day (April 29, 1939), Jewish Day (May 10, 1939), National Education Day (July 7, 1939), Shriner's Day (June 4, 1939), General Motors Day (July 22, 1939), Negro Day (September 3, 1939), and American Red Cross Day (August 22, 1940).[1235] Examples of special event days specifically focused on music were: San Francisco Musical Club Day (March 16, 1939), Junior Musicians Day (June 25, 1939), Disabled Citizens' Day & Lily Pons Day (August 19, 1940), National

[1233] Feliz, "Events and Ceremonies."
[1234] This marketing technique is still in use for current county and state fairs, special days focuses programming, and attractions for a particular group (e.g., civic, county, international country, club, ethnicity, religious corporation, etc.).
[1235] "Disabled Citizens' Day" was sponsored by the California Adult Disabled Club, which chartered buses to take participants to the Island from Oakland. The day's itinerary included a tour of the GGIE in wheelchairs and special viewings of "several big shows" for free. Lily Pons was feted by President Marshall Dill and his wife for a day-long visit to the GGIE. The itinerary included a luncheon in Pons' honor as well as a "stop in at the Brazilian Pavilion for coffee." "Disabled Citizens' Day At Fair Set," *Oakland Tribune*, July 25, 1940, 20-D. A full report of individual "Special Days" can be found in the appendix of James and Weller's book, *Treasure Island*.

Association of Broadcasters Day (August 7, 1940).[1236] The days celebrated a range of established local organizations, (the San Francisco Musical Club) as well as national super stars, like Lily Pons.[1237]

Cities around the Bay Area were honored with day-long programs that featured local civic leaders and ensembles, mostly amateur and student-level. For example, the City of Pleasanton's day was October 27, 1939 and the program included performances by the "Pleasanton Maskers" in the Federal Recreation Center, a ceremonial parade, special seating to the Cavalcade of the Golden West, and a school tour for six hundred students from the Pleasanton, San Rafael, and Quincy schools.[1238] Fraternal organizations hosted special events and programming at the GGIE. Phi Beta Mu sponsored an entire day at the fair, which included honoring Mary Carr Moore, "a California composer who presented a piano recital in the State Recreation Building at 2 o'clock."[1239] Even Exposition employees received special event days; for example, the Exposition Cashier Division's program was the first of several "social evenings for Exposition workers," which included entertainment, dinner, and a dance.[1240]

[1236] Ibid.
[1237] For more information regarding the famous vocalist's participation at the fair, see chapter 5.
[1238] "Pleasanton Has Day Tomorrow," *Oakland Tribune*, October 26, 1939, 8-D.
[1239] "State Librarians Meet On Island: Writers' Club Holds Program National Society Fetes Composer," *Oakland Tribune*, June 20, 1939. Moore would also be honored at the 1939 California Composers Festival held in mid-August.
[1240] Ibid.

Figure 7.1. "Four college girls receiving an old Spanish serenade on San Francisco State College Day, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island." (Photograph courtesy of the San Francisco Public Library History Center.)

French Day

Throughout the tenure of the fair, American politics was at the forefront of the GGIE. Special event days were a method of explicitly expressing the American stance in the global conflict occurring in Europe. The GGIE organizers hosted "French Day" to honor the 151st anniversary of the storming of the Bastille. Sponsored by Bay Area citizens of French heritage and expatriates, the event took place on Bastille Day, July 14, 1939. The bilingual (and free) program booklet

detailed the day's proceedings. Several groups were honored during the program, including veterans of the Great War as well as Consul Général of France, Roger Gaucheron. The day's festivities began with a "Pageant of the Nations," which included the Lafayette Drum and Bugle Corps and a performance of the "Pro Patria" march for orchestra by the famous promoter of San Franciscan music, Alfred Roncovieri, who conducted the afternoon concert as well. Roncovieri, a "French bass," supported the arts in San Francisco and staged the "first opera produced in San Francisco" (*La sonnambula*) in 1851.[1241]

The proceedings were in both French and English and the music reflected the strong bond between the two nations. An afternoon parade marched its way through the fairgrounds, starting at Festival Hall. As stated in previous chapters, the fairground's acoustics were not contained, and many outdoor performances competed with sounds from parades, barkers, amplified announcements, etc. In the California Commission report of 1941, the public address system messages and the importance of amplified sound were presented as positive aspects of the fair experience:

> Interspersed with announcements of daily events, selected recordings of popular tunes or musical programs originating on the Island provided entertainment for those strolling through the grounds and created a background of gaiety for all the visual treats of architecture, color, landscaping and illumination.[1242]

[1241] Larry Rothe, *Music for a City Music for the World: 100 Years with the San Francisco Symphony*, 17.
[1242] *Official Report of The California Commission For The Golden Gate International Exposition*, 40.

The cacophony of sounds was an acoustical remembrance of the fair. Public address announcements also served as important directional reminders for fairgoers as well as marketing tools to guide people to an attraction, demonstration, or show.

Rather than compwting for audiences' attention, some ensembles who performed in outdoor venues embraced (or acknowledged) the acoustical issues. For example, the "French Day" parade passed by the Temple Compound, where Benny Goodman and his Band were performing "Honeysuckle Rose." While the passing band performed a "stirring rendition of 'The Stars and Stripes Forever,'" Goodman decided not to compete, but rather join the parade. "He stopped in the middle of a high one, cocked his ear for the right key and led his band into a Henderson arrangement of the piece," a *San Francisco Chronicle* news reporter recounted.[1243] After the patriotic tune was completed, a band in the parade line up began the "Marseillaise" and Goodman had his band join in with that song as well and "kept it up until the parade swept out of earshot."[1244] After the parade bands had passed, Goodman's band continued their set program of "Honeysuckle Rose" in mid-song.[1245]

At 3 p.m. in the Coliseum Building, Roncovieri conducted an unidentified orchestra, with the aid of the Lafayette Drum Corps, through works that showcased the international relationship discussed earlier: Henry Charles Litsolff's (1818–1891) Overture "Robespierre;" "American Patrol" by Frank White (F.W.) Meacham (1856–1909); "Stars and Stripes Forever" by Sousa (1854–1932); songs from each French

[1243] Willis O'Brien, "Funfare," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 17, 1939, Exposition Tabloid–1E.
[1244] Ibid.
[1245] Ibid.

provinces in attendance (Provence, Bretagne, Savoie, Auvergne, Béarn, Touraine, Flanders, Normandie, Gascogne, Champagne, Alsace-Lorraine, Bourgogne, and L'Ile de France). Perry Askam performed "La Marseillaise," and Marguerite Alary Rice sang "The Star-Spangled Banner."[1246] Printed on the last page of the program book were the lyrics to both "La Marseillaise" and "The Star-Spangled Banner." (It is interesting to note that three verses of the latter song were also included.) The final piece that accompanied the official group and the participants' exit was "March Héroïque" by Camille Saint-Saens. The choice of Saint-Saens, who had died in 1921, to close the program was a poignant one; audience members may have remembered his work, *Hail! California,* and personal appearance at the 1915 PPIE.[1247]

The "French Day" program booklet contained spaces for advertisements paid for by sponsors. The American Red Cross took an advert space and dedicated it to the "French Colony," thus highlighting the issue of the active war in Europe. This concert and special day program were not the only support the American Red Cross received at the GGIE. Carrie Jacobs-Bond (1862–1946) donated all proceeds of her composition, "The Flying Flag," to the American Red Cross and performed it during the 1940 ASCAP Festival.[1248] The entire day's proceedings ended with a fireworks

[1246] The program booklet lists the ceremony's location as the Coliseum Building but newspaper reports designate the venue as the California Building. "Fête Nationale De La France: French Day" program, California Historical Society, GGIE Musical Programs.
[1247] See Chapter 3.
[1248] See Chapter 10.

display, a reception at the French pavilion on the fairgrounds, and a dance in the Festival Hall.[1249]

Those who planned, participated in, and presented at the 1939 "French Day" supported France during the tense political period.[1250] Juxtaposed with the fair's buoyant, safe, and festive celebration, the Bastille Day in Paris was more reserved. Due to the concern over the possibility of German espionage, French authorities banned "professional photographers from taking pictures of tanks, guns and airplanes on parade" in order to "guard France's military secrets."[1251] The following year's Bastille Day would be a different sort of celebration for people in France and the fair. Whereas the 1939 "French Day" at Treasure Island and Bastille Day in Paris were premeditated efforts to foster allied relations and promote French culture and military strength, the 1940 events were drastically different.

The Nazis invaded France in the summer of 1940 and by late June, occupied the French Republic. The 1940 Bastille Day, the traditional anniversary of French liberty, was celebrated somberly. An Associated Press article from Vichy, France recounted the drastic change from the previous Bastille Day celebrations: "Mourning services in the churches replaces café merriment and dancing in the streets."[1252]

[1249] "Bastille Day Feted at Fair: French Citizens Hold Parade and Pageant; Fireworks Tonight," *Oakland Tribune*, July 14, 1939, 11.
[1250] The IBM Symphony's last section included melodies from allied nations' anthems (see subheading: IBM Day & *IBM Symphony*).
[1251] Associated Press, "Paris Watches Spies: Alert on Eve of Bastille Fete," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1939, 4.
[1252] Associated Press, "City's French, Saddened By War Tragedy, Join Together In Prayer On Bastille Day," *Detroit Free Press*, July 15, 1940, front page.

Whereas France's Bastille Day was in memoriam under the German dictatorship in France, the event on GGIE was a vigil.

The 1940 GGIE "French Day" (also referred to as "Bastille Day") was mounted on July 14 and followed the same programmatic format as the 1939 version: parade, ceremonies, and a "French Day Ball" in the California Ballroom at 8 p.m.[1253] The Bastille Day celebration of 1940 included other invaded nations such as "CzechoSlovakia [sic.], Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg" in a celebration of a "Day of Liberty."[1254] The tone of the celebration was defiant, with French and American civic, federal, and cultural representatives presenting addresses to the crowd. After a pageant directed by artist Lucien Labaudt 1880–1943),[1255] keynote Judge Everett C. McKeague, president of the United Veterans' Council and Superior Judge of San Francisco, spoke. McKeague pointedly expressed the desire for the congregants to hope for liberty again, stating, "The Spirit

[1253] "Today at Fair," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1940, 15. The New York World's Fair also honored France with a Bastille Day program. On July 14, 1940, a French Day program was given at the Court of Peace with an address by Governor Lehman. "World's Fair Program Today," *Daily News*, July 14, 1939, 69.

[1254] "Invaded Nations To Celebrate Bastille Day on Island Today," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1940, 15.

[1255] Founder of the California School of Design, Labaudt was a "painter, muralist, costume and set designer" who was born in Paris and killed in a plane crash in India (1943) while on assignment as a war/artist correspondent. The Frick Collection, Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America, "Lucien Labaudt Art Gallery," (accessed 4, June 2018) http://research.frick.org. Labaudt was hired as a muralist for the California State Building and the auditorium at the GGIE. According to an interview with his widow, Marcelle Labaudt (1892–1987), the murals on the California State Building were alfresco, with two large panels–one with an agricultural theme and the other industry. She explained, "There was like an alley, you see, and the Federal building was at the end. There was a lake here and those two buildings on each side and that drawing was reflecting at night in the lake. It was just the most beautiful sight." The interviewer asked what type of paint he used, and she answered "house paint" because the buildings were slated for demolition once the Fair concluded. Labaudt's mural art can be seen in Coit Tower, San Francisco. In an interview with his wife, M, she explains in detail the figures and subjects he chose to incorporate in his Coit Tower mural. "Oral History Interview with Marcelle Labaudt," 1964 Sept. 16, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-marcelle-labaudt-11986#transcript.

that stormed the Bastille will rise again, to destroy the restrainers of French liberties."[1256] The GGIE was a platform for an expression of alliance with France and other conquered nations, thus expressly creating a pro-Allies stance. To prove their alliance, the French organizers of the GGIE Bastille Day (San Francisco had a substantial French population) invited high-level British officials and veterans groups to take part in the festivities.[1257]

More than ten-thousand people attended the Bastille Day event and a special police force was hired for the day in order to deter potential bomb threats (a bomb killed two police officers on July 4 at the New York World's Fair).[1258] The lead French representative, French Consul General Roger Gaucheron, was not slated to speak until the last minute. Citing the French government's plan to "observe Bastille Day as a day of mourning," Gaucheron explained his absence as respect for the somber mood of the occasion rather than the fair's planned celebration."[1259] Although Gaucheron denied his absence was the result of the bomb threats (GGIE management received two "veiled, ambiguous phone calls" and an "anonymous letter asking for precautions), newspaper reports posit that in fact he was concerned about appearing

[1256] "French of Area Hold Fete At Fair: Bastille Day Celebrated; Other Nationalities Join Program," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 15, 1949, 10.
[1257] "Fair Will Fete French Bastille Day: English Veterans Parade in Honor of Independence Day," *Oakland Tribune*, July 8, 1940, 6.
[1258] "Bastille Day At Fair Is Under Guard: 10,000 Attend Fete As Special Police Watch For Bombers," *Oakland Tribune*, July 15, 1940, 6.
[1259] "French Consul Denies Fear of Bomb Threat: Failure to Speak at S.F. Fair Fete Laid to Attitude of Nation Since Nazi Victory," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 16, 1940.

as a Vichy government representative at the celebration with British representatives at the pro-British and pro-DeGaulle government-sponsored event.[1260]

Jewish Day

With the conflict in Europe and the increase in restrictions on European Jews, the choice for, and timing of, a "Jewish Day" at the GGIE could not be overlooked. Bay Area Jewish organizations[1261] sponsored "Jewish Day" on May 10, 1939 and invited residents of all faiths from local nursing homes to be guests at the GGIE.[1262] Dr. Nathaniel Coulson, the donor of the Tower of the Sun's carillon (Chapters 3 and 5), was the guest of honor at the festivities.[1263] The program included opening remarks by the chairman of the Exposition Board of Directors, Atholl McBean, in the Open Air Theater. The Exposition Band performed a special concert of "old-time favorites" that would be familiar to the guests, while San Franciscan Eugene Fulton (baritone) "led the group in a community sing."[1264] Unfortunately, a list of the

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[1260] Ibid.
[1261] The exact organizations were not listed.
[1262] "Old Folks To Be Fair Guests On Jewish Day," *San Francisco Examiner*, April 30, 1939, 23. The timeline of events during "Jewish Day" at the Fair cannot be stressed sufficiently. Nazi Germany had been increasing restrictions on the Jewish people, one of the most infamous moments of violence was Kristallnacht (November 9–10, 1938). Systematic discrimination and violence forced Jews to escape persecution. The same week as "Jewish Day" at the fair, the *St. Louis* steamship carrying Jewish refugees set sail for Cuba (May 13, 1939). Denied entry to Cuba and the United States, the ship was sent back to Europe where Belgium took in the refugees. Coverage of the *St. Louis* crisis filled the newspapers simultaneously with fair proceedings. The juxtaposition of the seeming frivolity of bi-coastal expositions and the plight of the refugee crisis is not lost on contemporary scholars and will be further examined in Chapters 6 and 8.. The 1940 fair did not sponsor a "Jewish Day"; rather, on July 27, a "Jewish War Veterans Day" was held.
[1263] "Donor of Carillons To Be Honor [sic.] Guest," *Oakland Tribune*, May 5, 1939, 16.
[1264] "Exposition: Old Folk Given View of Wonders," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 11, 1939, 26. Fulton was the director of the Bel Canto Choral. "Program for Bowl Service Is Announced," *The San Mateo Times: Country News*, April 7, 1939, 8. Fulton would direct the Bel Canto Chorus in the "Grand

specific pieces chosen to resonate with an older generation referenced in reports cannot be found at this time. Participants had a luncheon at the Chinese Village that preceded a special matinee performance of the *Cavalcade of the Golden West*.[1265]

The inclusivity on the part of the Jewish leaders for this event extended to all faiths and gave the elderly access to the GGIE. As explored in Chapter 4, the Jewish community of the Bay Area participated, especially musically, in events and festivals at the fair. "Jewish Day" (and the 1940 Jewish War Veterans Day) was an example of civic collaboration and charity sponsored by the Jewish community at a global event (world's fair) while horrible oppression and war mounted in Europe.

San Francisco Day 1939 & 1940

The San Francisco Citizens Committee and the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored "San Francisco Day" on Saturday, September 30, 1939. The surviving white paper program pamphlet typed in blue ink contains a detailed timed event schedule as well as small excerpts of the attractions offered.[1266] The proceedings began with a "mammoth" parade on the Island, spanning "two miles in length" that included more than 2,500 participants, all of whom were San Francisco-based groups.[1267] Mayor Angelo Rossi held a reception in the San Francisco Building and several San Francisco school ensembles performed throughout the day; these

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Choral" performance at the GGIE Eisteddfod (see heading: "Music Festivals" for further information regarding this event).
[1265] "Exposition," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 10, 1939, 6.
[1266] "San Francisco Day," program, California Historical Society, Folder: "GGIE Events," 1.
[1267] Ibid.

groups included The Polytechnic Orchestra, Junior College A Capella Choir, and other various school bands.[1268]

The highlight of the day, aside from the multiple parades and events, was the "free open-air concert featuring John Charles Thomas[1269] and the San Francisco Municipal Chorus directed by Dr. Hans Leschke."[1270] The Concert Committee for the day included this particular concert especially for the "music lovers of San Francisco." Thomas's performance, deemed "a real treat," was held in the Court of the Nations at 8 p.m. Not only were swing and jazz performers in high demand due to their radio audience, but also western-art performers such as operatic star Thomas. At this time, the audience would have known him through his varied performances on radio programs.[1271] "San Francisco Day" concluded with a grand ball in the California Building, held from 9:30 p.m. until 2 a.m.[1272]

During the last few weeks of the GGIE on September 15, 1940, a second "San Francisco Day" was presented. The day coincided with two other themed special events days: "Redwood Empire Day" and the "Central American Independence Days." The morning celebrations included ceremonies for both themed days with GGIE President Marshall Dill and the 30th Regimental Band celebrating Central American Independence Day participants, followed by a "band concert and reception

[1268] Ibid., 2.
[1269] For more information regarding Thomas' participation at the fair, see Chapter 5.
[1270] Ibid.
[1271] More information on Thomas can be found in Chapter 5 under the heading "San Francisco Symphony."
[1272] "San Francisco Day Program," back cover.

for [the] North Bay counties celebrants" at the Redwood Empire Building.[1273] The musical offerings continued into the afternoon with a "gigantic" San Francisco Day parade.[1274] San Francisco Day was programmed during the California Music Festival; thus, both events shared performance ensemble programming.[1275]

Various civic ensembles from San Francisco were engaged to perform during the day-long festivities. These included Salesian Boys Club concert (Festival Hall), the Columbus Park Boys Club concert (Court of Honor), Exposition Band concert (Coliseum), the Jewish Folk Chorus concert (Festival Hall), the bugle corps and drill team events (Federal Plaza), and the San Francisco Municipal Orchestra concert (San Francisco Building).[1276] The special event day concluded with a two-part evening performance: The first concert was given by the 150-voice San Francisco Municipal Chorus in the Festival Hall, and the other was a "community songfest" directed by Tommy Harris in the Federal Plaza.[1277] The dedicated special events days, especially the locally-themed programs like "San Francisco Day," were lucrative for fair management—attendance records soared. In fact, San Francisco Day established a "new Sunday attendance record" of 120,027."[1278]

[1273] "Throngs Pack Treasure Isle for S.F. Fete: Redwood Empire and Central American Independence Days Also Marked; Records Set," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 16, 1940, 13.
[1274] Ibid.
[1275] See subheading "California Music Festival" later in this chapter.
[1276] "Throngs Pack Treasure Isle for S.F. Fete."
[1277] Ibid.
[1278] The daily record for the 1940 Fair up until "San Francisco Day" was only exceeded by the 4th of July GGIE crowd with over 130,600 in attendance. "San Francisco Day," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 16, 1940, 13.

Corporate-Sponsored "Special Events Days"

The most successful "special events day" for the 1940 Fair was the second iteration of I.B.M. Day on May 27, 1940.[1279] Operatic stars Lawrence Tibbett (1896–1960) and Grace Moore (1898–1947) were engaged to participate in the day-long ceremonies as well as to present a performance that was completely underwritten by I.B.M. Bottorff reported in the closing report of the exposition that in addition to the general admission, an additional 41,254 people were "attracted to the Island that day."[1280]

Corporations subsidized several special event days, resulting in the creation of directed programming that would promote their products and business missions. American companies, such as General Motors and PG&E, sponsored specific days that included perks for employees and ticketed events, including a nighttime dance (Figure 7.2).

[1279] Bottorff, "Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition," 77. The 1939 I.B.M. Day is explored in detail in Chapter 6.
[1280] Ibid., 78.

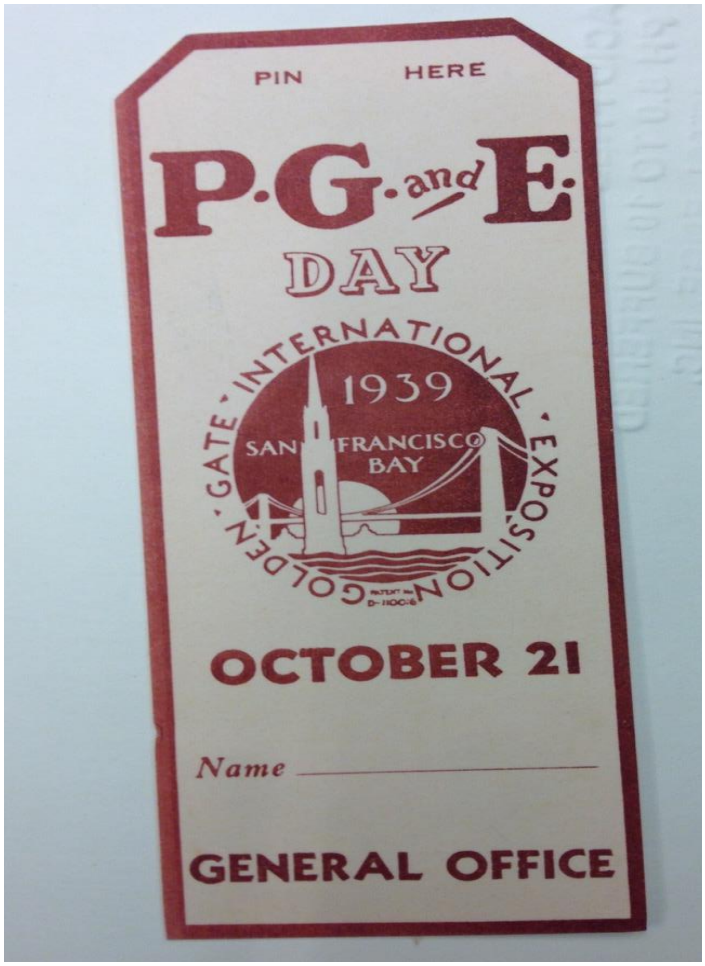

Figure 7.2. "PG&E Day" Ticket, October 21, 1939. (Photography by author), Courtesy of California Historical Society.

In 1939, General Motors sponsored a day at the GGIE that was built around their existing exhibit in the Vacationland area.[1281] There, fairgoers could see "a myriad of modern scientific wonders" displayed in the "Progress On Parade" research

[1281] General Motors was also a primary sponsor at the New York World's Fair with a large exhibit detailing products and innovations. A highlight of the display was the "world's most powerful type of streamlined Diesel-electric locomotive." General Motors Corporation, "General Motors Corporation: Highways and Horizons at the New York World's Fair: News From Public Relations, General Motors Overseas Operations," BRG 213/126/4, South Australia Library Special Collections, 3.

show while interacting with the 1939 product displays.[1282] A program of special events was promoted that included several musical performances sponsored by General Motors. In the afternoon, a "General Motors Folks Get-Together" and welcoming ceremony took place in the California Auditorium.[1283] This ticketed event was for General Motors employees and families to listen to a music program and several exposition officials speak (the program to this event cannot be found at this date). From 4 p.m. until 5 p.m., there was a public performance of the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band in the Open Air Theatre and a special performance of the *Cavalcade of the Golden West* (from 5:30–6:35 p.m.).[1284] The evening program offered a "gala entertainment festival" in the Court of Nations where an audience of 20,000 watched "vaudeville, comedy, music, dancing, and spectacular aerial act[s]" all presented by General Motors. The night finished with a firework display and a "special late show" by the *Folies Bergere*.[1285] General Motors sponsored a second day during the 1940 Fair (Saturday, July 27) that 35,000 people attended.[1286]

Southern Pacific sponsored a special day for employees and their families in 1939 and again in 1940. A program from the two-part celebration on June 29 and 30, 1940, "Southern Pacific Day" and "Home-Coming Day" included an acknowledgment of the successful 1939 event as an aid to boosting the "Fair's record

[1282] "Welcome: Today Is General Motors Day On Treasure Island," program, California Historical Society.
[1283] Ibid.
[1284] See Chapter 8 for more information regarding the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band.
[1285] Ibid.
[1286] "Lily Pons Day," *Oakland Tribune*, July 25, 1940, 20-D.

of attendance."[1287] The message from Southern Pacific's president expressed the importance of assembling the employees and their families "at one time in one place" at the GGIE.[1288] Both days included special seating at the Cavalcade as well as private band concerts. Both days ended with large dances (both in the California State Building) with music provided by Paul Martin's N.B.C. Orchestra.[1289]

The summer season of the 1939 fair opened with a special "Summer Fiesta" (also known as the "Summer Opening"), which included the participation of surrounding Bay Area cities and counties. Exposition Officials declared an official "Summer Fiesta period" to run for thirty days, starting on June 24, 1939. On the same page as the announcement that Lou Gehrig (1903–1941) may never play baseball again, the reopening of the fair festival was touted in Bay Area newspapers: "The Golden Gate International Exposition this week-end celebrates its summer opening. For two rip-snorting days, Saturday and Sunday, the Wild West will be reborn."[1290] The Summer Fiesta would mimic the celebratory nature of the successful 1939 "Fiesta Week," which preceded Opening Day (see Chapter 4). The reopening of the summer season was a plan by Charles Strub and his associates to rejuvenate the GGIE and attract repeat patrons.[1291] The fair did not close during this period, but the bunting was changed, new plants were added to the gigantic floral display titled, "The

[1287] "Home-Coming Day" was directed towards company employees, akin to a company picnic or party. Southern Pacific Railroad, "Southern Pacific Day," program, unidentified scrapbook, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1288] Ibid.
[1289] Ibid.
[1290] "Fair Opening: A Week-End [sic.] Festival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939.
[1291] See Chapters 4 and 5 for Strub's entertainment and management changes that began in June of 1939.

Magic Carpet" placed at the GGIE's gates, and new programming would usher in the summer months.

Two Island-wide parades were programmed for Saturday, June 24 and Sunday, June 25. The first parade at 1 p.m. included all of the "Gayway concessionaires" and any fair visitor who wore a costume from "the old west" could participate.[1292] Led by the cast of the *Cavalcade of the Golden West*, "performers and entertainers from every Gayway concession fell into line."[1293] Zoe Dell Lantis (the fair's pirate costume-clad theme ambassador) served as grand marshal and a performer from the *Folies Bergere* acted as parade queen chauffeured in an automobile.[1294]

The second event, the "Music Parade," began at 2 p.m. behind the Federal Building. Every GGIE band participated and free admission was given to anyone who came to the Island in a "uniform and carrying their instruments."[1295] In addition to GGIE ensembles, Renwick Congdon, head of the Special Events department, invited "all uniformed bands in the Metropolitan Bay Area" to "participate in the festivities."[1296] The Exposition Band, visiting bands (like the Boy Scout Band), and bugle and drum corps all took part in addition to "countless musical groups from

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[1292] "Sumer Opening Celebration To Be Held Tomorrow, Sunday," *Oakland Tribune*, June 23, 1939, 14.
[1293] "Fair Celebrates Gala Reopening: Rejuvenated Show Feted in Parade Special Events," *Oakland Tribune,* June 24, 1939, front page.
[1294] See Chapter 4. "Throngs Fete Fair Summer Opening," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, 6-A.
[1295] "Fair Celebrates Gala Reopening: Rejuvenated Show Feted in Parade Special Events"; "Summer Opening Celebration To Be Held Tomorrow, Sunday," *Oakland Tribune*, June 23, 1939, 14.
[1296] Fair Opening: A Wee-End [sic.] Festival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939.

mainland organizations" and "musical units from the various foreign exhibits."[1297] Prizes were awarded to the "best drum and bugle corps and best band from any organization."[1298] The winner of the first prize of $50 (equivalent to about $900 in 2018) was the Chinese Y.M.C.A. Fife, Drum and Bugle Corps of San Francisco.[1299]

Following the parade was a 2:30 p.m. concert of more than 10,000 child musicians in the Court of Nations who performed memorized works.[1300] Sponsored by the National Institute of Music and Arts, these youngsters hailed from fourteen "Western States and three Canadian provinces." Fair histories dub this performance as "the largest mass performance ever attempted."[1301] Karl Stiska (1902–?), Vice President of the Junior Musicians of America, directed the performance with Edwin Franko Goldman.[1302] Both conductors performed their own compositions—Stiska programmed *Treasure Island March* written "especially for the event" as well as his *Junior Musician March*.[1303] Goldman, whose band had finished its contract at the GGIE, was the invited guest conductor and directed his composition, *On the Mall*, in addition to several other pieces.[1304] After Goldman's performance, he and his band

[1297] "Fair Celebrates Gala Reopening: Rejuvenated Show Feted in Parade Special Events."
[1298] "Fair to Open Summer Fiesta: Flags and Decorations To Be Featured Here; Parades On Island," *Oakland Tribune*, June 22, 1939.
[1299] "Throngs Fete Fair Summer Opening." See Chapters 3, 4 and 8 for more information regarding the Chinese community's participation at the San Franciscan fairs.
[1300] Alfred Frankenstein, "Musical Notes of the Week," *San Francisco Chronicle,* June 25, 1939, *This World,* 22.
[1301] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 186.
[1302] "Island Program Enters 2nd Day," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, 6-A. Stiska composed a piece dedicated to the GGIE titled "Back to Treasure Island: March." The march is analyzed in Chapter 9.
[1303] "10,000 in Youth Concert at Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, B-7.
[1304] "Island Program Enters 2nd Day," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, 6-A. A detailed history of Goldman and his participation at the GGIE will be undertaken in Chapter 8.

departed for New York on July 1 to begin their "annual Summer concert series on the Mall in Central Park."[1305]

The Sunday "International Parade" was a costume parade which was free to those who came "in costume" and arranged advance reservations with the special events department.[1306] The members of the Chinese Village participated in the International Parade by providing participants clad in "centuries-old costumes" and an altar "from the Chinese Village" (see Figure 7.3).

[1305] "10,000 in Youth Concert at Fair."
[1306] "Summer Opening Celebration To Be Held Tomorrow, Sunday," *Oakland Tribune,* June 23, 1939, 14.

Figure 7.3. "Centuries-old costumes and this altar from the Chinese Village on Treasure Island will be used in the International Parade Sunday, celebrating the Summer opening of the Golden Gate International Exposition. Villagers will also take part." "Ancient Altar For Rites," *Oakland Tribune,* June 23, 1939, 14.

Organizers of the "Fair in 'Forty" scheduled even more special events days, the first being the reopening of the 1940 season. A second fiesta lead-up week (very much like the fiesta week detailed in Chapter 3 which took place before the 1939 Opening Day), called the "Golden Days of Forty" celebrated the reopening May 25. Just like the 1939 Fiesta, the 1940 iteration included all of the Bay Area cities and regions:

> More than 100 special days have already been set, including commercial, civic, patriotic, foreign, state, county and community days. Each hour of the opening will be filled with thrills from the explosion of a bomb at 12 noon to the ignition of the three aluminum stars which will be set off by an electrical impulse from the hand of Admiral Richard Byrd in far off Little America.[1307]

The opening of the 1940 Fair paralleled the 1939 version in a myriad of ways—the most obvious is the large parade and festivals showcasing a western-theme as well as a remote electronic signal that would symbolically open the GGIE. In 1939, that signal originated in India, and for the 1940 Fair, "Little America" was located in the Antarctic.[1308]Although the latter location perhaps did not fit with the theme of "Pageant of the Pacific," it did showcase the resources and colonial power of the United States.

The 1940 Fair's Opening Day was described as a convergence of frivolity and excitement, with 118,499 people in attendance.[1309] A morning parade "wound its way among the avenues of the Island," followed by continuous performances of

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[1307] *Motor Land*, April 1940, 3. Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[1308] "Little America" was the location of the American base camp from 1929–1958 and located on the Ross ice shelf.
[1309] H.C. Bottorff, "Closing Report, San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition, Research Department May 7, 1942," San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, California Historical Society, 77.

troubadours, strolling players, and special "outdoor feature acts."[1310] Formal ceremonies were conducted in the evening in the Federal Plaza with military organizations at the forefront.

Overall, special events days were successful in attracting audiences to the fair and also creating new programming and entertainment offerings. Although the 1940 season had several successful corporate-sponsored special days including I.B.M. Day, Independence Day, and General Motors Day, the final report showed that they were not as popular as the 1939 season's offerings: "Special days in 1940 did not prove to be as popular from the standpoint of the general gate as they had in 1939. They were enthusiastically attended by interested persons but, for the most part, they did not create any particular 'pull' insofar as general admissions were concerned."[1311] Aside from the major days described earlier, the 1940 season's ticket office depended on the general audience's attendance rather than on special events. The same report also includes the new attendance policy for the 1940 fair, which differed from the 1939 fair. Every admission in 1940 was recorded (including employees or participants), whereas the 1939 ticket totals counted only paid admissions, "with the exception of a very small number of passes admitted through the turnstiles."[1312] The discrepancy between the two seasons could be due to the new entertainment programs of the 1940 Fair and included the most popular attraction, *Billy Rose's Aquacade*.[1313]

[1310] Ibid.
[1311] Bottorff, "Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition," 77.
[1312] Ibid., 83.
[1313] See Chapters 4, 6, and 9 for more information on Billy Rose and his *Aquacade*.

Music Festivals

GGIE sponsors and programmers scheduled several music festivals and concert series throughout the 1939 and 1940 versions of the fair. Meant to bring in niche audiences and increase admissions, these specially designed events showcased international and domestic artists, musicians, and entertainers. The demand for local compositional talent resulted in two California composer festivals. Hosted in different locations throughout the fairgrounds, the festivals' genres are considered "western classical" with the exception of the second day of the ASCAP festival, which was billed specifically as "popular" music.[1314] It is interesting to note that music festival programming at the GGIE favored not only internationally renowned entertainers but also regional FMP ensembles and musicians (an extraordinary number of female composers are represented as well.) The Bay Area has a history of influential local and statewide business and civic leaders supporting visiting entertainers and ensembles, and this is evident in GGIE event programming explored in this chapter.

California Composers Festival (August 22–27, 1939)

In an effort to champion California composers, a ten-program festival held in the Recreation Building on Treasure Island was sponsored by the California Composers' and Writers' Society from August 22 until August 27, 1939. (Contemporary sources regarding the society's history are lacking, and thus the only information that I have uncovered at the time of print is that it was headquartered in Oakland and had an active concert program schedule in the 1930s). The society's

[1314] Chapter 10 is devoted entirely to the ASCAP Music Festival in 1940.

founder, secretary and Oakland-based composer, Galen Harvey, wrote a note of thanks to the editor of the *Oakland Tribune* for the positive coverage the paper gave for the 1938 concert season. Harvey continues to explain the society's upcoming role at the GGIE and points out that it is "one of the few organizations from Metropolitan Oakland" that has been allotted four full days to present "programs, concerts, exhibitions, broadcasts and festivals."[1315] In actuality, the event included more than eighty-seven California composers who took part in the five-day program held from August 22 until August 27, 1939; with twice daily concerts at 3 and 8 p.m. on Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday and afternoon concerts on Saturday and Sunday.[1316] The mission of the festival was to champion works of contemporary California composers with works both published and unpublished, and highlighting some public premieres.[1317] All performances were free to the public, and the first concert was given in the Recreation Building.

The festival presented a variety of programs in various formats, such as lecture-recitals, demonstrations, operettas, and chamber music, in partnership with Bay Area regional ensembles, local musicians, and academic institutions. Besides the primary sponsor, the California Composers and Writers Society, other musical organizations participated, such as the Native American Composers (Frank Colby,

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[1315] Galen Harvey, "Thank You," letter to editor, *Oakland Tribune*, July 16, 1938, 8C.
[1316] Frankenstein, "Musical Notes of the Week," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 20, 1939, This World, 19.
[1317] The parameters of what constituted a "California composer" was not described in the resources available at this time. After reviewing the participants' histories, it can be assumed that composers programmed had to be members of the California Composers' and Writers' Society, thus actively worked, resided, or raised in the State for the festival. "Composers In Festival At Exposition: Series of Programs To Present Works Of Local Origin, *Oakland Tribune*, August 20, 1939, B-7.

president), Mary Carr Moore Manuscript Club, the Taft Lyric Club (Ernest A. Wolff, director), the Alta Turk Ensemble, and the Robert Everhart Ensemble.[1318]

Several participating artists and ensembles were well known in the Bay Area, namely the Alta Turk Ensemble and the Pasmores Trio. The Alta Turk Ensemble, founded by Texan-born Alta Turk,[1319] was known as a national touring ensemble. The ensemble's repitoire championed California composers, especially chamber works. The Pasmore trio was a well-known San Franciscan chamber ensemble comprised of three sisters: Mary Pasmore Shattuck (violin), Dorothy Pasmore Bell (cello), and Suzanne Pasmore Allen (piano).[1320] Miller states that they had been praised for their musical talents as early as 1908.[1321] Their father, Henry Bickford Pasmore (1857–1944), was a composer and pianist who taught in San Francisco while their fourth sister, Harriet, was a vocalist (contralto) whose stage name was Radiana Pazmor. Harriet specialized in avant-garde music and "premiered works by Henry Cowell, Lou Harrison, and others."[1322] Most renowned for premiering Charles Ives's (1874–1954) song written in 1913 for voice and piano titled, "General Booth Enters Heaven."

An unusual addition to the program was the inclusion of the publishers who represented the composers on the multi-day program. After each composition, an alphabetic indicator was listed corresponding to the name of the publisher that

[1318] "Native Music Writers Will Be Featured: Works Of American Composers Make Up Exposition Program," *Oakland Tribune,* August 22, 1939, 6-M.
[1319] Additional biographical information cannot be referenced at this time.
[1320] "Obituaries: Suzanne Allen Pasmore," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 8, 1964, 53.
[1321] Miller, *Music and Politics*, 62.
[1322] Ibid.

represented that piece. The majority of the publishers were from New York and California, but several were from Ohio or Paris, and some of the works were self-published.[1323] Several publishers sold pieces written about the GGIE, which-will be explored further in Chapter 8.[1324]

The Society of Native American Composers (SNAC) was a relatively new group created in Los Angeles and directed by composer Frank Colby. The term "Native American" within the context of SNAC does not mean "American Indian," but rather American composers. The group was a reaction against the internal issues that resulted in the demise of the California Society of Composers.[1325] Parsons Smith details the society's internal issues regarding what constituted "American" music and the xenophobic undertones that resulted in younger Hollywood composers creating the American Society of Composers, Arrangers and Publishers and the older members creating SNAC.[1326] The latter society initially garnered support from famous American composers such as "Amy Beach, Howard Hanson, Carl Ruggles, and Charles Ives."[1327]

[1323] "California Composers Festival," program, GGIE Programs, Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.
[1324] The publishers represented at the festival were: Oliver Ditson (Boston), Carl Fischer (New York), Edwin Kalmus (New York), Henry Lemoine & Cie. (Paris), Saunders Publications (Hollywood), G. Schirmer, Inc. (New York), Wesley Webster (San Bruno), M. Witmark & Sons (New York), Zoellner Conservatory (Los Angeles), National Music Publishers and Distributors (Oakland), White-Smith Publishing Co. (Boston & New York), Lorenz Publishing Co. (Dayton, OH), and Schroeder & Gunther (New York). "California Composers Festival," program, 3.
[1325] Previous festivals of American music were mounted by the society in 1937 and 1938. Catherine Parsons Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), 232.
[1326] Ibid., 232–3.
[1327] Ibid., 233.

SNAC required proof of an "explicit place-of-birth" and attempted to recruit new members by disposing of an "older requirement" of producing a work in "the larger forms" for membership.[1328] Parsons Smith attributes the new rule to the influx of female members who tended to compose "songs and short piano pieces."[1329] Although SNAC was only one of many participating organizations, its presence highlighted the issue of what made music "American" and how best to present content to the masses. With the relatively recent termination of the Federal Theatre Project in June 1939, groups like the Native American Composers gained momentum due to the new directive for government-sponsored arts to be supportive of American music.[1330] The all-SNAC member program at the festival took place on Wednesday night at 8 p.m. and included works by Morris Browda (Los Angeles concert pianist) with performers: Ruth Somerindyk (soprano), Arthur Carr (pianist), Mary Green Pauloo (soprano), Harry Simonsen (violinist), and Laura Saunders and Constance Shirley (pianists).[1331] There was an unusually large presence of female composers whose works were performed at the festival and involved in its management. Reports and programs do not identify the composers by gender (e.g., female-composer), which can be interpreted as progressive. The President of the Composers' Society, Florence Colby Battram (1889–?), also served as the general "chairman of the

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[1328] Ibid.
[1329] Ibid.
[1330] Catherine Parsons Smith dedicates the argument presented for American music being sponsored by the federal and state governments during the late 1930's in her book, *Making Music in Los Angeles: Transforming the Popular* Parson argues that ensembles and artists were able to more likely secure government funding by emphasizing the "American aspects" of the program. Smith, *Making Music in Los Angeles,* 230.
[1331] "Composers In Festival At Exposition," B-7.

festival."[1332] Battram had an operetta premiered on the Friday evening concert. *The Broken Lyre* was written by Battram and Ida May Borncamp (both Oakland composers) and produced by the Student Opera Guild with the ballet performed by the Raoul Pause's School of Dance.[1333] The "poetic fantasy" was open to the public and free of charge.[1334]

The first two days of the festival had special programming to honor composer Mary Carr Moore (1873–1957). Moore was active at the GGIE; she had several performances throughout the festival's tenure in addition to her duties as the chairman of the Mary Carr Moore Manuscript Club and recording secretary of the Native American Composers club.[1335] Originally established in 1928 with students from Chapman University, the club's mission was to give her students and "fellow composers a hearing for their music."[1336] The Mary Carr Moore Manuscript Club sponsored two programs on Tuesday and an afternoon concert on Wednesday (all in the Recreation Building's Music Room). The Tuesday evening concert was held in Moore's honor.[1337] *Oh, Wind from the Golden Gate* (1910), a choral work with a San

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[1332] Florence Colby Barttram was born in Denver, Colorado and reportedly came to the Bay Area in 1915 and resided in Oakland in the 1930s through the 1950s. Jessica Fredricks, *California Composers: Biographical Notes. San Francisco: California Federation of Music Clubs, 1934*, "Northern California Composers," San Francisco Public Library, accessed August 15, 2018, https://sfpl.org/?pg=2000021701. The term "chairman" not "chairwoman" was used to describe her position in the article. "Composers In Festival At Exposition," B-7.
[1333] "Composers In Festival At Exposition: Series of Programs To Present Works Of Local Origin," B-7.
[1334] Ibid.
[1335] "California Composers Festival," program, GGIE Programs, Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1336] Catherine Parsons Smith and Cynthia S. Richardson, "Mary Carr Moore And The American Music Movement, in *American Music Teacher*, vol. 38, no. 4 (February/March 1989):19.
[1337] "Exposition Program," *Oakland Tribune,* August 22, 1939, 6-M. Carr held a teaching position at Chapman in 1939 and in an advertisement for the institution's music classes, her biography included

Franciscan theme by Moore, was performed on the Wednesday afternoon concert.[1338] Thursday was "Caro Roma Day" at the festival. An honorary member of the California Composers and Writers Society, Roma (1866–1937) was a California-born vocalist and composer known for her performances of popular songs.[1339] A program in her honor was given on Thursday afternoon and included song selections from her repertoire as well as three of her compositions.[1340] Edna B. Saake, an Oakland-based contralto, gave a lecture-recital on the music of Roma and performed a piece dedicated to her by Roma titled "Thou Art So Dear To Me."[1341] On Friday afternoon, a program was presented of all-female composers' works: San Francisco resident Cornelia Gianelli; Leila Druhe (a Bay Area mezzo-soprano); Bertha Stone Vickery, Ada Jordan Pray (Oroville, California based vocalist, pianist, and pedagogue); Doris Osborne (pianist and chairman of the San Francisco Music Club's composer section), and Lola Gwin Smale (vocalist and future State chairman of the Composers Research and Composition contesrt for the California Federation of Music Clubs.)[1342]

The composers from the Californian cities of San Jose and Taft were represented on the 8 p.m. Thursday concert where works by Marie Bowman and

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her participation in the California Composers' Festival at the GGIE. "Chapman Offers Fine Arts World: Courses Lead To Degrees In Music," *Los Angeles Times*, August 27, 1939, 9.

[1338] The song was written in 1910, therefore it is assumed that it is not dedicated to either the 1915 or 1939 Exposition. "Oh, Wind from the Golden Gate," Mary Carr Moore collection of musical compositions, biographical material, and documents, Collection PASC 38-M, Box 25, UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.

[1339] "California Composers Festival," 8.

[1340] "Composers In Festival At Exposition: Series of Programs To Present Works Of Local Origin."

[1341] "California Composers Festival," 8.

[1342] Ibid. Information regarding Lola Gwin Smalle: "Music Contest Rules Are Given," *Oakland Tribune*, July 28, 1940, 19.

Ernest A. Wolf were presented.[1343] The Saturday afternoon concert featured several professional musicians and ensembles from the region: "Anna Opaletzka, "Russian contralto of Berkley"; Joel Carter, baritone; the Pasmore Trio of San Francisco; Frances Knight, soprano; Radiana Pazmore, noted soloist; and solo numbers by members of the Pasmore Trio, radio artists."[1344] The final afternoon program on Sunday featured "student artists" from the College of the Pacific (currently University of the Pacific) and the San Joaquin County branch of the society.[1345]

Perhaps the most well-known Californian composer, Henry Cowell (1897–1965), is glaringly absent from the GGIE's festival proceedings. A fixture of Bay Area musical life, Cowell had an extensive impact on contemporary and future composers that resonated beyond the Golden Gate.[1346] He introduced an entire region to world musics in his San Francisco State course, "Music of the World's Peoples," which composer Lou Harrison attended. At the time of the fair, Cowell was serving a fifteen-year prison term in San Quentin, of which he served four (released in 1940); he later received a full pardon by Governor Olson.[1347] In an interview conducted by

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[1343] Ibid.
[1344] Ibid.
[1345] Ibid.
[1346] Cowell had a history of promoting new music through concerts and organizations he founded (or helped to establish): The New Music Society of California (1925), the Pan American Association of Composers (1928–1934), and *New Music Quarterly* publication (that included a record label). His students included George Gershwin (briefly), John Cage, and Lou Harrison. David Nicholls and Joel Sachs, "Cowell, Henry (Dixon)," *Oxford Music Online,* accessed August 15, 2018, published online October 16, 2013, https://doi-org.oca.ucsc.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2249182.
[1347] On May 1936, Cowell was charged with performing "oral sex with a consenting adult" and "misguidedly pled guilty." His sentence was fifteen years in prison. In San Quentin, he taught music, composed, conducted a prison band and a chamber group, as well as wrote an unpublished text, *The Nature of Melody*. Nicholls and Sachs, "Cowell, Henry (Dixon)," *Oxford Music Online.* For more information regarding Cowell's incarceration, see Michael Hicks, "The Imprisonment Of Henry Cowell," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 44, no. 1 (Spring, 1991): 92–119.

Leta Miller with Cowell's student, Lou Harrison, the composer recalled Cowell having a work performed at the GGIE and it was assumed it could have been at the 1939 California Composer's Festival.[1348] Newly published research regarding Cowell's wind band works by Jeremy S. Brown sheds new light on which piece of Cowell's was performed at the GGIE. In his book, *The Wind Band Music of Henry Cowell*, Brown details the relationship between Cowell, Grainger, and Goldman (Richard, the son of Edwin). Brown highlights the effort Grainger and the Goldmans put forth to present the *Celtic Set* to the public through examination of Cowell's prison-era correspondence. [1349]

Cowell had many supporters among his colleagues, particularly the Australian-American composer Percy Grainger (1882–1961), who argued for his release and was his custodian post-prison for a year. Cowell had dedicated one of the movements, "Reel," of his wind band work, *Celtic Set* (1937–1938), to Grainger.[1350] The work premiered on May 6, 1938, in Selinsgrove, Pennsylvania with the Susquehanna University band conducted by Grainger, which led to additional edits of the score and parts.[1351] Grainger was ever supportive of the *Celtic Set*, and due to Cowell's incarceration, facilitated the work's performance by the Goldman Band in their 1939 season.[1352] The work needed to be edited and reorchestrated for the Goldman Band's GGIE performance.

[1348] Miller, *Music and Politics*, 263.
[1349] Jeremy S. Brown, *The Wind Band Music of Cowell* (New York: Routledge, 2018).
[1350] Cowell had arranged wind band pieces in 1918–19 while working in an army ambulance corps but did not compose further for the genre until his incarceration in 1936.
[1351] Jeremy S. Brown, *The Wind Band Music of Cowell*, 100.
[1352] Goldman Band: see Chapters 4, 5, and 8.

No doubt Richard Goldman knew the performance venue at the fair would be outdoors; thus, he requested approval from Cowell for "fuller scoring" in the *Celtic Set*.[1353] Cowell wrote,

> I told him [Goldman] to go right ahead. I have no doubt that a fuller scoring would be more effective, although probably less distinctive than mine…I suggested that there be two versions, one for the open, and one for indoor concerts; I also suggested that indoor programs for band be fostered, and that more detailed (symphonic scoring) scoring might in this way grow.[1354]

The fair's designated performance space for the Goldman Band was definitely outdoors, and Cowell's desire for an "indoor" orchestration never materialized. Instead, Richard Goldman created an arrangement for the band's outdoor concert and, according to Brown, all of the Goldman-arranged *Celtic Set* documents have the same inscription: "Celtic Set for Band, Rescored by Richard Franko Goldman."[1355]

Cowell expressed delight at the Goldman Band's interest in performing his work. He wrote, "He [Goldman] says that the Band will perform it [Celtic Set] when they play at the Golden Gate Fair, next spring, which is splendid; and I also shall be able to look forward to seeing him in person then."[1356] Due to the band's long engagement at the fair, Richard Goldman visited Cowell at San Quentin several times, leading to a friendship that included several commissions.[1357] Brown argues that the GGIE provided a three-pronged opportunity: 1) The Goldmans, Cowell, and Grainger could rehearse and work on the *Celtic Set*; 2) Cowell could foster

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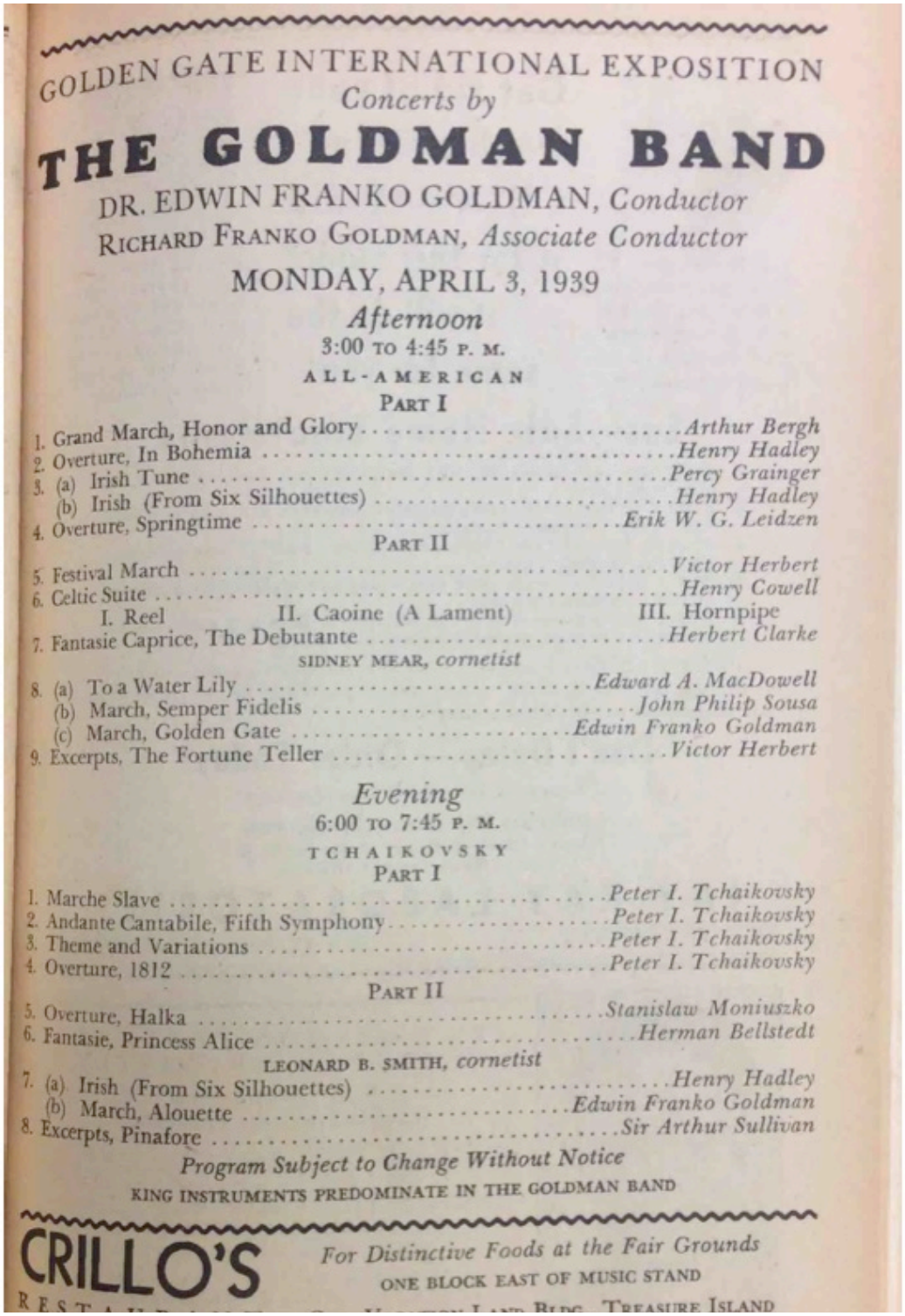
[1353] Jeremy S. Brown, *The Wind Band Music of Cowell*, 74.
[1354] Ibid.
[1355] Ibid., 75.
[1356] Ibid., 74.
[1357] Ibid.

relationships that would lead to his parole; and 3) he could secure five commissioned works by Cowell for the Goldmans (1939–1953).[1358]

On April 3, 1939, the Goldman Band premiered the reorchestrated version of *Celtic Set* at the GGIE.[1359] Information about this particular performance by reviewers or a notice in the newspapers about the premiere cannot be found at this time. But, a program from the performance survives in the Goldman Band Program Book (GBPB), a slim-bound book that comprises every concert program of the band compiled by cornetist Leonard B. Smith (1915–2002)—from March 19 to July 1, 1939. (An in-depth analysis and history of the GBPB is conducted in Chapter 9). The existence of this program proves that Cowell's three movements of the *Celtic Suite* were performed on the afternoon "all-American" program on April 3, 1939:

[1358] Ibid., 76. See Chapter 9 for history regarding the Goldman Band's commissioning efforts and march written for the GGIE. The interest in contemporary American composers and the wind band idiom is evident in the Goldman Band's Prospect Park and Central Park programs, which included Cowell's *Celtic Set* and *Shoonthree* (1941) as well as Percy Grainger's *Lincolnshire Posy* (1937) and Roy Harris' *Cimarron* (1941). "Goldman Band to Play New American Works," *The Brooklyn Eagle*, June 3, 1941, 17.
[1359] Brown, *The Wind Band Music of Cowell*, 119.



GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

Concerts by

THE GOLDMAN BAND

DR. EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN, *Conductor*

RICHARD FRANKO GOLDMAN, *Associate Conductor*

MONDAY, APRIL 3, 1939

Afternoon

3:00 TO 4:45 P. M.

ALL-AMERICAN

PART I

1. Grand March, Honor and Glory ..... *Arthur Bergh*
2. Overture, In Bohemia ..... *Henry Hadley*
3. (a) Irish Tune ..... *Percy Grainger*
   (b) Irish (From Six Silhouettes) ..... *Henry Hadley*
4. Overture, Springtime ..... *Erik W. G. Leidzen*

PART II

5. Festival March ..... *Victor Herbert*
6. Celtic Suite ..... *Henry Cowell*
   I. Reel II. Caoine (A Lament) III. Hornpipe
7. Fantasie Caprice, The Debutante ..... *Herbert Clarke*

SIDNEY MEAR, *cornetist*

8. (a) To a Water Lily ..... *Edward A. MacDowell*
   (b) March, Semper Fidelis ..... *John Philip Sousa*
   (c) March, Golden Gate ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*
9. Excerpts, The Fortune Teller ..... *Victor Herbert*

Evening

6:00 TO 7:45 P. M.

TCHAIKOVSKY

PART I

1. Marche Slave ..... *Peter I. Tchaikovsky*
2. Andante Cantabile, Fifth Symphony ..... *Peter I. Tchaikovsky*
3. Theme and Variations ..... *Peter I. Tchaikovsky*
4. Overture, 1812 ..... *Peter I. Tchaikovsky*

PART II

5. Overture, Halka ..... *Stanislaw Moniuszko*
6. Fantasie, Princess Alice ..... *Herman Bellstedt*

LEONARD B. SMITH, *cornetist*

7. (a) Irish (From Six Silhouettes) ..... *Henry Hadley*
   (b) March, Alouette ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*
8. Excerpts, Pinafore ..... *Sir Arthur Sullivan*

Program Subject to Change Without Notice

KING INSTRUMENTS PREDOMINATE IN THE GOLDMAN BAND

CRILLO'S

For Distinctive Foods at the Fair Grounds

ONE BLOCK EAST OF MUSIC STAND

RESTAURANT ... TREASURE ISLAND

Figure 7.4. "GBPB: April 3, 1939," program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Loras Schissel).

Cowell had to hear about the premiere's reception via reports from his stepmother Olive and an "unmusical friend" who attended the band's performance as well as Richard Goldman's account.[1360] In a letter to Grainger, Cowell reminisces about the reports and the reaction to the performance:

> As to his alterations in my *Celtic Set*, I rather gathered that he had made not so many changes. It was given for the first time last Monday at the Fair, and I have had two reports. My step-mother said it was well-played and well-liked, but the audience was small due to its being a cold day. The Goldmans, however praised it highly, and all seemed to like it. I have not yet heard from them directly but expect another visit in a week or so.[1361]

Cowell's frustration of not being able to attend the performance as well as not being able to finish the parts and score himself is apparent in the selected letters. He exclaimed in a letter to Grainger,

> If I had been out I could [have copied them myself], but could [not] get the score in and out, of course. Richard had expected to do them; he did part, but became swamped here with details due to absurd lack of preparation at the Fair. My family enjoyed the Goldmans immensely, I feel very grateful for you putting them in touch with my music.[1362]

Cowell's letter gives readers insight into not only the frustration of a composer kept from a premiere, but also the steps necessary to have a piece programmed at the GGIE. As stated in Chapter 5, the music arrangements had a few scheduling issues and reports of artists arriving in San Francisco frustrated with fair management, and the Goldman Band was not an exception.[1363]

[1360] Ibid., 120.
[1361] Ibid.
[1362] Ibid., 121.
[1363] See Chapter 5 for management errors, including the absence of engaging the SFS and especially Goodman's frustration with fair organizers upon his arrival that resulted in him booking an event at Mills College.

At this time, there is no evidence of Cowell's participation or performance of his works at the 1939 California Composers Festival or at any of the GGIE musical programs. Lou Harrison's recollection during his oral interview was correct—Cowell did have a piece performed at the GGIE, but it was not on a California Composers' festival program. Rather, *Celtic Set* was performed by the top band in the country as the result of a collective effort by bandsmen and orchestral composers to present a work of an incarcerated Californian composer to the massed audiences of the fair. Even though Cowell was in prison, he was able to actively participate in the programmatic proceedings of one of the major events in California history, the GGIE.

California Music Festival (September 16–20, 1940)

There was such a demand for local and regional musical talent that the California Commission and "Fair In 'Forty a five-day California Music Festival in 1940 (Monday through Friday, September 16–20).[1364] The Festival would be the precursor to the headlining ASCAP Music Festival on September 24 and offered two daily performances on the Federal Plaza's stage at 2 and 8 p.m.[1365] Akin to the emphasis of the ASCAP Music Festival on popular music, "R.C. Coleson and Jack Joy of the Exposition's radio division" administered a festival that presented more music from the "popular" sphere rather than from the contemporary western-classical genre like the 1939 California Composers Festival. An advertisement for the festival

[1364] *Official Bulletin of Special Events*, "When And Where At The Fair," program, Friday, September 13, 1940, [SF 1939/1940, scrapbook, "Golden Gate International Exposition 1940"], Donald G. Larson Collection, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1365] See Chapter 10.

was included in the daily events pamphlet, "When and Where at the Fair," and handed out to admitted guests (Figure 7.5). Marketed as a "rare musical treat for all musical tastes," the festival, unlike the 1939 California Composers event, was directed towards general audiences.

Figure 7.5. "Where and Where at the Fair: September 14, 1940." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the SFPL).

Another difference from the previous event was the change in performance space—a fire severely damaged the California Building on August 26, 1940. The disaster claimed the life of a firefighter and the cause of the blaze was never decided,

although it is was determined to be accident.[1366] Due to the state of the California Building, the 1940 festival instead took place on the Federal Plaza Stage at 2 p.m. and 8 p.m. daily. Marketed as a "rare musical treat for all musical tastes," the California Music Festival presented "new attractions and guest artists every performance."[1367]

One such attraction was the "Symphony of Loveliness," an "all-woman orchestra from Hollywood."[1368] Directed by a female (name unknown), the thirty-five-member group was chosen for ensemble membership based upon their "beauty, personality and talent."[1369] The group had appeared in "several motion pictures" and conducted radio and cafe appearances.[1370] The Symphony of Loveliness presented two concerts (2 p.m. and 8 p.m.) in the outdoor venue of the Federal Plaza.[1371] At this time, the type of music programed and instrumentation cannot be determined.

The festival's engagement coincided with special events days: San Francisco Day (September 15);[1372] California Federation of Music Clubs Day and California Composers' Society (September 17);[1373] Bay Region Club Women's Day (September

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[1366] The fire began at 9 a.m. in the dressing rooms behind the California ballroom stage. The wreckage became an attraction, drawing crowds interested in seeing the smoldering wreckage and military units transfer exhibits and artifacts to alternative areas. "Fair Continues Complete Program Despite Fire," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 26, 1940, 13.
[1367] "Special Events Bulletin," SF, Treasure Island: September 13, 1940, G*olden Gate International Exposition 1940 Treasure Island*, Scrapbook from Zephyr, 2/04, Fresno State University Special Collections.
[1368] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 186.
[1369] Several different sources quote the membership number during the period of 1938–1940 ranging from thirty to thirty-five. "Girls' Orchestra to Open Orange Show Musical Bill," *The San Bernardino County Sun*, March 16, 1938, front page.
[1370] Ibid.
[1371] Alexander Fried, "Symphony's Record at Fair Hailed: Programs Helped Progress of Music," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 15, 1940, D-11.
[1372] "Special Events to Draw Throngs: Other Groups Honored As Exposition Nears Finale," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 15, 1940, I-15.
[1373] Alexander Fried, "State Artists Heard At Fair," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.

18);[1374] and Fresno County Day (September 22),[1375] United Institutes of Music Day (September 15),[1376] Barber Shop Quarter's Day (September 15),[1377] San Francisco Oratorio Society Day, Contra Costa County Day (September 22),[1378] and University of California Students' Day (September 22).[1379] Programs for the special events days were incorporated into the California Composers Festival and celebrated Bay Area music making statewide. For example, the program for September 17 (California Federated Music Clubs Day) included an afternoon concert with the California Music Festival performers: The *Symphony of Loveliness* and the Exposition Band (directed by Jack Joy) with the addition of the combined Federated Music Clubs. Added to the Festival's evening concert were performances by the "San Francisco Municipal Choruses and pianist-composer Frank Denke and community singing program."[1380]

San Francisco Examiner arts critic Alexander Fried reviewed the September 17 performance and outlined the California Composers' Society evening performance in the Federal Theater program where Wesley La Violette's "Violin-Piano Sonata" (played by Henri Temianka and the composer) was "especially noteworthy."[1381] In addition, Fried singled out Reah Sadowski who played "adept piano numbers by

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[1374] "Women Will Rule Exposition Today," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.
[1375] "Willkie Will Speak at Fair on Saturday; Island Garrison Will Form Honor Guard," *Oakland Tribune*, September 19, 1940, 18-D.
[1376] S.F. Day, 11 Other Festivals On Treasure Island Today," *Oakland Tribune*, September 15, 1940, 12-D.
[1377] Ibid.
[1378] "Willkie Will Speak at Fair on Saturday; Island Garrison Will Form Honor Guard."
[1379] "Final Days' Program At The Fair," *The Petaluma Argus-Courier*, September 17, 1940, 5.
[1380] "California Music Festival Day & California Federation of Music Clubs Day," *San Francisco Examiner,* September 17, 1940, 20.
[1381] Henri Temianka (1906–1992) was a renowned violin soloist who would become concertmaster of the Pittsburgh Symphony (Fritz Reiner, conductor), founder of the Paganini Quartet, and conductor of the California Chamber Symphony. Wesley LaViolette (1894–1978) was a composer, educator, and academic who later was influential in the West Coast Jazz movement.

herself and by Mary Carr Moore."[1382] The afternoon concert sponsored by the California Federation of Music Clubs was "well planned" and included a wide variety of "soloists and choruses" from around a "dozen Bay region clubs."[1383] Among Fried's criticisms of the performances was the interference by ambient noise during performances. Both of the September 17th concerts were, in his opinion, "done under distressing conditions in the noisy Festival Hall."[1384] The last piece mentioned in Fried's critique was Henry Hadley's "Angelus" movement from his *Third Symphony* (1906). Unfortunately, Hadley's "Angelus" was "drowned out by outdoor noise."[1385] According to James and Weller, a popular performance was the "Church scene from 'Run Little Chillun' with the colored chorus that had sung in the stage production."[1386] The second festival was "a distinct success" and plans to create an annual music festival were discussed.[1387]

Negro Music Festival (July 24–28, 1940)

Coinciding with "Negro Day" at the fair, the four-day Negro Music Festival showcased professional and amateur talent by African-American musicians. Heralded as of "outstanding musical significance in the 1940 season of the exposition," the

[1382] "State Artists Heard At Fair," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.
[1383] Ibid.
[1384] Ibid.
[1385] Ibid.
[1386] See Chapter 6 for information on 'Run Little Chilun'. James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 186.
[1387] Ibid.

Negro Music Festival was programmed in a way that would trace the "whole scope of the development of negro music."[1388]

The festival was a trans-continental event that celebrated African-American talent on the fairgrounds. Radio personalities and entertainers performed throughout the festival; they included famous dancers such as the famous tap dancer, Bill Robinson (1878–1949), and the Nicholas Brothers Fayard (1914–2006) and Harold (1921–2000). Comedians and actors who participated were: the comedian and actor Eddie (Rochester) Anderson (1905–1977); child star Cordell Hickman (1932–1996) and screen actor Ernest "Bubbles" Whitman (1893–1954); and other performers such as Thomas Griffin and Pauline Garner. The gospel group, the Charioteers (active 1930–1957) participated as well.[1389] Amateur musicians from all over California took part in the special program. For example, selected by their hometown committees to represent the region in a vocal performance, Idalene Strange and ten other unnamed musicians from Fresno, California participated.[1390] In addition, non-musical participants from the African-American community from outside of California helped organize the event. A news article titled, "Festival of Negro Music to be staged on the California Exposition's Treasure Island," highlighted the work accomplished by a secretary from Pittsburg, Pennsylvania named Irene Sears Crawford.[1391]

The first day of the festival and "Negro Day" began with an 11 a.m. opening ceremony that including a crowning of "Miss Bronze California" in the Court of

[1388] "Music Festival At Treasure Island Big Attraction," *The Petaluma Argus-Courier*, July 24, 1940, 2.
[1389] "Negro Music Festival," *Oakland Tribune*, July 25, 1940, 20-D.
[1390] "West Fresno News: Fresnan Will Be Bay Fair Soloist," *The Fresno Bee*, July 27, 1940, 9.
[1391] "Meet the Perfect Secretary," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, July 27, 1940, 3.

Honor.[1392] At 11:45 a.m. a "devotional program" included combined choirs from Oakland and San Francisco in the Temple of Religion.[1393] At 1:45 p.m., an "amateur" music performance in the Festival Hall commenced, followed by a "Negro Day dance program" by the Oakland Recreation Department in the California Recreation Building. "Negro Day Guest Artists' Hour" began at 6:30 in the evening. Twentieth Century Motion Picture Company held an awards ceremony for the most "outstanding performance by colored actors and actresses" for the year of 1940.[1394] On July 27, the Negro Music Festival Grand Movie Ball took place in Festival Hall.[1395] Reviews or newspaper accounts of the movie ball are not available at this time. A *Fresno Bee* report made a grandiose statement by writing, "One of the highlights of the affair will be a grand Hollywood ball tonight with Ella Fitzgerald (1917–1996) and her orchestra furnishing the music, and with such stars as Eddie (Rochester) Anderson (1905–1977), Hattie McDaniels (1895–1952) and other Negro motion pictures actors scheduled to attend."[1396] Anderson did attend (he was a Californian, born in Oakland). Unfortunately, there is not any evidence available at this time to corroborate the aforementioned famous female entertainers performed at the GGIE, thus it appears to be a misreport.

The Business Boosters' Club of Oakland and its general manager, Benjamin Watkins, sponsored the primary production of the festival. Elmer Keeton and Jester

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[1392] Oakland resident, Nellie Logan, won the crown. "Four-Day Fair Celebration," *Oakland Tribune*, July 23, 1940, 16.
[1393] Ibid.
[1394] Ibid.
[1395] "Today at the Fair," *San Francisco Examiner,* July 27, 1940, 12; "Four-Day Fair Celebration," *Oakland Tribune*, July 23, 1940, 16.
[1396] "West Fresno News: Fresnan Will Be Bay Fair Soloist."

Hairston (1901–2000) created a musical and stage arrangement for the festival that would "trace the evolution of Negro music" from the "pagan rhythms of the African tom toms to the present-day 'swing.'"[1397] Subdivided into six categories, the musical genres were as follows: "jungle rhythms," "plantation age," "minstrel age," "ragtime age," "jazz age," and "swing." These divisions are laden with outmoded colloquial usage of the term "Negro" and the myriad of historical implications of the term "jungle," "plantation," and "minstrel." All of the terms now evoke issues of slavery and racist imagery of stereotypical tropes of the African-American community, and each category has been the subject of scholarship.[1398] For example, "Jungle" music became popular due to Duke Ellington's (1899–1974) residence at the Cotton Club.

Ellington provided his white audience with a sonic representation of an "imagined Africa," complete with trombone solos that "growled" and "plodding drums."[1399] The term "jungle" is problematic, according to Janet Mabie, who posits that it is an "inaccurate historical picture of the music it describes." She emphasizes that the terminology indicates that the music "either came from the jungle or was created with the intention of representing it," and both are untrue.[1400] Ellington;s composition borrowed from the established Tin-Pan Alley and vaudevillian markers

[1397] "Four-Day Fair Celebration," 16.
[1398] Further reading regarding the subject include the following studies: Garth Alper, "Black, Brown, and Beige: One Piece of Duke Ellington's Musical and Social Legacy," in *College Music Symposium*, vol. 51 (2011); Geoffrey Jacques, *A Change in the Weather: Modernist Imagination, African American Imaginary* (Amherst, Massachusetts Press, 2009); Sandra Jean Graham, Spirituals and the Birth of a Black Entertainment Industry (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2018).
Janet Mabie, "Ellington's 'Mood in Indigo': Harlem's 'Duke' Seeks To Express His Race," in *The Duke Ellington Reader*, ed. Mark Tucker (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
[1399] Kimberley Hannon Teal, "Beyond the Cotton Club: The Persistence Of Duke Ellington's Jungle Style," in Jazz Perspectives, vol. 6, no.1–2 (2012): 123.
[1400] Janet Mabie, "Ellington's 'Mood in Indigo': Harlem's 'Duke' Seeks To Express His Race," 130.

of the "exotic." Mabie argues that these include: "drones, open fifths, pentatonic or non-western scales, folk-like melodic simplicity, extreme registers, dissonance, and a general tendency toward minor keys."[1401] Michael Lasser continues Mabie's argument and adds that the "racist history of Tin Pan Alley" included "coon songs of the ragtime era." These songs contained negative portrays of African-Americans and were popular in 1907–1915.[1402]

The issue of representation resulting in the previously listed subdivisions is complex and due to the absence of meeting minutes and business papers, the decision regarding how those choices were made cannot be reported on. But, it can be surmised that because the organizational leaders were themselves African-American and involved in the sponsorship and planning of the festival, the subdivision headings and terms were possibly agreed upon and approved by those organizational leaders.[1403]

Presented at the Negro Music Festival three times in total, the production began with the piece "Rhythms of the Tom-toms" and "Dance Africana" by Marion Beasley and Virgil Beanan, respectively. Music was provided by Keeton's Chorus, an unidentified orchestra, and guest soloists accompanied by a comedic set and two dance routines. The program was detailed in the *Oakland Tribune*:[1404]

[1401] Ibid.
[1402] Michael Lasser, *City Songs and American Life 1900–1940* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 77.
[1403] One report states over sixty people worked on the Negro Music Festival committees and subcommittees. Lena M. Wysinger, "Negroes And Their Activities: Fair Festival," *Oakland Tribune*, August 11, 1940, 8-B.
[1404] Program order, dates, ensemble, and soloist information from *The Oakland Tribune*. Lena M. Wysinger, "Negroes And Their Activities: Fair Festival," 8-B.

The Plantation Age (1830–1850)

"Spiritual Medley"–Ben Watkins Orchestra
"Swing Low Sweet Chariot"–Keeton's Chorus
"Ante Bellum Sermon"–Pauline Speese Johnson and Keeton's Chorus
"King of Shoes"–Keeton's Chorus
"Water Boy"–Markus Hall and Keeton's Chorus

Age of Minstrels (1850–1895)

"Steven Foster Medley"–Orchestra [unidentified]
"Listen to the Mocking Bird"–Justitia Davis
"Old Man River"–Chorus
Jokes by Rags Cole
Dance by Freddie Felton
"Pole Game"–Billie White

Age of Ragtime (189-1918)

"Dark-town Strutters Ball"–Neva Peoples and Teddie Felton
"St. Louis Blues"–Helen Lewis
"Sleepy Time Down South"–Percy Bost
"Uptown Swing Down"–Orchestra [unidentified]

Jazz Age (1918–1926)

"Hi-de-do"–Billie White
"My Heart's in Harlem"–Jewel Mitchell
"Quartet from Rigoletto"

Age of Swing (1926–1940)

"Strictly Jive"–Orchestra
"Jumping Jive"–Gardenia Trio
Solo by Saunders King
Dance by Ike Parrish
"That's What You Get In Harlem"–Neva Peoples

Finale

"God Bless America"

Unfortunately, a program from this festival is missing at the time of this study, but newspaper accounts report that there was a souvenir program available and that it "gave a synopsis of each age of music, telling its origin."[1405]

[1405] Lena M. Wysinger, "Negroes And Their Activities: Fair Festival."

The Eisteddfod

Choral festivals were prevalent and popular at the GGIE; most were sponsored by local societies and several had cultural affiliations. Music festivals, like the Eisteddfod, introduced diverse audiences to different nations' musical practices and ensured large audiences—because all Eisteddfod participants (1,500 total) got into the fair without charge.[1406] The Eisteddfod is the most frequently referenced music festival of the GGIE (besides the ASCAP Music Festival of 1940) by historians and era-accounts. The number of participants highlights the popularity of choral music among audiences; more than two-hundred soloists and twenty choruses performed.[1407] In separate letters, both Exposition President Leland Cutler and Special Events and Ceremonies Director Everett Jones praised the organizers of the Eisteddfod. Cutler called the music festival, "one of the most outstanding musical events held at the exposition" and commented on the "great number of choruses" that came to the GGIE.[1408] Jones wrote to the secretary of the Eisteddfod (Mrs. W. H. Thomas) and expressed his appreciation for her "unfailing assistance both before and during the festival." He continues to exclaim that the event "proved to be the most important music program held on Treasure Island."[1409] Whether or not Everett was

[1406] Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940), *Souvenir: Golden Gate International Exposition Eisteddfod: Awards in Music, Prose and Poetry* (San Francisco: David Hughes, 1944), 12. The Internet Archive digital copy is provided by The San Francisco Public Library, https://archive.org/details/goldengateintern00gold/.
[1407] Alexander Fried, "Eisteddfod Awaited at Exposition: Traditional Welsh Festival Here Saturday," *San Francisco Examiner*, August 27, 1939, 22.
[1408] Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940), *Souvenir: Golden Gate International Exposition Eisteddfod: Awards in Music, Prose and Poetry*, 19.
[1409] Ibid.

flattering the Eisteddfod organizers with the level of importance of their event, the choral festival did resonate with audiences and participants alike.

The Eisteddfod has a history of being a part of American world fair programming. The first competition held at an American world's fair was at the 1893 Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[1410] The tradition of the Eisteddfod, a Welsh "competition-based festival" of the arts and literature is traced to the year 1176 CE.[1411] With the exception of a brief hiatus during World War I, the festival has been (and continues to be) held every year (dating from the modern era festivals in 1861).[1412] During contemporary congresses, the gathering of Welsh literary and musical representatives culminates in a choral competition. The legacy of the Eisteddfod on the West Coast is attributed to Welsh miners who arrived to join the Gold Rush. Jack Mason claims that the first performance of Handel's Hallelujah Chorus in California took place at the Eisteddfod in 1860 in North San Juan (Sierra Country).[1413]

The three-day choral competition and festival took place on the fairgrounds during the 1939 season from September 1 to 3. The competition was open to all, regardless the participants were of Welsh heritage. Musicians hailed from the Western States as well as British Columbia to compete for the $500 first prize.[1414]

[1410] David Guion, "From Yankee Doodle Thro' to Handel's Largo: Music at the World's Columbian Exposition": 87.
[1411] "About," National Eisteddfod of Wales, accessed July 22, 2018, https://eisteddfod.wales/about-us.
[1412] Ibid.
[1413] Jack Mason, "Eisteddfod Due At Fair, Start Singing, Everybody!: Chorals Will Join in Big Music Feast," *Oakland Tribune*, August 27, 1939, 45.
[1414] Fried, "Eisteddfod Awaited at Exposition: Traditional Welsh Festival Here Saturday," 22. ($500 is approximately $9,000 in today's currency, https://www.minneapolisfed.org/).

Adjudicator William Rees directed the massed-choral concert on September 3 in the Exposition Court of Nations.[1415] Seats were at a premium, so much so that Rees stalled the performance with "improvised numbers which captivated the immense throng" while latecomers struggled to find their seats.[1416]

The patriotism of Welsh heritage was on display, with newspaper reports describing the opening ceremony of leaders "clad in robes of red, white, green and blue" marching into a "Druidic circle of 12 unhewn stones."[1417] After several speeches in Welsh, the festival of choral, band, and literary contests began.[1418] In response to a demand for an "official record" of the event's transactions, a souvenir publication was published several years after the Fair's closure, in 1944 (the first printing in August 1944 and a reprint in November 1944).

The entire literary and musical program with performers' names and cities of provenance, and official music adjudication scores was made available. For example, the Bel Canto choir (conducted by Eugene Fulton, the aforementioned baritone who led the musical program for "Jewish Day") received an 89 out of 100 with several performance notes regarding the musicality of the group. The adjudicators' note reads: "'Hallelujah.' maestoso grand and eloquent, best so far. But there was not the

[1415] Information regarding Rees is limited—it is noted he was a music professor from Hollywood. Rees was joined on the musical adjudication panel by Willoughby H. Williams (professor from London) and Leo Hovorka (from San Francisco University). Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940), *Souvenir: Golden Gate International Exposition Eisteddfod: Awards in Music, Prose and Poetry,* 6.
[1416] Ibid., 28.
[1417] Mason, "Eisteddfod Due At Fair, Start Singing, Everybody!," 45.
[1418] Prize Winners: Claremont Choral Society of Berkeley: $500; Ralston Male Chorus of Seattle: $400; Lund-Chaminade of Salt Lake City: $400; Redwood City Bell Canto: $100; San Francisco Welsh Chorus: $50. "Eisteddfod," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 4, 1939.

variety in dynamics of choir No. 6 in the middle of 2–4 movements [sic.]."[1419] Included in the notes are the scores and comments for the Chief Choruses as well as the Male and Female Choruses.

The publication, printed during American involvement in WWII, strikes a tone of pride in the Welsh patriotism and in the inclusivity of the GGIE Eisteddfod. Included was the Welsh poem written for the fair by British Columbian, Owen Hughes, titled "Ynys Drysor" ("Treasure Island"). The prose praised the Island and how it stood "worn in the wealthy colors of man's genius."[1420] Introductory remarks in the souvenir booklet also included an excerpt from a speech during WWI delivered by Lloyd George (1863–1945), former Prime Minister of Britain (1916–1922). Titled "The Debt to Little Nations," the script had to have resonated with audiences in the midst of the Second World War. George said, "There is something infinitely greater and more enduring which is emerging out of this great conflict—a new patriotism, richer, nobler, more exalted than the old…. We shall descend to the valleys again, but as long as the men and women of this generation last they will carry in their hearts the image of their great mountain peaks whose foundations are unshaken through Europe rock and sway in the convulsions of a great war."[1421] Written with a mournful pride of Welsh culture, the addition of George's speech showcases the pro-Allies' stance the GGIE exemplified.

[1419] Golden Gate International Exposition (1939–1940), *Souvenir: Golden Gate International Exposition Eisteddfod: Awards in Music, Prose and Poetry*, 26.
[1420] Ibid., 25.
[1421] Ibid., 4.

The program included several additional essays regarding Welsh contributions to the spheres of culture, music, politics, and art. A long essay titled "Contribution of the Welsh People to America" by V. E. Lewis highlighted the importance of immigrant communities, especially the Welsh, in the founding and success of the United States of America. Smaller regions, like Wales (a nation that is part of the United Kingdom), and those invaded by Nazi Germany were able to showcase their culture and arts at a global event such as an American fair.

Conclusion

Exposition management scheduled special event days and music festivals as promotional tools to attract audiences and sponsor institutional programs. Music festivals were very popular programming choices at the GGIE. The four festivals explored in detail here represented localized music-making with institutional support. The number of women represented in the programs highlights the number of qualified female composers, performers, and lyricists in the state.

Federal, academic, and civic entities sponsored "Special Days" at the GGIE and each event utilized musical performances and programs. Interested audiences enthusiastically attended corporate-sponsored special days including I.B.M. Day, Independence Day, and General Motors Day, more so for the 1939 than the 1940 fair. Companies enveloped their missions into musical offerings for employees as well as fair attendees. Special events were an articulation of the management and sponsor's

adherence to the GGIE's theme of peace. Corporations had an invested interest in international peace, and supported the GGIE's programs and mission.

The majority of festival programs examined in this study express international collaboration and support of friendly relations with the United States' allies, as well as staunch patriotism. Organizers adapted to the political changes throughout the fair's tenure by organizing events that supported peace as well as America's allies.

CHAPTER 8
MUSIC DURING WARTIME: FOREIGN-SUPPORTED AND REPRESENTED MUSIC

The GGIE's façade of Pacific unity and escapist entertainment programming masked undercurrents of political strife and impending world war. The 1930s was a decade of global change and rupture: Spain had been embroiled in a lengthy and brutal Civil War, and European leaders Benito Mussolini, Adolf Hitler, and Josef Stalin were flexing their military muscles.[1422] In Asia, Japan had conducted the Manchurian Invasion in China. Closer geographically to the events in Japanese-occupied China than the New York World's Fair, San Francisco figuratively and literally represented the last mainland American urban center on the Pacific Coast. The period's troubles broke through Treasure Island's fantasy-like spectacle, greatly affecting foreign participation, representation, and visiting ensembles. Sponsoring some of the most well-renowned artists of their day during dire political strife in Europe, the last American expositions of this decade would be the final time, until after World War II, that visitors, musicians, and other artists from Europe and Asia would be able to easily visit the United States.

The scope and level of foreign representatives' participation at the GGIE varied. The countries that participated included not only American political allies, but also countries that would be considered enemies within a year of the 1940 GGIE's closure. The period's newspapers offered a juxtaposed view of the global political

[1422] Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 explore several geopolitical and economic issues that greatly impacted the GGIE years.

climate in the same daily editions. The front page usually discussed political and military conflicts involving countries that participated in the GGIE (e.g., Japan, Italy, and Argentina), while reports about the fair described those very countries' participation and programming offerings positively.[1423] This dichotomy serves as an example of the era's tenuous political climate and the GGIE's role as an illusionary moment in time—a physical symbol of the "Pacifica" theme of peace.[1424]

Marshall Dill, GGIE's president in 1940, hoped to present the fair as an escape from the conflicts in Europe and Asia. In an interview, his son, Marshall Dill Jr., remembered his father consciously trying to steer attention away from extra-political events and the refugee crisis, and instead focus on the fleeting joy that a world's fair could bring. Dill Jr. states, "I was youthfully sympathetic with the people who had been attacked and defeated by the Germans and the Soviets and the Italians. He explained his position to me, and I then understood that the Fair should be for pleasure and for happy occasions. Let the gloomy ones take place in the City but not on the Island."[1425] President Dill's attempts to shield the fair's programming from current events were unsuccessful.

Lisa Rubens highlights the fair's mission as one that established the "importance of the West Coast and Pacific Basin as a critical site in which

[1423] Most information regarding the fair can be found in designated sections of American newspapers. For example, the *San Francisco Chronicle* put out a special section with news reports from the fair and daily schedules in its multi-page "Exposition Tabloid" section.
[1424] See Chapter 5 (Pacifica).
[1425] Patricia Carpenter and Paul Totah, *The San Francisco Fair: Treasure Island 1939–1940*, 15.

international trade was expanding at an exponential rate."[1426] This focus on regional relationships, Rubens stresses, was the result of the GGIE not being an "arena in which America's foreign policy was examined or debated." While acknowledging Rubens' stance and the fact that the New York fair scheduled "diplomatic conventions," and that the "Organization of American States" was built on the fairgrounds, rather than at the San Francisco fair, I disagree with the concept that the San Francisco fair was not a political event. As I demonstrate thoughout this chapter, almost every aspect of the fair's programming can be viewed as political machinations, either by observers or presenters.

Each country and territory's pavilions offered distinctive programming, including a formal dedication, opening ceremony, and programs. The absence of business-proceeding papers makes rendering organizers' desires and goals difficult. Existing musical programs (radio broadcasts or paper programs) are very rare, and when studied, they can provide invaluable insight into the events that occurred within the pavilions. To glean information regarding musical programming in particular, alternative investigative methods are required, including promotional materials for restaurants that mention musical entertainment, newspaper accounts, oral histories, amateur photos, ceremonial programs, etc. Scrapbooks are one source of evidence that is paramount to studying world's fairs, especially the experience from both the visitors' and the organizers' perspectives. Compiled for promotional use and presentation, scrapbooks and file books, complete with photos of presentation boards

[1426] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin," 55.

and paperwork, were created and archived.

The image file book from Director of Promotion Frank Feliz details the fair's planning stage and demonstrates a desire to include foreign participation. One image shows a tri-fold board with illustrations and paragraphs detailing the countries whose participation is guaranteed, verbally agreed upon, and expected. Under the heading "Program," the display contains a paragraph articulating the countries that organizers wished to attract to the GGIE from the start of "international contacts" on January 1, 1937. The paragraph reads as follows:

> Emphasis was placed on the Nations of the Orient and the Americans, with representative exhibits to come from the colonies and representative agencies of European nations…. The program for 1938 calls for formation of active foreign governments' commissions, to be the spearhead for negotiating definite exhibits within the pre-Exposition period.[1427]

According to Feliz, after the GGIE announcement, "twenty-one nations have indicated definite participation plans" while "twelve countries have given formal acceptance[s]," and "nine governments have given verbal assurance of official acceptance." A total of "nine other nations will be represented by exhibits of semi-official character."[1428]

Unlike the world's fairs of the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, the participating countries themselves mostly built the GGIE's foreign pavilions, and the emphasis in displaying cultures was on tourism, rather than cultural appropriation (see Chapters 3 and 4). "The mere fact that many more Latin American and Asian

[1427] Frank Feliz, "Golden Gate International Exposition" [scrapbook], Fresno State Special Collections, Donald Larson World Fairs Collection.
[1428] Ibid.

countries participated in the Golden Gate International than in any previous World's Fair expressed this new narrative," remarks Rubens.[1429] For example, Japanese architects and designers designed and oversaw the Japanese pavilion (the most expensive display). The pavilions were given a prominent area of the fairgrounds, and Rubens claims that the GGIE was the "first international exhibition in which countries from these [Pacific] regions built separate national pavilions at the center of the fairgrounds—rather than being pushed to the margins of exhibition grounds or placed among Europe's colonial territories."[1430] The shift from previous fairs, from audiences as observers to participants, occurred at the GGIE. Other pavilions also oversaw their own buildings—the French Indochina pavilion was constructed in "Saigon by native artisans" and shipped in pieces to Treasure Island.[1431] In addition to designing the exhibit space, countries (especially Japan) sent employees to staff the pavilions and political emissaries to oversee their countries' representation at the GGIE.

The Golden Gate International Exposition differed from previous fairs due to technological advances that made it possible to visit the nations that had exhibit space. The GGIE was the first fair to provide transportation to the featured locales. Participating countries' pavilions aimed not only to recreate foreign cultures, but also to offer travel to these locales.[1432] The Pan-American Clipper was docked outside the

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[1429] Rubens, 53.
[1430] Ibid.
[1431] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 81.
[1432] "As in most of the foreign pavilions, there will be emphasis on tourist travel." "With France, Cost was no Object," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 24E. In June 1939, San Francisco reporter Percy Montgomery noted an increase in travel to Europe as a result of easing tensions, as well

gates to the GGIE, so hypothetically, a fair visitor could visit the Chinese exhibit, then walk outside the gates to the dock and depart on a trip to China (though a very expensive trip).[1433] Previous world's fairs and expositions mounted exhibits of "exotic" and distant locales to give visitors the chance to experience various cultures and cultural traditions from around the globe because it had been nearly impossible to visit them easily. Modernity's advancements in aviation, locomotion, and steamships shifted "foreign" representation from the exotic to the approachable. (Albeit, this shift in perception was not all encompassing.)

The GGIE was nevertheless still a product of its times. Richard Reinhardt states that San Franciscans' "anticipations affected the Exposition, stamping it with the taste and prejudices of the 1930s: it was the end product, as well as the end, of those peculiar years."[1434] As explained in the Introduction chapter of this thesis, the study of world's fairs is rife with issues of marginalization, racism, and cultural hegemony primarily because the principal purpose of a world's fair was to compare a nation's politics, goals, and nationhood with those of other nations. Conflicting issues of global politics, race, religion, stereotypes, and gender were all present at the GGIE, and the exposition's sponsors were products of this period. However, issues of representation were glossed over to create a fantasy-like escapist event.

New York Times arts critic Edward Alden Jewell (1888–1947) articulated the

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as the "two world's fairs." Percy Montgomery, "Trips to North Europe Show Increase Over Last Season," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 18, 1939, 4.

[1433] Music was present for the flight of the Pan-American Clipper to China on October 25, 1939, as an orchestra played on the dock (James and Weller, 175).

[1434] Richard Reinhardt, *Treasure Island: San Francisco's Exposition Years* (San Francisco: Scrimshaw Press, 1973), 7.

concept of "compression" present at the GGIE in a 1939 article. First, the fair physically "compressed" the Pacific Basin region—creating a designated space that hosted the various countries that rimmed the Pacific. Within the confines of Treasure Island, a fair visitor could experience "every aspect of industry, arts, cultures, ideals"[1435] Jewell acknowledges the fabrication in the push for trans-Pacific harmony and unity:

> Within and around a beautiful "walled city" on an island in San Francisco Bay we find invoked the genii [sic] of a particular, albeit, vast area. East and West converge in a rich, multifarious, unified panorama—the common denominator here an ocean. The principal motif stands at once revealed. This is a pageant of the Pacific. In it have been combined—whimsically, romantically, often very imaginatively—diverse architectural and decorative elements assembled from far and near; fraternal in that the shores whence they come are laved by the same salt tides.[1436]

The importance of creating a pseudo-community of trade partners and potential peacemakers was clear, and the imaginary peacemaking between countries at war or about to be was not lost on contemporary critics.

Many, if not all, participating foreign countries, as well as U.S. foreign territories, exhibited their musical culture through demonstrations, entertainers, or special programming. Several groups who self-identified as foreign representatives had participated at the 1915 PPIE and returned for the 1939 fair. Among them was the Hurtado Royal Marimba Band, representing Guatemala (explored later in this

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[1435] Edward Alden Jewell, "East and West Meet at Golden Gate," *New York Times (1923-Current File),* Feb. 12, 1939, 7, https://search.proquest.com/docview/102840249?accountid=14523 (accessed January 8, 2019). The concept of "compression" regarding world's fairs. Philosophers and sociologists have coined different terminologies and theses regarding the phenomenon of displaying cultures. See Chapters 1 and 2.

[1436] Edward Alden Jewell, "East and West Meet at Golden Gate."

chapter).[1437] Fairgoers were able to experience participating foreign nations' music and arts through demonstrations of musical ensembles, workshops, and entertainment. Explored in this chapter, several countries' exhibit spaces provided music every day. For example, the Guatemalan pavilion's popular Guatemala Marimba Band performed during most of the 1939 and 1940 GGIE fairs.

Most exhibiting nations' displays focused on commercial and cultural exports to highlight the importance of trade partnerships. In addition, music was one of the primary aural and visual exports on display. Several nations chose to exhibit their agricultural exports alongside musical entertainment: The Brazil pavilion included a café that served exports such as tea and coffee, with the Brazilian Orchestra performing daily;[1438] the Netherlands East Indies (later Indonesia)[1439] Café offered "native music and native dishes";[1440] and the El Salvador's pavilion offered coffee while its popular marimba band performed.

Fair at War

The effects from the turmoil in Europe and China in 1939 and 1940 made travel difficult for representatives from countries that initially planned to attend the exposition. The GGIE was scheduled to run only from February through October

[1437] Chapter 5 explores in detail the ensembles and entertainers who performed at both the 1915 PPIE and 1939 and 1940 GGIE.
[1438] Benny Goodman hired a guitarist from this pavilion; see Chapter 5.
[1439] More commonly known as the Dutch East Indies.
[1440] Garrett Graham, "The Abundant Life: Food and Fun," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 20E.

1939, but the fair was extended.[1441] Those who could not visit the GGIE in either 1939 or 1940, could listen to radio broadcasts from the pavilions. Only a few recorded broadcasts from the GGIE's foreign pavilion exhibit spaces have been preserved.[1442]

Placement of the 1939 GGIE's foreign participation pavilions and display areas was designated in two overall sections: the "Pacific Area," for countries "whose shores are washed by the waters of the Pacific," and the "International" section. The "Pacific Area" (Figure 8.1) included the nearby Latin-American Court (Figure 8.2) and "International" or "Foreign Pavilions" (Figure 8.3).

Figure 8.1. The Pacific Area is in the center of this illustration (marked 7). The author took this photo of the illustration, which is a map from the *Official Guide Book*, rev. ed., 1939.

[1441] See Chapters 4, 5, and 7 for the history of the "Fair in 'Forty."
[1442] See Chapter 5.

Figure 8.2. The Latin American Court is marked as "8" on the map. The author took this photo of the illustration, which is a map from the *Official Guide Book*, rev. ed., 1939.

Figure 8.3. The International area is identified as the region of buildings around map marker number 9. (The French pavilion is located directly across from the Chilean pavilion). The author took this photo of the illustration, which is a map from the *Official Guide Book*, rev. ed., 1939.

Several foreign exhibits were located on the "Gayway" for both the 1939 and 1940 fairs—including the Chinese and Scottish Villages. (The latter exhibit allowed visitors to experience the "Scottish hills," where one could hear bagpipes, sample Scotch whiskey, and watch a traditional sword dance.)[1443] Within both the Gayway and foreign-pavilion sections were non-national displays, including the "Life of the Redwoods" (1939), Pacific House (1939 and 1940), restaurants, American government displays (Boy Scouts of America and amateur radio exhibits), and the Women's Center (1940).

The International Hall housed all the "European countries not represented by individual pavilions," thereby excluding all countries not associated with the European continent.[1444] Displays stressed the relationship between the United States and respective countries. For example, the 1939 Denmark exhibit showcased the travel opportunities that the Holland-America Line and Royal Dutch Air Service offered Americans wishing to travel to Denmark and other locales.[1445]

Stories of entertainers caught between their homelands and the United States occurred at the GGIE. The Don Cossack Chorus (also billed as "General Platoff's Don Cossack Choir") is an example of fair entertainers who could not return to their

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[1443] "Yes, Gayway Has a Roller Coaster," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 20E. The occurrence of the traditional sword dance was deduced from a short segment showcasing the Scottish Village in the retrospective DVD, *The Golden Gate International Exposition: Treasure Island 1939–1940*. (Bartel-Thomsen Pictures, *The Golden Gate International Exposition: Treasure Island 1939–1940*, Suisun City, CA, 1988).

[1444] African countries did not exhibit as foreign entities–Moroccan, Syrian, and Egyptian products were sold in the International Market (1940 GGIE). Russia did not present at the GGIE, but a Russian Balalaika Quartet performed on June 6, 1939 (*San Francisco Chronicle*).

[1445] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 55.

home countries due to ongoing conflicts. The Cossacks had been persecuted after the Russian Revolution, and many fled the country. The name "Don Cossack" is a reference to director N.F. Kostruckoff's (1898–?), WWI military regiment (Don Cossack Regiment). Forced to leave Russia, Kostruckoff formed a choral group in a Turkish refugee camp.[1446] After moving to Czechoslovakia for schooling, the group of twenty-five members gained fame for singing Russian "sacred and operatic music" *a cappella*.[1447] After Czechoslovakian President Thomas Masaryk heard the group, the chorus began a forty-five year internationally recognized career.[1448] The group performed traditional folk music with the unique qualities of the Cossack musical culture, including the "Caucasian dagger dance"[1449] and round-timbre, all male *a cappella* performances.

The chorus was invited to perform a series of daily forty-minute concerts (3, 7, and 9 p.m.) in the GGIE's Hall of Western States.[1450] Its tenure at the fair started on February 18, 1939, and lasted fifteen days.[1451] The twenty-five singers and dancers performed a repertoire that included "old folk songs, and ballads, battle songs, lullabies, music of the Eastern Church and dance songs," completely unaccompanied.[1452] A newspaper review lauded the chorus as accurate and precise,

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[1446] "Serge Jaroff's Don Cossack Choir," Dau.Kyiv.ua, January 21, 2010, accessed March 28, 2019, https://day.kyiv.ua/en/article/culture/serge-jaroffs-don-cossack-choir.
[1447] "Serge Jaroff, founder of the Don Cossack Chorus," *New York Times* obituary, October 8, 1990, 33.
[1448] Donald Ferensick, "The General Platoff Don Cossack Chorus," http://generalplatoffdoncossackchorus.com/biographical-information/ (accessed November 21, 2012).
[1449] "Season of Don Cossack Choir Opens Next Saturday," *Los Angeles Time*s, October 1, 1939, Part III, 5.
[1450] "Cossack Choir Billed at Fair," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 12, 1939, Section D.
[1451] Ibid.
[1452] "Gen. Platoff's Choir Will Sing at Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, February 12, 1939, B-7.

with their soloists "perfectly matched" in a performance that gave a "vivid and intimate picture of Russia's early national life and characteristics."[1453]

After the group's 1939 engagement, the chorus toured several California cities, and in October, opened the Los Angeles Philharmonic concert season. Boris Ivanoff, who was exiled from Russia because he "refused to appear in propaganda ballets at Moscow's Bolshoi Theater," joined the ensemble.[1454] The Cossack Chorus always battled the Communist government and chose to perform sacred selections and invite enemies of the state as guest performers on tours to showcase Russia's other cultural side. The chorus toured the United States, and while it was in America, war broke out, so the group could not return to the European continent. Public support helped facilitate its members becoming American citizens.[1455]

The effect of turmoil in Europe and Asia in 1939 made travel difficult for representatives from countries initially planning to attend the exposition. Several exhibition pavilions (France and Italy) were unable to return for the 1940 fair due to political and military conflicts in Europe. Incidentally, the most famous artwork on display at the fair was of Italian origin, Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, on loan for the first time in the United States. When political ties with Italy were severed in 1940, all parties agreed to keep such displayed masterpieces in the United States. As Dill Jr. concludes, "There was no question of transporting them across the ocean during wartime. The Germans would not have wanted to torpedo them, but the risk was

[1453] "Gen. Platoff's Choir Will Sing at Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, February 12, 1939, B-7.
[1454] "Exiled Dancer Coming With Cossack Choir," *Los Angeles Time*s, October 1, 1939, Part III, 5.
[1455] "Serge Jaroff's Don Cossack Choir," Dau.Kyiv.ua.

great."[1456] It is worth noting that although a Nazi representative was present at the groundbreaking ceremony, Germany did not present a pavilion at either the 1939 or 1940 fairs.[1457]

Perhaps the most politically fragile presenter was Czechoslovakia. The fair opened on February 18, 1939, and by March 15, the Nazis had invaded and occupied the country. Due to the September 1938 Munich Pact among European nations, Czechoslovakia had been left vulnerable to Hitler's invasion plan. The country withdrew its plans to participate at the GGIE in fall 1938, but at the urging of Jaroslav Kose, director of the Czecho-Slovakian[1458] Export Institute in Prague, a small exhibit was sponsored. The country did not program musical events, but did showcase export products and displayed a "flagpole flying Czecho-Slovakian and American flags."[1459] Cashel Gaffey remembered visiting the Czechoslovakian exhibit the day Germany invaded and found the women working the exhibit in native costumes "crying."[1460]After the invasion, allies and supporters of Czechoslovakia singled out the country as a symbol of peace and resistance, and the international focus turned to the world's fairs.[1461]

The GGIE served as a platform for Czechoslovakian-American-Allied relations, and fair organizers recognized the sovereignty of the Czechoslovakians. Shortly after the March 15 invasion, Exposition President George Creel assured the

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[1456] Carpenter and Totah, 15.
[1457] See Chapter 3.
[1458] Two different spellings will be used: Czecho-Slovakia when quoting sources and Czechoslovakia.
[1459] "An exhibit– 'made in Czecho-Slovakia,'" *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 24 E.
[1460] Carpenter and Totah, "Cashel Gaffey", 43.
[1461] Czechoslovakia also presented an exhibit at the New York World's Fair.

manager of the Czech exhibit (A.M. Rucka) that fair organizers would keep the exhibit open, regardless of the conflict in Europe.[1462] Rucka utilized Creel's assurances as a public gesture of support from an American official, stating, "Mr. Creel has an excellent idea. Coming from the official United States representative at the Exposition, it should produce invaluable aid in our plans to keep the exhibit going."[1463] Creel's decision elicited some hesitation among some fair officials because it would be seen as a "truculent refusal of the local Czech colony to recognize Adolf Hitler's seizure of their nation" and create an international incident.[1464] To remedy the situation and give the Czechs autonomy, Creel suggested that the exhibit be turned over to local Czech leaders. This transfer was completed amicably, and the new leadership emphasized that the exhibit would be a "shrine to democracy" and that "if the flag of Czecho-Slovakia flies nowhere else in the world, it would continue to appear at Treasure Island."[1465] In addition, in the event that they couldn't afford to run the exhibit, they would refuse (if asked) to surrender the exhibit to "Capt. Fritz Wiedemann, the German consul general."[1466] Responding to this statement, local Czech-American groups in the Bay Area began to raise funds for the exhibit.[1467] The exhibit served as a microcosmic symbol of the broader issues on the European continent. This public gesture highlights the level of international importance that world's fairs served in political and public diplomacy.

[1462] "Czechs To Keep Fair Exhibit; Defy Germans," *San Francisco Examiner*, March 20, 1939, 4.
[1463] Ibid.
[1464] Ibid.
[1465] Ibid.
[1466] Ibid.
[1467] Ibid.

For the 1940 fair, the exiled Czechoslovakian government presented an exhibit, this time located in the Food and Beverages Building. The official opening ceremonies took place on June 15, 1940, with the Czech consul, Erwin L. Chloupek, presiding. Chloupek did not surrender his position to the Nazis, so he was able to represent the exiled government.[1468] According to reports, the exhibit was "assembled in Czecho-Slovakia" and brought to Treasure Island "under difficult circumstances after the Munich crisis."[1469] Czecho-Slovakian Day at the GGIE was declared on July 7, 1940, and the guest of honor was Col. Vladimir S. Hurban, the Czechoslovakian minister to the United States.[1470] In an address to those assembled, Hurban spoke about the desire for peace and freedom from Germany:

> Whatever the dark days ahead hold for us, we Czechs and Slovaks will not relinquish our democratic ideals. We nourish them in our hearts; we will fight for them; we will keep them alive by employing all means. One of these means is the celebration of Czechoslovakian Day, here at the Exposition. Our celebration, therefore, is most timely.[1471]

The plea for foreign help in fighting the onslaught of Nazism was not lost on fair audiences, even though the United States technically was isolationist until it entered the war after the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941. The support for Czechoslovakian and European allies was not veiled at the GGIE (see Chapters 4 and 7), but the fair was an event with a peaceful theme. Newspaper accounts positively reported the proceedings and depicted Hurban as a champion for a "crushed—but not killed—

[1468] "Czechs' Fair Exhibit Ready," *San Francisco Examiner,* June 14, 1940, 36.
[1469] Ibid.
[1470] "Attendance at Fair Passes 2,000,000 Mark," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 7, 1940, 12.
[1471] Ibid.

republic" filled with "righteous anger for its invaders and persecutors."[1472] The special day concluded with a "cavalcade" of folk dances and pageants, including a tableau titled "We shall live again," accompanied by music from the Smetana opera *Libussa*.[1473]

Perhaps to accommodate the difficulties that nations embroiled in conflict faced, the Fair in ′Forty organizers changed the layout of the foreign areas. First, the "Foreign Pavilions" section was moved to a different location and named the "International Court." The Latin-American court was closed, and participating countries from that region displayed in the International Court (Table 8.1). Secondly, space was not as strictly designated with regional labels as it had been at the 1939 fair, e.g., Norway was assigned to the Pacific Area, rather than the International Court.

The following tables provide participating countries' pavilions and displays in each of the aforementioned representative areas at the 1939 and 1940 fairs, according to the *Official Guide Book of the 1939 and 1940 Fairs.* (These charts do not include the Chinese pavilion, which was located in the Gayway for both fairs.)

[1472] "Attendance at Fair Passes 2,000,000 Mark," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 7, 1940, 12.
[1473] Ibid.

Table 8.1: 1939 Foreign Representation: Designated Sections
**Connotes participation in both the 1939 and 1940 fairs*

Pacific Area		**Foreign Pavilions**	**International Hall*[1474]**
Latin-American Court	*Pacific Basin*	France	Czechoslovakia
Mexico*	Hawaii*	Argentina	Denmark
El Salvador	New Zealand	Brazil	Netherlands
Panama	French-Indochina*	Italy	Portugal
Guatemala	Australia	Norway*	Sweden
Peru*	Philippines		Holland
Colombia*	Johore		
	Netherlands Indies		
	Japan*		

Table 8.2: 1940 Foreign Representation: Designated Sections

Pacific Area	**International Court**
Norway	Mexico
French Indochina	Uruguay
Malaysia	Holland
Java (Restaurant)	Portugal
Japan	Peru
	Colombia
	Switzerland
	Ecuador

[1474] Additional countries listed in newspaper accounts: Belgium, Bulgaria, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, Hungary. "The World on an Island," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 24E.

Besides those listed in the above tables, other countries participated without designated pavilions.[1475]

The exposition was planned as a utopian display in which countries at war could amicably portray their cultures and ideals. An excellent example of this peaceful mission is the proximity of the Chinese and Japanese pavilions. Although Japan had been occupying Manchuria since September 1931, and relations progressively disintegrated, leading to a full-scale Japanese invasion on July 7, 1937 (the date that historians mark as the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War), no records indicate that any animosity was displayed during the GGIE.[1476]

However, global politics affected programming greatly, e.g., the planning for "French Day" celebrations differed drastically in 1940 versus 1939 (explored in detail in Chapter 7, i.e., "French Day"). The 1939 iteration of the event focused on the historic relationship between France and the United States, as well as the promotion of freedom and liberty for its allies. The Nazis invaded France in the summer of 1940, and by late June they occupied the French Republic. Bastille Day, the traditional anniversary of French liberty, took on a somber tone in 1940. An Associated Press article from Vichy, France, recounted the drastic change from the previous Bastille Day celebrations: "Mourning services in the churches replace cafe merriment and

[1475] Foreign participation in 1939 included the following countries: "Argentine Republic, Australia, Brazil, Republic of Chile, British Columbia, Republic of Colombia, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, French Indochina, Guatemala, Italy, Japan, Johore, Mexico, Netherlands, Netherlands East Indies, New Zealand, Norway, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Portugal, and Sweden." The 1940 participation list is as follows: "Belgium, British India, British West Indies, Colombia, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Holland, Hungary, Malaysia, Mexico, Netherlands East Indies, Persia, Russia, Turkey, Switzerland." James and Weller, 64.
[1476] Carpenter and Totah, 34.

dancing in the streets."[1477] Whereas France's Bastille Day was in memoriam under the German dictatorship, the event was commemorated as a vigil on Treasure Island.

The GGIE Bastille Day incorporated other invaded nations, including "CzechoSlovakia [sic.], Poland, Finland, Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium, and Luxembourg" in a celebration of a "Day of Liberty."[1478] The celebration's tone was defiant, with French and American civic, federal, and cultural representatives presenting addresses to the crowd. After a pageant directed by artist Lucien Labaudt (1880–1943),[1479] keynote Judge Everett C. McKeague, president of the United Veterans Council and Superior Judge of San Francisco, spoke. McKeague pointedly expressed a desire for the congregants to hope for liberty again, stating, "The Spirit that stormed the Bastille will rise again to destroy the restrainers of French liberties."[1480] The GGIE was a platform for expressing U.S. alliances with France and other conquered nations, thereby expressly creating a pro-Allies stance. To prove

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[1477] Associated Press, "City's French, Saddened By War Tragedy, Join Together In Prayer On Bastille Day," *Detroit Free Press*.

[1478] "Invaded Nations To Celebrate Bastille Day on Island Today," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1940, 15.

[1479] Founder of the California School of Design, Labaudt was a "painter, muralist, costume and set designer" who was born in Paris and killed in a plane crash in India (1943) while on assignment as a war/artist correspondent. (The Frick Collection, Archives Directory for the History of Collecting in America, "Lucien Labaudt Art Gallery," http://research.frick.org). Labaudt painted the murals at the California State Building and GGIE auditorium. According to an interview with his widow, Marcelle Labaudt (1892–1987), the murals on the California State Building were alfresco, with two large panels–one with an agricultural theme and the other industrial. She explained, "There was like an alley, you see, and the Federal building was at the end. There was a lake here and those two buildings on each side and that drawing was reflecting at night in the lake. It was just the most beautiful sight." The interviewer asked what type of paint he used, and she answered "house paint" because the buildings were slated for demolition once the fair concluded. Labaudt's mural art can be seen in the Coit Tower. In an interview with his wife, she explains in detail the figures and subjects he chose to incorporate in his Coit Tower mural. Marcelle Labaudt, Sept. 16, 1964, Oral history interview, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/interviews/oral-history-interview-marcelle-labaudt-11986#transcript).

[1480] "French of Area Hold Fete At Fair: Bastille Day Celebrated; Other Nationalities Join Program," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 15, 1940, 10.

their alliance, French organizers of the GGIE Bastille Day invited high-level British officials and veterans' groups to participate in the festivities.[1481]

Pacific Area

The exposition served as a platform that attempted to facilitate a dialogue that promoted peace, and it was the first American exposition at which the fine arts of the Pacific Rim were represented.[1482] Constructed to introduce visitors to foreign trade partners and exports, the Pacific Area also was meant to tempt visitors "to travel to distant places."[1483] The displays' emphasis was to urge Americans to take advantage of newer forms of transportation and travel to foreign locales. The *Official Guide Book* (1939) urges visitors to remember that the presentations at the pavilions "represent only a few phases of the comprehensive picture presented."[1484] The exposition management was reminding visitors that what was displayed was not the authentic, an unusual statement in the history of world's fairs (issues of displaying cultures at fairs is explored in Chapter 2).

The Pacific Area was a specially designed embodiment of the Pacifica-themed GGIE.[1485] The layout of the Pacific Area was a circle with bridges that connected different nations' pavilions—a utopian design element emphasizing peace. Philip N. Youtz, the Pacific Area's director, assembled participating countries in elaborate

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[1481] "Fair Will Fete French Bastille Day: English Veterans Parade in Honor of Independence Day," *Oakland Tribune*, July 8, 1940, 6.
[1482] See Chapter 1 and 3.
[1483] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 79.
[1484] Ibid., "The Philippine Pavilion," 82.
[1485] Chapter 4 contains extensive information regarding the varied meanings of the term *Pacific*, as well as the fair's theme.

exhibit halls around the Lakes of the Nations (representing the Pacific Ocean). Frankenstein articulated the potential of the Pacific Area and the symbolism that the space provided at the heart of the fairgrounds before the fair's opening in January 1938:

> It is the Pacific Basin angle that seems to me to present the richest possibilities. The exposition, after all, is called the Pageant of the Pacific, and it should provide a pageant of the Pacific in all its varied aspects. And the moment one begins to talk about the music of the Far East one is forced to take into consideration the theater, the dance, the ceremonial and the decorative arts of Far Eastern cultures as well. Think for a moment of what it might and could mean to have Japan, China, Bali, Java, Cambodia, Siam, the Malay States, Polynesia and Melanesia, Central and South America properly represented in this regard. Add to these the possibility of bringing to San Francisco the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial annually held at Gallup, New Mexico. It looks, perhaps, ultra-ambitious, yet with proper support of the governments involved, it could be done."[1486]

Frankenstein acknowledged the theme of the Pacific region and highlighted the importance of including the performing arts in the area's programming. To have all the aforementioned countries and regions participate and display their intangible heritage in a single exposition was a large undertaking. There is concrete evidence that Frankenstein's prediction of a utopian platform for peace and cross-cultural exchange came true, but his mention of the inclusion of the Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial did not come to fruition—the congress did not take place on the fairgrounds, although Native American culture and arts were presented (see Chapter 6).

The Pacific Area headquarters, known as the "theme center of the exposition,"

[1486] Alfred Frankenstein, "Music at the Fair---Plans and Predictions," *San Francisco Chronicle*, January 30, 1938, [This World]: 17.

was the Pacific House and was surrounded by "buildings representative of countries on the Pacific Ocean."[1487] Designed by William G. Merchant (1889–1962),[1488] the Pacific House was a centralized space located on the north lagoon. The building was a physical embodiment of the fair's theme—the "four great elliptical windows symbolize the four continents of the Pacific."[1489] A multitude of lectures, events, performances, and exhibits took place in the building. Free to use for "educational organizations,"[1490] the Pacific House provided many lectures, with many topics focusing on the theme of peace, unity, and political issues in the Pacific region. In addition to the architecture, artwork and music were created to symbolize the unity of the Pacific Basin peoples.

Six large maps of the Pacific Rim region, painted by Mexican artist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–1957), were displayed inside the building.[1491] In her article, "Miguel Covarrubias and the Pageant of the Pacific: The Golden Gate International Exposition and the Idea of the Transpacific, 1939–1940," anthropologist Nancy Lutkehaus argues that the series of murals represented the "connectedness of societies on either side of the Pacific through illustrated maps." Lutkehaus claims that the Covarrubias maps in the Pacific House "were the first ever to put the Pacific Ocean in the middle, with the countries of Asia and the Americas on the sides." The artist's

[1487] James and Weller, 31. The director of the Pacific Area was Philip N. Youtz, *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 79.
[1488] Merchant worked for Bernard Maybeck, the architect of the PPIE. At the PPIE, Merchant was in charge of the Palace of Fine Arts exhibits. In addition to the Pacific House, Merchant designed the Temples of the East, the California Recreation Building, and the Redwood Empire Building. His papers are housed at University of California, Berkeley's College of Environmental Design Archives [William G. Merchant/Hans U. Gerson Collection, 1897–1993].
[1489] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 79.
[1490] Ibid.
[1491] Covarrubias was also a noted ethnologist, art historian, and caricaturist.

unique placement of the Pacific Rim nations, or "re-orienting," aligned with his belief that the war in Europe would "push the Pacific area into a more prominent role in global leadership."[1492]

The inclusion of Central and South American, Southeast Asian, and East Asian musical ensembles exemplified organizers' efforts to reflect the comprehensive theme of "Pacific Unity." Music served several purposes in the foreign pavilion and designated areas. Explored further in this chapter, music was used to present nations' cultural aspects. Several pavilions presented music in conjunction with cultural dances and other art forms. The Chinese Village offered a program that mirrored a Western variety show, complete with musicians from Mainland China performing with acrobats and puppetry. In addition, variety revues included different entertainers from foreign and domestic pavilions. The May 1939 "Polynesian Revue Spectacle" included various segments from the Netherlands East Indies and China. The newspaper review states: "'Bali' has a group of native musicians, one native dancer whose supple grace was applauded, several men of athletic build who toss knives about with the greatest of ease, and a Chinese troupe whose acrobatic dexterity and balancing feats can challenge the best in their line."[1493] Admittedly, the reporter confessed that the "fair members" of the revue's ensemble probably "came from Kansas," but assured audiences that their inclusion wouldn't "mar" the foreign entertainers' overall performance. The issue of authenticity underlines the fair's

[1492] Nancy C. Lutkehaus, "The Golden Gate International Exposition and the Idea of the Transpacific, 1939–1940, *Transpacific Studies: Framing an Emerging Field*, Janet Hoskins and Viet Thanh Nguyen, eds., (University Press Scholarship Online, November 2016): 100–103.
[1493] Ada Hanifin, "Likely Revue Makes Its Bow At Golden Gate," *San Francisco Examiner*, May 11, 1939, 22. Chinese acrobats. Mpana was the drum dancer's name.

proceedings, i.e., what was reported to be authentic could, in fact, be a misrepresentation, e.g., the "Polynesian Revue Spectacle." Most of the musical performances were meant for entertainment purposes, and it seemed like audience members enjoyed the vaudevillian-style showcases.

Latin American Court and Representation at GGIE

The display of the Good Neighbor Policy was evident in the strong representation of Latin American countries at the GGIE. Both the 1939 and 1940 fair iterations (and the New York World's Fair) maintained a relationship with countries from South America, especially Mexico, Brazil, and Nicaragua. California's ties to Latin America were still rooted strongly in the state's culture, and significant Latin American representation can even be seen in many of the pre-fair festivities.[1494]

American foreign-policy rhetoric in the 1930s toward Latin American protectorates and occupations shifted from "empire-conscious language" to a collaborative partnership.[1495] The United States government, although neutral at that time, was concerned with the growing influence of Nazi Germany in South America, particularly the strategic location of the Panama Canal. Promotional materials for the 1940 fair particularly noted that the pavilions of "Brazil, El Salvador, Colombia, Peru are already assembling new material for exhibits."[1496] A photo fair visitor Edward Lewis took showcases the Latin-American section's El Salvador pavilion:.

[1494] See Chapters 1, 2, and 3 for more information regarding California's Hispanic past and stereotypes derived from colonial history.
[1495] Carol Hess, *Representing the Good Neighbor*, 95.
[1496] Fresno State Special Collections, Treasure Island Getting a Facial: Fair Being Groomed for Gala Opening," *Motor Land*, April 1940, 3 (Black Scrapbook Promotional Images).

Figure 8.4. View of the main entrance to the El Salvador Pavilion (courtesy of Edward Lewis, personal email communication, May 12, 2015).

The displays underlined the "opportunities for friendship and trade in the Fair."[1497] In fact, many of the Latin American countries that participated in the GGIE were aligned with the United States and mirrored its isolationist stance until joining America and its allies in the war.[1498]

Radio broadcasts were created specifically to promote foreign relationships between the United States and remote Spanish-speaking audiences.[1499] Latin-American audiences were able to connect and experience specialized programming that updated them about the GGIE's events.[1500] San Francisco resident Juan Jose Trasviña (1912–2013) was the fair's Spanish-language announcer for programming. Trasviña was the son of a Mexican diplomat and was among the first to graduate with bachelor's and master's degrees in broadcasting from San Francisco State College.[1501] A promotional image of Trasviña (dated 1940) as a broadcaster for KGEI at Treasure Island can be seen as part of the San Francisco Historical Photograph Collection, which was donated as part of the Latino Heritage Fair Project (Figure 8.5). Trasviña's work on Treasure Island included "the first Trans Pacific shortwave news from the 1939 World's Fair."[1502] His work at the GGIE symbolized the desire for cross-

[1497] Treasure Island Getting a Facial: Fair Being Groomed for Gala Opening," *Motor Land*, April 1940, Fresno State Special Collections' Don Larson World's Fair Collection, [scrapbook: Promotional Images], 3.
[1498] During World War II, Brazil became a powerful United States ally.
[1499] At the time of this publication, evidence of Portuguese-language radio programming cannot be found.
[1500] Chapter 4 dedicates a section to radio and remote audience listening programs.
[1501] "Juan Trasviña," obituary, *San Francisco Gate*, /obituary.aspx?page=lifestory&pid=164003715 (accessed January 10, 2019). His career in radio began with the 1939 GGIE broadcasts and included wartime service with the U.S. Army Signal Corps in Algiers. Trasviña was a fixture in Bay Area radio work, including forty-two years as an NBC engineer (KPO, KNBC, KNBR) and as a lecturer at the College of San Mateo.
[1502] "Juan Trasviña," obituary, *San Francisco Gate*, /obituary.aspx?page=lifestory&pid=164003715

cultural exchanges and American inclusion on the world stage, as well as a demonstration of the work that local talent contributed.

Figure 8.5. Juan Trasviña was a radio announcer for KGEI, broadcasting for Latin Americans at the Golden Gate International Exposition, 1940. SFPL Latino Heritage Fair Project.

Representatives and dignitaries from Latin American countries were feted, and dedicated programs were presented to underline the importance of the relationship between North and South America. Most of the pavilions operated internally, i.e., representatives from each country oversaw operations, with attachés to the GGIE. Figure 8.6 Nicaraguan President Anastasio Somoza (1896–1956) with George Creel.

(accessed January 10, 2019).

Figure 8.6. "Anastasio Somoza, president of Nicaragua, talking to George Creel at the Golden Gate Exposition, San Francisco, California, 1939," photography by author, (courtesy of the George Creel Collection, Library of Congress).

The president was the first foreign chief executive to visit the fairgrounds and was

honored with several days of special events that celebrated Nicaragua.[1503] Somoza was returning from a visit to Washington, D.C., where he secured financial backing for an American-built Nicaraguan canal. Somoza was American-educated, and after the withdrawal of U.S. Marines from Nicaragua in1933, he rose to power.

The U.S. 30th Infantry Band performed ceremonial music upon the president's arrival, including the Nicaraguan national anthem.[1504] After a tour of the Latin Court, he and fellow dignitaries conducted a national broadcast,[1505] and California Governor Culbert Olson held a banquet for two hundred guests in Somoza's honor in the California Building. Fair President Leland Cutler "and members of the Latin-American consular corps" held a reception in the Pacific House.[1506] Stanford University political science Professor Graham Stuart gave a lecture the following day in the Pacific House. The talk's topic was "A New Gateway to the Pacific" and focused on the possibility of building a "second interoceanic canal across Central America."[1507] Even though the United States wanted to gain support from Latin American allies, Nicaragua's presence showcased the mechanizations of American politics—supporting a man who gradually would become a dictator until his assassination.

[1503] "General Somoza's Banquet," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 1, 1939, 3E.
[1504] "President Somoza Welcomed," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1939, 4E.
[1505] "Today: Nicaragua's President Somoza Will Be Given a Rousing Reception at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1939, 1E.
[1506] "General Somoza's Banquet," 3E.
[1507] "Things to See–A Lecture," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 2, 1939, 4E.

Guatemalan and El Salvadoran Marimba Bands

Arguably, the most popular music ensembles from the Latin-American Court were the marimba bands from Guatemala and El Salvador. The 1939 GGIE *Guide Book* entry for El Salvador focuses primarily on the musical offerings that await the visitor: "The internationally known 'Sonora' Marimba Band, imported from the smallest country of the Western Hemisphere gives a cross-cut of rhythmic Latin-American music."[1508] The presence of two marimba ensembles met the demand for that music style. In fact, the Guatemalan ensemble, the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band, was the most programmed, offering daily performances three times a day during most of the 1939 and 1940 fairs.

Pulitzer-Prize winning travel writer Stanton Delaplane (1907–1988) wrote a summary of his experience walking through the Latin American Court and mentions both marimba bands. While visiting the El Salvadoran pavilion, Delaplane writes that one could be served free coffee while being serenaded by the "marimba band in costume." He includes an anecdote regarding the stuffed alligators that were on display—"a marimba band player" told him that one of those reptiles could "bite a leg off just like that."[1509] In comparison, the Guatemala pavilion was reported to be the "most crowded" of the pavilions, and the marimba band drew daily audiences to its performances.[1510]

NBC recorded the dedication for the El Salvadoran pavilion. Very few

[1508] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 83.
[1509] Stanton Delaplane, "Take a Trip to Manana," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 26, 1939, 2E.
[1510] Ibid. Incidentally, Delaplane was reportedly the one who introduced San Francisco to "Irish coffee" drinks, now the iconic offering at the Buena Vista.

recorded broadcasts exist in which music from the pavilions can be heard. On March 10, 1939, the opening dedication ceremonies were held, and after a brief introduction in Spanish, the moderator introduced the Salvadoran marimba band. The microphones pick up the ensemble nicely—with the contrabass prominently at the forefront. The all-male ensemble performs a medley of traditional songs, the first having an A-B-A structure (title unidentifiable), with the A sections purely instrumental and the B section vocal (Chorus starts: *Ai Mama!*).[1511] The C section is slower, and the guitar can be heard more prominently.[1512] Several of the pieces performed were not of El Salvadoran provenance, but Mexican ("Cielito Lindo") and Uruguayan ("La Cumparsita"). Out of all the recorded pavilion music, the El Salvadoran dedication gives the most airtime to the marimba band.

The Guatemalan pavilion's opening ceremony witnessed Consul-General Carlos Ubico welcoming Guatemala's commissioner, Alfred Denby, and his family to the exposition.[1513] Inside the 1939 Guatemalan pavilion was an exhibit displaying "agricultural, mineral and industrial products" worth "$200,000,"[1514] as well as "oil paintings by Guatemalan artists" depicting "their country's natives, landscapes and towns."[1515] At the pavilion, a visitor could be served "hot Guatemalan coffee" every afternoon while listening to the "popular Guatemala Marimba Band" perform "native

[1511] Library of Congress Recorded Sound Research Center, "El Salvadoran Pavilion Dedication," NBC, March 10, 1939, SONIC Archive.
[1512] Ibid.
[1513] "It's News to Me. Herb Caen's Column," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 6, 1939.
[1514] Ibid. Equivalent to approximately $3.6 million dollars.
[1515] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 83.

and popular music."[1516]

The inclusions of popular music surprised some observers, who had a preconceived notion of what comprises foreign traditional musical offerings at the fair. Delaplane was shocked to see the Guatemalan marimba performers wear "double-breasted grey flannels" (suits) instead of traditional cultural costumes. Acknowledging that "modern days have fallen upon us," he recalls the piece being performed during his visit as a "sing-tango rendition of 'Three Little Fishies.'"[1517] The group partnered with local Bay Area artists and other pavilion performers during its tenure at the fair. Virgil Morton's (1913–1981) group Chang's International Folk Dancers performed in the Estonian Village (1939 and 1940) with the Guatemalan Marimba Band. Morton, a specialist in folk dancing, arrived in San Francisco in 1935 and studied Spanish and Mexican folk dancing.[1518] Around 1936–1937, a San Francisco greeting-card artist, Song Chang, sponsored and organized a folk dancing group—first called the International Folk Dancers and later Chang's International Folk Dancers.[1519] As its director, Morton performed with Chang's International Folk Dancers in the Estonian Village and in other areas of the fairgrounds. Explored previously in Chapter 4, he performed two roles in the *Cavalcade of America* (1940)—as a Mexican gunner and as part of a bicycle-riding trio.[1520] A black-and-

[1516] Ibid.
[1517] Stanton Delaplane.
[1518] Southern California Folk Dancing, "Virgil Morton," http://www.socalfolkdance.org/master_teachers/morton_v.htm.
[1519] Ibid.
[1520] Photos substantiating both performance roles with written documentation can be found at the Museum of Performance and Design. See Chapter 4 for information regarding the *Cavalcade*'s two iterations.

white photo (Figure 8.7) in the Virgil Morton Collection at the Museum of Performance and Design (San Francisco) showcases Morton and his dance partner, Grace Churcher, inscribed with the note: "Performing Mexican Dances to the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band G.G.I.E. Treasure Island, CA 1939."

Figure 8.7. "Virgil Morton and Grace Churcher Performing Mexican Dances to the Hurtado Brothers Marimba Band" (courtesy of the Museum of Performance and Design, San Francisco).

This photo highlights the undocumented pavilion music making and collaboration not only in the Latin American court, but also on the general fairgrounds. The visiting artists and musical performers' influence outside the GGIE's confines is immeasurable.

Audience interactions within and outside the fairgrounds rarely were documented, but visitors themselves recall them. Victor Small (who attended the fair in his youth) was studying percussion with local Bay Area musicians who often substituted for the marimba performer in the Latin-American court. He remembers his teacher being invited to perform on the fairgrounds, and although it cannot be discerned whether it was with the El Salvadoran or Guatemalan bands, he joined for one performance. Small remembered that his percussion instructor had to don "brown-face" to perform in the group.[1521] This recollection of needing to apply makeup to present a nation's music cannot be overlooked and raises issues of authenticity and cultural agency. This is the only documented instance of assuming cultural identity within the GGIE's cultural sphere, but perhaps more substitutions were made. Small's recollection also highlights the fairgrounds' porous border. As mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5, many local Bay Area musicians either were employed as regulars or were used temporarily at the GGIE. The percussion instructor who acted as a substitute is only one of perhaps many instances of such substitutions within groups at the fairgrounds involving those who made careers in the Bay Area.

Brazilian Orchestra

The most popular aspects of the Brazilian pavilion were its "huge coffee room"[1522] (decorated to look like a tropical oasis) and the Brazilian Orchestra directed

[1521] Personal oral interview, Victor Small, Mission San Antonio, California, 2014.
[1522] Stanton Delaplane, "A Bold Adventurer Tours South America on an Elephant (Train)," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 16, 1939, 10E.

by Humberto Herrera,[1523] which serenaded guests daily. Housed in the Fresno State University Special Collections is a photocopy of the Brazilian Pavilion's official program. Due to the ephemeral nature of physical programs at the fair, very few surviving documents detail fair programming, much less information regarding musicians or music making. The Portuguese-language program provides information on the pavilion's director and committees and provides two photos of the Brazilian Orchestra. The first showcases the bandstand—a baby-grand piano in the background, conductor, female vocalist, guitarist, and several unidentified musicians (Figure 8.8):

Figure 8.8. Brazilian Orchestra. *Brazil, Departamento Nacional do Cafe*, "Pavilhão Brasilerio Na Golden Gate International Exposition 1940 Sãn Francisco, California." Folder: SF 1939/40 (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

The second photo is a long-angle shot showcasing the popular cafe with the band

[1523] Library of Congress Recorded Sound Research Center, "Dedication of the Brazilian Pavilion," NBC, March 17, 1939, Part 1 of 2, SONIC Archive.

(wearing white) in the background. The orchestra is seated on the stage, and its instruments are visible in this particular photo (from left to right): *maracas*, contrabass, *maracas*/vocals, accordion, trumpet, violin (soloist), guitar, and piano (Figure 8.9).

Figure 8.9. Brazilian Orchestra. *Brazil, Departamento Nacional do Cafe*, "Pavilhão Brasilerio Na Golden Gate International Exposition 1940 Sãn Francisco, California." Folder: SF 1939/40. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

The Brazilian Orchestra showcased its talents on the airwaves, which is evident in the two KGO microphones on the stage. (KGO is a radio station that still serves the Bay Area.)

After the Brazilian orchestra's success in 1939, the 1940 edition of the *Guide Book* added a summary of Brazilian music attractions: "Native South American music, fitting to the mood and atmosphere, is played by the Brazilian ensemble in the Cafe Brazil during the afternoon and evening. At frequent intervals, these tangos and rhumbas are broadcast to South America, as well as over national networks."[1524] With the absence of a catalog of recorded broadcasts from the pavilions, this statement underlines the fact that the music was broadcast in real time to a live audience in South America. A rare archived broadcast in the Library of Congress' Recorded Sound Research Center captured the Brazilian pavilion's opening ceremony (March 17, 1939), which NBC recorded.

After the orchestra's musical introduction, the English-language narrator (unknown) introduces the Brazilian Orchestra, under the direction of Humberto Herrera,[1525] and continues to describe the event's proceedings for the American audience listening at home.[1526] The ensemble performed a quick fanfare (unidentified), with the trumpet and accordion at the forefront. A brief introduction in Portuguese is provided for the "benefit of the Brazilian audience, which is hearing this broadcast by shortwave." After a few remarks, President Leland Cutler introduced Commissioner Creel, who opened his address on the topic of the Monroe

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[1524] *Official Guide Book* (rev. ed. 1940), 62.
[1525] Information regarding Humberto Herrera as director of the pavilion is scarce, and this broadcast is the only instance in which his name is cited. It can be presumed that the Herrera at the Brazilian pavilion was the Guatemalan born violinist, composer, teacher, and author Humberto Herrera (1900–1990). Registered as a member of ASCAP, he arrived in California in 1929, according to various sources, and later composed a song in 1950 titled "Brazilian Pavilion." Library of Congress, *Catalog of Copyright Entries: Published Music*, vol. 4, part 5A, no. 1 (January–June 1950), 504.
[1526] Library of Congress Recorded Sound Research Center, "Brazilian Pavilion Dedication," NBC, March 17, 1939, SONIC Archive.

Doctrine as it relates to some Latin American countries being viewed as protectorates, stressing the idealistic perspective of a North and South American "partnership in the protection of democracy." Creel singles out Brazil as a "true friend and a gallant comrade" of the United States.[1527] At the end of the broadcast, the Brazilian Orchestra performed a *rhumba* (unidentified), which the trumpet player led, part of NBC's recording of the event.

U.S. Territories Representation: Philippines and Hawaii

During the GGIE, the United States was a colonial occupier of several territories, among them Hawaii, Alaska, and the Philippines. Two territories, the Philippines and Hawaii, were featured prominently within the Pacific Area. Even though the pavilions had autonomous spaces within the Pacific-themed area, territorial conquest, although presented differently than in earlier world's fairs, was ever-present and expressed through musical performances. Audiences were familiar with Hawaiian and Filipino music from the 1915 PPIE (see Chapters 2 and 5) due to the popular Philippine Constabulary Band and (separately) ukulele performances. An expansion of programming and the popularity of both countries among fair-going audiences are evident in the continuous performances programmed within the Pacific Area, as well as at other locations on the fairgrounds. Musically, popular ensembles from both territories presented programs throughout the 1939 season. Politically,

[1527] The ceremony also included a message from a Brazilian scout-bomber seaplane pilot, who spoke to the audience remotely from the cockpit. When the plane flew over the pavilion, he threw soil from the Santos Dumont Airport in Rio De Janeiro, thereby connecting Brazil and the United States symbolically.

Hawaii and the Philippines would act as agents and provide valuable resources ahead of America's entry into WWII.

Philippines

The Philippine Constabulary Band had become a welcomed performance group invited back for the GGIE. The band previously appeared at the 1915 PPIE, as well as the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. At both early-twentieth-century fairs (1904 and 1915), the Philippine Constabulary Band's role was a successful manifestation of American colonial power and an example of "benevolent assimilation."[1528] Ethnomusicologist Mary Tulsan points out that Filipinos and band members' accounts generally were positive regarding the band's participation in the earlier fairs. Both groups "viewed the accomplishments of the PC Band in nationalist terms, emphasizing, rather than obscuring, Filipino musical traditions established at least a century prior to American rule."[1529] Twenty-four years had passed since the 1915 PPIE, and the Philippine Constabulary Band's reception at the 1939 fair, compared with that of the 1915 PPIE, reflected shifts in American foreign policy over the years.

Promotion for the band's daily performances emphasized inclusivity of the Philippines within the Pacific community, rather than solely as an American protectorate (as at the 1915 PPIE; see Chapter 2 and 5). The Philippines had a specially built bandstand, where the band performed. In fact, this bandstand was the

[1528] Talusan, Mary, "Music, Race, and Imperialism": The Philippine Constabulary Band at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair. In *Philippine Studies*, vol. 52, no. 4, World's Fair 1904 (2004): 499. Chapter 4 explores the imperialist goals within American policy formation and territorial representation issues, including the Philippine Constabulary Band's participation and role.
[1529] Ibid, 500.

only constructed space of its type on the fairgrounds. Built to look like it was floating on the lagoon, most of the circular bandstand hung over the shoreline at the front of the pavilion's entrance. An ornate circular frame complete with a stylized spire topped the bandstand. The pavilion and bandstand were built to reflect unique native architectural elements, as well as materials—the *Official Guide Book* (1939) described the construction of the pavilion in detail, noting the space's "copper-covered roof, its four-paneled door weighing five tons, and its use of hardwoods, selected from the 3,000 grown in the islands, for walls and floor."[1530] Local products and exports were displayed in this space, including "modern furniture of bamboo, rattan and hardwood, delicate embroideries, arts and crafts, fine tobaccos, cocoanuts [sic], fruits."[1531]

Although the Pacific Area featured the Philippines as an autonomous neighbor, reminders of American sovereignty and Western influences also were present. In addition to physical products, the pavilion's exhibits also spotlighted programs on "governmental activities," including a display showcasing the "phenomenal growth of gold production in the Philippine Islands, the second largest gold-producing region under the American flag."[1532] The presence of American sovereignty in the Pacific, evident in the placement of nations' pavilions in the Pacific Area, reminded visitors of the United States' powerful influence in the region.

One could argue that audiences who attended the 1915 PPIE viewed the

[1530] *Official Guide Book* (1939, rev. ed.), 82.
[1531] Ibid.
[1532] Ibid.

band's performances as an acknowledgement of America's imperial past, but after thorough research, information regarding political issues' presence during the 1939/40 performances cannot be found in period news, oral histories, or memoirs at the time of publication. It can be assumed that the band's presence acknowledged the past, yet demonstrated success as a current entertainment source.

Hawaii: Lena Machado and the Royal Hawaiians, Harry Owens, and Bob Hope

After the introduction of the ukulele at the 1915 PPIE, San Franciscan audiences were enamored with all things Hawaiian. The legacy of Hawaii's popularity at the PPIE continued at the GGIE, even more so because one could reach the United States territory from the fairgrounds on a Pan American Clipper, making it an exotic vacation destination. In May 1939, Pan American debuted a new "super passenger airship," the *California*, which could carry twelve passengers and ten crew members to the "Orient" via Honolulu.[1533] The distance between American territories was shrinking, and the *Official Guide Book* (1939) described Hawaii as "the mid-Pacific part of the United States."[1534] That statement encapsulates the American desire to reach across the Pacific and extend territorial control—expanding the nation west to include the islands. Hawaiian-influenced music was the most pervasive on the fairgrounds; it was not confined to the Pacific Area pavilion.

Contemporary native Hawaiian ensembles could be heard alongside big bands, which aligned themselves with the popularity of all things Hawaiian in the

[1533] "The Super Clipper Hops for Honolulu," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 1939, 26.
[1534] *Official Guide Book*, 1939, rev., 80.

Hawaiian pavilion, Federal Plaza, California Auditorium, and other spaces. In an interview, fair visitor George Greene recalls his visit to the 1940 fair when he was seven years old and distinctly remembers taking steel-guitar lessons and seeing the bandstands on the fairgrounds.[1535] Steel guitar was a uniquely Hawaiian instrument, and although Greene does not recall the exact location of these lessons, it can be assumed that they were in the Hawaiian pavilion.

Big bands, like Harry Owens and the Royal Hawaiians, had adopted aspects of Hawaiian music-making culture—ranging from instrumentation to visual dance elements (*hula*). On September 12, 1939, Owens presented two very popular free concerts in the Temple Compound and a free dance in the Treasure Island Music Hall. Known as the composer of "Sweet Leilani," he based his compositions on "traditional island music" (Figure 8.10).

[1535] George Greene, interview, Ontario, CA, 310.696.6294.

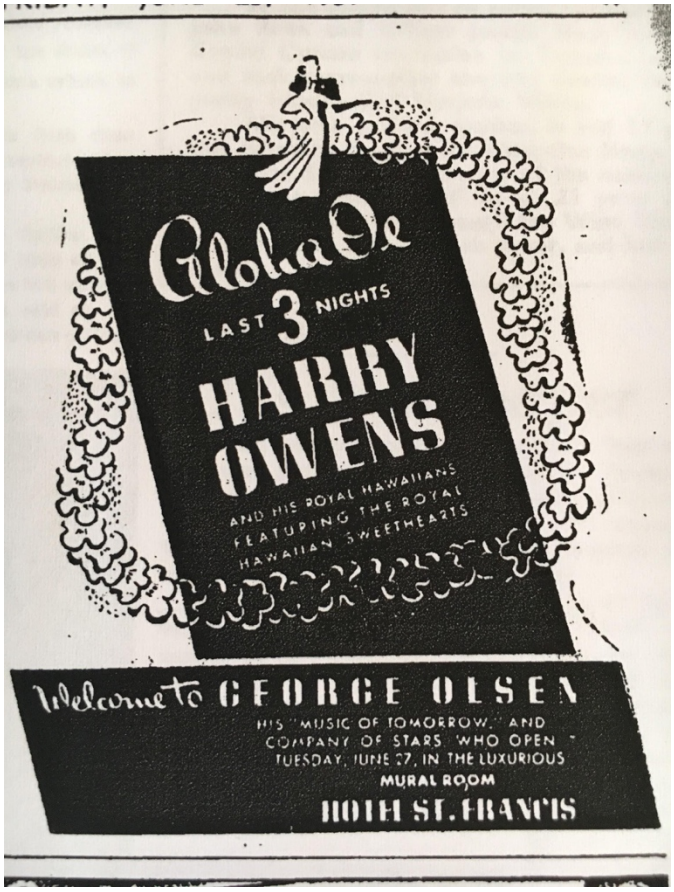

Figure 8.10. Advertisement. *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 23, 1939, 15.

The performances included Owens' band, plus a "trio of lovely girl vocalists, the Royal Hawaiian sweethearts," as well as Alvin Keleolani, "a novelty singer"; Kenny Allen (tenor); and "the California Varsity Eight." The second performance on September 12 (4:45 p.m.) added a special guest who was well known to radio audiences: Bob Hope. A photo below from an audience member's perspective shows the Royal Hawaiians accompanying Hope (Figure 8.11).

Figure 8.11. Audience perspective of Bob Hope performing with Harry Owens and the Royal Hawaiians. Three *hula* dancers can be seen on stage dancing with Hope while Owens stands at the microphone (courtesy of Edward Lewis).

Out of the native Hawaiian musicians who performed at the fair, none was more famous than Lena Machado (1903–1974). Dubbed the "Songbird of Hawaii,"[1536]

[1536] Also known as the "Songbird of the Islands."

Machado was one of the "best-known personalities in the Hawaiian music world."[1537] As a vocalist, composer, dancer, and entertainer, she was known to the public as a Decca recording artist and the Royal Hawaiian Band's vocalist. Machado performed at the 1939 GGIE with an all-male string quartet (Sol Bright, Joe Kealoha, George and Herbert Hano (steel guitar). Before the 1939 fair and during a controversial hiatus from the Royal Hawaiian Band, she performed a series of concerts at the Seven Seas, a club on Geary Street in San Francisco.[1538] Machado performed two shows almost daily in the Hawaiian pavilion during the 1939 GGIE season.

When the Hawaiian pavilion was not reopened in 1940, Machado chose to extend her participation dates to the Fair in ′Forty. She exclaimed, "When I heard that the Hawaiian building was not going to open again this year, I couldn't stand by and see the authentic beauty of Hawaiian songs and music and dancing not represented—so I decided to do what I could for the islands, myself." The 1940 exposition's management decided to give her (and the Hawaiian quartet she performed with) a contract to perform as strolling musicians for two weeks. Due to their popularity, they were given a longer contract.[1539] Machado performed for an audience of 100,000 on the Federal Plaza stage during the closing afternoon of the 1940 fair. She was given a scroll that read: "To Lena Machado—As a token of gratitude from the Directors and from many millions of visitors at whose insistent demand her services were retained

[1537] "Lena Machado," *Dictionary of Hawaiian Music*, (University of Hawaii, Hawaii, 2004), 54.
[1538] "Lena Machado Willing to Return if Asked," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, February 3, 1939, front page.
[1539] Ellen Bairos, "Lena Machado, 'Songbird of Hawaii,' Receives Tribute as S.F. Fair Closes," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 19, 1940, 3.

during the entire Exposition of 1940."[1540]

A special-event day was dedicated to Hawaii on July 7, 1939, complete with a program of Hawaiian music and a celebratory ball (July 6). The primary event of the day was a two-hour musical program in the Open Air Theater, during which entertainers performed "popular Hawaiian songs" and provided *hula* demonstrations.[1541] Visiting ensembles from the islands traveled to Treasure Island from Hawaii, including the Honolulu Girls Glee Club.[1542] Machado performed alongside the Hawaiian Pavilion's string orchestra."[1543] The previous night's honorary ball, hosted by the Hawaiian delegation, entertained "hundreds of Exposition visitors" with "Tiny Crawford's 10-piece Hawaiian orchestra."[1544]

Pacific Area and Lou Harrison

The GGIE's musical offerings in the foreign pavilions impacted the broader San Franciscan and Western arts communities. The most famous example of this cultural musical occurrence is Californian composer Lou Harrison's (1917–2003) experience listening and watching the Balinese gamelan at the Netherlands East Indies pavilion.[1545] Like Debussy before him (at the 1889 Paris *Exposition Universelle*), Harrison was a Western composer influenced by an Asian ensemble

[1540] Ibid.
[1541] "Hawaii's Day Friday," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 4, 1939, 2E.
[1542] "Leis, Hulas and Soft Hawaiian Music Made It a Soothing Day," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1939, 1E.
[1543] Ibid.
[1544] Ibid.
[1545]The Dutch-controlled Netherlands East Indies (otherwise known as Dutch East Indies) was an expansive territory established in the 1800s by the Dutch East Indies Trading Company. During World War II, Japan occupied most of the territory, and Indonesian nationalists declared independence after the war. Harrison's recollections of his teacher, Henry Cowell, are mentioned further in Chapter 6.

presented at a world's fair.

The Netherlands East Indies pavilion was built in the fashion of traditional "Hindu-Javanese temples," with the principal section reflecting "contemporary Javanese architecture."[1546] Designers' provenance reflected the Dutch East Indies' colonial status in 1939 and 1940—the pavilion was designed and "built by both Javanese and Balinese artists," including a diorama that a "Netherlands artist" created.[1547]

Local to the Bay Area, Harrison "haunted the fair" and spent days "among the exhibits of cultural treasures from the Pacific Rim countries."[1548] On June 10, 1939, Harrison partnered with Mills College choreographer Marian Van Tuyl[1549] (1906–1987) to present "two Greek tragedies" at the fairgrounds.[1550] In their book, *Lou Harrison,*[1551] authors Fredric Lieberman and Leta Miller include passages from interviews with Harrison, relaying his experience at the GGIE.[1552] The composer recalled his favorite foreign pavilion, the Netherlands East Indies pavilion, "where he saw a live performance of Balinese gamelan."[1553] Miller and Lieberman point out that although this was not Harrison's first introduction to gamelan (his housemate in San Francisco, Dorothy Russell, "owned some early commercial recordings," and he also

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[1546] "Pacific: The Color, The Culture of Great Civilizations are Gathered in a Great Pageant," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 24E.
[1547] Ibid.
[1548] Leta Miller and Fredric Lieberman, *Lou Harrison* (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 48.
[1549] Van Tuyl was a choreographer, educator, and dancer. She established the Dance Department at Mills College in 1938 and collaborated with many famous composers of the Bay Area scene (Henry Cowell, Darius Milhaud, and Lou Harrison).
[1550] Miller and Lieberman, *Lou Harrison*, 48.
[1551] Ibid.
[1552] Ibid.
[1553] Ibid.n

heard recordings in Henry Cowell's class at San Francisco State College), this was the first time he would have seen a "live performance by native artists."[1554] Harrison always had been interested in percussion and had a "fascination with Asia," so after hearing the live performances, he was "struck by the music's exceptional beauty."[1555] Harrison said Balinese gamelan was "as melodic as anything in a Western orchestra."[1556]

Biographers Bill Alves and Brett Campbell echo Miller and Lieberman's assessment of the importance of Harrison's visit to the fair, during which the GGIE inspired Harrison to include gamelan elements in his compositional process. Alves and Campbell point out that after the fair, Harrison heard a recording of a Javanese gamelan performance that solidified his interest in the ensemble possibilities:

> That summer of 1939, he returned again and again to the Treasure Island pavilion and its beautiful interwoven melodies. That sound never left him, and decades later, Harrison would call upon it again to make perhaps his most famous contribution to music.[1557]

Harrison later composed more than three dozen works from the Javanese and Balinese gamelan.

East Asian Representation at GGIE: China and Japan

The San Francisco Bay Area historically had strong cultural ties with China and Japan, as both communities are part of the city's historical narrative. San

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[1554] Ibid., 49.
[1555] Ibid.
[1556] Bill Alves and Brett Campbell, *Lou Harrison: American Musical Maverick* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2017), 61.
[1557] Ibid.

Francisco's Chinese community grew from the influx of workers arriving in California to mine gold. When the promises of wealth and riches did not materialize, the Chinese community remedied the shortage of labor needed to build the ever-expanding railway system. California's Japanese community didn't begin to develop until the 1890s. The Japanese government pre-screened émigrés and allowed only highly educated family men to establish residency in the United States.[1558] Thus, the treatment of Chinese and Japanese immigrants and their descendants was different—Anglo as well as Japanese communities marginalized the Chinese.

Degradation and mythic stereotyping of the Chinese were rampant in 1939 San Francisco, including malicious and unfounded rumors of underground opium dens and nefarious tunnels, stemming from the 1906 earthquake period. The rumors were so rampant that San Francisco's fire chief, Frederick Bowlen, wrote a column to dispel the rumors. In an effort to support the Chinese community, Bowlen explained that as a fireman, he and his teams responded to fires "where few persons" went and never saw any "subterranean passage or secret basements or underground dens or mysterious getaways."[1559] Bowlen adds that he "always found the Chinese a fine race of people and smart."[1560] Thus, on one hand, Bowlen defends the Chinese community against stereotyping, and on the other, he replaces that stereotype with a new one. While analyzing his editorial in a historical context, his tone seems defensive, leading one to assume that the myths that surfaced more than thirty years earlier still were

[1558] Miller, *Music and Politics in San Francisco*, 4.
[1559] "S.F.F.D. History: Myths of Underground Dens in Chinatown," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 10, 1939, 7.
[1560] Ibid.

being propagated during the GGIE.

As discussed in Chapter 3, both communities presented at the CMIE, partly in an effort to present their respective cultures positively. Unlike the 1915 PPIE, Japan and China were embroiled in the Manchurian Invasion during the GGIE, which greatly affected their presentations and participation. An entire study can be devoted to comparing and contrasting the two pavilions, as well as representation and exhibition issues at the fair (and the CMIE vs. GGIE), but due to this study's constraints, only a short version will be provided in this chapter.

Several primary comparisons can be drawn from the two pavilions. First, representatives from both communities designed and built both physical exhibition spaces. However, due to the war, Chinese-American residents of San Francisco's Chinatown built the Chinese pavilion, while Mainland Japanese representatives oversaw the Japanese pavilion. Second, both cultures had historic ties to San Francisco and California, having built communities in San Francisco and Los Angeles; so fair-going audiences would have been familiar with both.

The principle contrast between the two pavilions is their placement on the fairgrounds—the Japanese pavilion was assigned to the Pacific Area, while the Chinese pavilion sat at the Gayway entrance (GGIE entertainment zone). Due to missing fair-related business procedural documents, the reasoning behind this decision cannot be known at this time. But speculation could lead to a hypothesis of the placement of the Chinese pavilion as an attempt to dismiss or degegrate the Chinese participants. These placements' results can be seen in both spaces'

programming. The Chinese pavilion offered visitors more approachable entertainment than the Japanese exhibit, e.g., a restaurant, bar, bazaar, sideshow attractions, and a Western-style dance stage. The latter pavilion focused its programming on education through cultural exchange, with guest musical groups from the mainland and demonstrations in various Japanese arts.

Chinese Village

San Francisco's Chinatown was the largest outside of Mainland China, and this Chinese community built the large pavilion and organized the entertainment programming.[1561] The Chinese Village was a popular exhibit, covering over three-and-a-half acres of the fairgrounds. Chinatown residents, rather than the Chinese government, built the pavilion because of the war with Japan.[1562] In a rare interview, the Chinese pavilion's manager and organizer, George Jue, recalled his appointment:

> We started preparing for the Fair in the late part of '37. A number of community leaders came to Chinatown to look for somebody to participate, to represent China. I was then the President of the Company of Six.[1563] Japan had started a war with China on July 7 of the previous year. China was so busy they couldn't spare the time or the money to do anything cultural in this country. So they asked if any overseas Chinese would like to take over. I was willing. I had to barnstorm the country to get the money in the interest of China. We had to save face and represent our country. I went from San Francisco to New York to Boston to Chicago to New Orleans—wherever I could find money.[1564]

Jue's recollection aids scholars in constructing the timeline and examining planning

[1561] See Chapters 2 and 3 for more information regarding the Chinese community's history in San Francisco.
[1562] Manchurian Invasion.
[1563] The Company of Six also sponsored the radio broadcasts to China (see Chapter 3).
[1564] Carpenter and Totah, "George Jue," 41.

issues from conception in conjunction with the homeland. Jue remarked, "In my talks with the staff, I always pointed out that we represented China…. We must represent China because China itself cannot participate."[1565] He believed China had to represent at the world's fair to "save face," i.e., although Mainland China was occupied, the nation had support from expatriates and émigrés.

Built on three acres at a cost of $2 million (equivalent to $36,017,253 in 2018)[1566] the pavilion was built to simulate a traditional walled city—complete with a 150-foot pagoda "patterned after the Dragon Pagoda in Shanghai."[1567] A dragon gate guarded the entrance to the village, located at the edge of the Gayway (depicted in Figure 8.12):

[1565] Ibid.
[1566] "In this Walled World of the Chinese There is no War," *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 17, 1939, 20E.
[1567] Ibid. Inside the pagoda was "one of the most beautiful art objects of the Exposition—a man-sized jade pagoda carved out of a single piece of green jade" (Ibid.).

Figure 8.12. *The news copy caption to this image reads:* "THE FUN CENTER OF TREASURE ISLAND—The heart of the Gayway as seen through the entrance to the Chinese Village at the Golden Gate International Exposition. Wandering up and down the Gayway, visitors to Treasure Island are offered every type of entertainment from weird Chinese music to breathtaking dips on the roller coaster" (courtesy of the San Francisco Public Library Historical Center).

The complex included a multitude of offerings for fair visitors, and several distinct venues were created to present musical and dramatic performances. Besides the Western-style dance stage, the dining room sat 600 and served "Cantonese, Soo Chow and Mandarin-style dishes," and the tea pavilion had an indoor seating capacity of 300 (outdoor seating could accommodate a thousand).[1568] A separate lounge, the Dragon Room, served American and Chinese cocktails, where visitors could listen to music. Racial profiling and stereotyping of Asian women were evident in the language describing the Asiatic countries. For example, the *San Francisco Chronicle*'s report on the Chinese Pavilion notes that visitors can hear "almond-eyed girls sing to the accompaniment of butterfly harps and moon viols."[1569] The cultural essentialization in the description is jarring, along with the gender stereotyping of females. The article provides a glimpse of the period's rhetoric, a rare account of the goings-on inside the foreign pavilions. At the very least, the reader learns that female performers provided music in the pavilion.

Some of the additional attractions within the pavilion included craftsmen: "Chinese artisans and craftsmen, most of whom do not speak English, sit in their shops carving ivory, making dainty, lifelike wax figures, finger painting, weaving, making colorful lanterns and other artistic works typical of Old China. It is a unique

[1568] "In this Walled World of the Chinese There is No War." Tom Wing Kong, the restaurant manager, reportedly brought over "one of China's best cooks" (She Kee) to oversee the dishes served in the Chinese Village. She Kee was the *chef de cuisine* at the "Sun Cafe" in Shanghai, Sam Yim in Hong Kong, and Hotel Royal in Canton. "Tom Wing Kong Plays Host in the True Chinese Style," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 20, 1939, 7E.
[1569] "In this Walled World of the Chinese There is no War."

experience to watch these native artists at their work."[1570] In addition to the dining areas, one could find shops, a garden where floral corsages were made and sold to customers, a replica of a temple, a pagoda, and a theater.[1571]

The daily program presented in the Chinese Village pavilion provided entertainment programming for a wide range of ages (see Figure 8.13). The performance venue advertised that a "troupe of Chinese actors, brought from the Orient, present dramas and operas."[1572] Chinese opera performances were marketed at the front of the pavilion (Figure 8.13). A rare program details a typical performance:

"Chinese Village Daily Program"
12:00 p.m.: Lion Dance
12:30, 3:00, 6:30 p.m.: Pole Juggling Act
1:00, 7:00, 9:15 p.m.: Acrobatic Show
1:45, 4:15, 7:45, 10 p.m.: Puppet Show
3:30 p.m.: Acrobatic Show
5:45 p.m.: Free Demonstration of Chinese Arts[1573]

[1570] "More Things to See and Places to Go," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939, 4E.
[1571] "In this Walled World of the Chinese There is no War."
[1572] Fresno State Special Collections' Donald Larson World Fairs Collection, "Program" [untitled scrapbook].
[1573] Fresno State Special Collections Donald Larson World Fairs Collection, "Program" [untitled scrapbook].

Figure 8.13. "Chinese Village. Treasure Island, S.F. World's Fair, 1939" (courtesy of the Museum of Performance and Design).

The House of Melody (theater) in the Chinese Village showcased "pole juggling and acrobatic shows presented by the sensational Sen Sing Troupe" free of charge.[1574] The troupe of "acrobats, jugglers and magicians" came "from the provinces of North China." Touting the rarity of their performance, the Chinese Village promoters said the "feats of skill" have never been "seen in the United States." The narrated puppet show recounted famous moments in China's history with "gorgeously costumed dolls." In the program ad, organizers emphasized the pavilion entertainment and cultural offerings' authenticity.[1575]

[1574] "More Things to See and Places to Go," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939, 4E.
[1575] In the children's book, *A Trip to the San Francisco Exposition with Bobby and Betty*, by Joseph

Without further information from the period's English-language newspapers or autobiographies, it cannot be determined which dramas and operas were presented, but this program sheet's rhetoric clearly indicates that the Chinese community's programming emphasized "authentic" attractions and national pride for Mainland China.[1576] The occasion that "authentic" Chinese opera and drama performances were presented at the GGIE is possible.

The Chinese community was well represented in the fair's overall programming, and its presence was not confined to the Chinese Village. Chinese representatives participated in the Opening Day Fiestas (1939 and 1940) (see Chapters 3 and 6), as well as other general fair programing. For example, a special-event day, "Chinese Day," took place on July 14, 1940 (Bastille Day), "with thousands of costumed Chinese children scheduled at the Chinese Village."[1577] On June 3, 1939, "hundreds of costumed Chinese children from both sides of the bay" appeared as "guests of honor… at the Chinese Village. Special shows [were] arranged for the kids in addition to the exhibit's regular program of operatic, vaudeville and puppet acts."[1578] Some of the village's entertainment offerings were free, while others charged admission, and programming was up to the area's organizers, rather than the

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Henry Jackson (San Francisco, 1939), a detailed tour of the fair is showcased from a child's perspective. The Chinese Village is mentioned in a specific passage: "They remembered hearing music as the train rolled past the Chinese Village–curious, whining music very much like the strange playing they had heard in the Oriental temple on their second day." Joseph Henry Jackson, *A Trip to the San Francisco Exposition with Bobby and Betty* (San Francisco, California, 1939), 94.

[1576] An examination fo Chinese-language newspapers is necessary for further study.

[1577] "Invaded Nations To Celebrate Bastille Day On Island Today," *San Francisco Examiner*, July 14, 1940, 15.

[1578] "More Things to See and Places to Go," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 3, 1939.

exposition's executive board.[1579]

Modern technology allowed the participating American Chinese community to connect with Mainland China during the GGIE. As mentioned in Chapter 4, General Electric, the Treasure Island radio station's sponsor, coordinated with San Franciscan Chinese-American companies (Company of Six) to provide talent for broadcasts to Chinese audiences in Japanese-occupied China.[1580] Aforementioned Chinese Village actors and artists participated in these programs, thereby bridging the Pacific Ocean divide. Not only did the broadcasts connect the GGIE with the local Chinese community and occupied China, but they also were a political move to disseminate information to a distressed country.[1581]

The Chinese community took pride in the exhibit and was active in the GGIE proceedings beyond the confines of the Chinese Village's walls. For example, the Chinese YMCA Drum and Bugle Corps placed first in the "Music Parade" competition in 1939.[1582] Competitors included "all uniformed bands in the Metropolitan Bay Area,"[1583] including "countless musical groups from mainland

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[1579] In some instances, fair management became involved in the pavilions' business, but exhibit sponsors managed most day-to-day programming and operations.

[1580] After an exhaustive search, information regarding the specific content and a transcript of the first broadcast cannot be found at this time. The Treasure Island radio station was the first to broadcast an American station specifically for Chinese audiences.

[1581] One of the most heartbreaking examples is the broadcast of a mother who sang a Chinese lullaby to reach her missing son. Mrs. Louise I Hseyn Kwang and her husband left China four years previously so the latter could complete his doctoral studies at Cornell, leaving their child with a grandmother. During the Japanese occupation, the parents lost contact with their child and hoped that "someone in far off China" would hear the broadcast and help locate their child. After her song, the couple left for Vancouver to catch a ship for China and hopefully find their missing child. "Mother Radios Chinese Lullaby In Hunt For Baby," *Oakland Tribune*, June 21, 1939, 4D.

[1582] See Chapter 6 for more information regarding this event, as well as other special-event days at the GGIE.

[1583] Fair Opening: A Wee-End [sic.] Festival," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 22, 1939.

organizations" and "musical units from the various foreign exhibits."[1584] The Chinese YMCA Fife, Drum and Bugle Corps of San Francisco placed first in its category and took home the $50 first prize (equivalent to about $900 in 2018).[1585] The band can be seen below in Figure 8.14 after its win.

Figure 8.14. "The Drum and Bugle Corps in the Court of the Lake of the Nations after winning first prize in the Parade of Bands, Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island," Folder: S.F. Fairs–G.G.I.E.–Court of the Lake of Nations (courtesy of the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library).

Figure 8.14 captures many elements of the fair's musical dimension. With a view of

[1584] "Fair Celebrates Gala Reopening: Rejuvenated Show Feted in Parade Special Events," *Oakland Tribune*, June 24, 1939, front page.
[1585] "Throngs Fete Fair Summer Opening."

the Pacific Area, and the Japanese pavilion prominent in the right foreground, fairgoers surround the Chinese-American ensemble. Emphasizing the informal music making that occurred during the GGIE, the band's audience is grouped around the ensemble, with passersbys craning their necks to see the event. In addition, audience members are seated in tall bleachers—most remained seated after the awards to listen longer. To the right sits a car with large amplification horns, perhaps parked to share announcements or display promotional messages.

Besides the Chinese Village's musical programs, Maryette Lum introduced fairgoers to traditional Chinese instruments and music. A resident since 1917 and a music instructor in Peking (known in 2019 as Beijing), Lum gave talks at the GGIE and elsewhere in California, explaining Chinese music with "songs and demonstrations of musical instruments."[1586] She reportedly learned Chinese music from master musicians who wished to revive "Chinese classical music in its pure form."[1587] Lum learned the *sheng* from Wang J. Shan, a master of the sheng and a descendant of imperial court musicians.[1588] Lum is depicted performing a *sheng* in a promotional photo for a "Chinese program" that the Business and Professional Women's Club of San Francisco presented (Figure 8.15).

[1586] "Gov. Olson Lauds Scandinavian Race," *Oakland Tribune*.
[1587] Lam "collected many Chinese classical and folk songs" and arranged them for "solo and chorus performances." "Chinese Music to be Attraction at Fair," *Oakland Tribune, June 18, 1939, B-7.*
[1588] "Chinese Music to be Attraction at Fair," *Oakland Tribune, June 18, 1939, B-7.*

Figure 8.15. "Chinese Instruments, to illustrate Chinese music, will be played by Miss Maryette Lum at the Chinese program for Business and Professional Women's Club of San Francisco this evening," *San Francisco Chronicle*, May 16, 1939.

In June 1939, Lum gave a recital and presentation at the Pacific House on the island. The lecture introduced "different types of vocal and instrumental music" and incorporated a demonstration of "some of the major instruments in use" to "explain the character of Chinese music." In addition to her talk's organological aspects, a series of her "water-color paintings of Confucian temple instruments" was presented.[1589] The inclusion of lectures on Chinese music showcases the interest in traditional music, as well as an audience somewhat educated in the musical arts because the demonstration included organological and musicological topics. The

[1589] The report included the name of her assistant for this lecture as Agustus Zanzig.

lectures also gave Lam a platform to showcase the legacy of China's cultural arts, thereby humanizing headlines about the ongoing war.

The Chinese Village lost money—"hundreds of thousands of dollars," according to Jue.[1590] In retrospect, Jue concluded that it was worth the loss because without the Chinese Village, no Chinese representation would have been possible. Although China and Japan were at war, the Chinese and Japanese pavilion workers' tones were cordial, with no apparent sense of competition between the two. "We all tried to be gracious and friendly and to do the best we could," Jue noted.[1591] At the time of this study, no evidence suggests that the war ever was manifested on the GGIE fairgrounds in the form of fights, protests or other incidents of violence.

Japanese Pavilion

The Japanese government's desire to be the strongest foreign participant at the exposition can be examined in several ways. First, the country's participation was an effort to mitigate its role in the "undeclared war on China."[1592] Japan had been an occupying force in China since 1937 (Manchurian Invasion), and its relationship with the United States had been strained, with both Britain and the United States accusing Japan of overt aggression in the Pacific. During the GGIE, the Japanese government approved aerial bombing missions in China, as well as a bombing of the British warship, the Falcon.[1593] The nation's presence on the fairgrounds was viewed as a

[1590] Carpenter and Totah, 42.
[1591] Ibid.
[1592] "Japanese Bomb British Warship," *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 8, 1939, front page.
[1593] Ibid.

presentation of Japanese imperialism—showcasing its strong cultural heritage, with diplomatic support from Mainland Japan.

Secondly, unlike the Chinese pavilion, which San Francisco Chinese residents built, the Japanese government sent a "crew of native workmen" to build the Japanese exhibits.[1594] The scale of Japan's undertaking was staggering—the Japanese "insisted upon having an authentic exhibit,"[1595] and the result was the largest (50,000 square feet)[1596] and most expensive pavilion of any foreign exhibitor, at a cost of $500,000[1597] (approximately $8.8 million in 2019). Masakazu Yamada, counselor and director of the pavilion, oversaw the exhibit, including an artwork display that included pieces presented outside of Japan for the first time.[1598]

The GGIE provided an opportunity for foreign dignitaries to represent their nations' cultural and economic exports—an opportunity that Japan seized, despite strained United States-Japanese relations that would break out in full-scale war soon after the fair. In an effort to bridge the divide between the countries, the GGIE (with its theme of peace in the Pacific) scheduled a special-event day that "focused on the Japanese and American relationship, including Japan Day and Japanese Tourist Day."[1599] On April 20, 1939, Kensuke Horinuchi, Japan's ambassador to the United States, was the honored guest for "Japan Day." The ambassador received "military

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[1594] "Lagoon Reflects Beauties of Nippon: Colorful Display from Land of the Rising Sun," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 15, 1939, Section III: 2.
[1595] "Huge Pavilion Brought Here From Japan," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 15, 1939, Section III, 2.
[1596] Ibid.
[1597] "Japan's $500,000.00 Pavilion Ready to Entertain the World," *San Francisco Examiner*, February 15, 1939, Section III, 2.
[1598] Ibid.
[1599] "Japanese Tourist Day," *San Francisco Examiner*, June 10, 1940.

honors from the Treasure Island Company" and a parade of bands and floats in front of the Japanese Pavilion (the ambassador is pictured below in the upper-right hand corner of Figure 8.16).

Figure 8.16. "Japanese residents divided honors with Los Angeles visitors at the Golden Gate International Exposition yesterday." "Japanese Take Over Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, April 30, 1939, 14-A.

The Japanese pavilion hosted Japanese dignitaries who traveled directly from Asia. News accounts relayed high-level Japanese diplomats' arrivals to visit the pavilion and fair.

The Japanese government included the Japanese community in the Bay Area

by arranging jobs for tour guides (Japanese-American females), dancers, and entertainers for festive events, including "Japan Day." In an interview, Bay Area resident Dorothy Takata recalled her experience dancing at the Japanese pavilion. When the pavilion opened, she auditioned to be a dancer and shared her experiences:

> We did our dancing outside the Japanese Pavilion. There was a little bridge, a reproduction of one at Kyoto, and we danced near there on a platform that extended over a pool beside the Pavilion. We danced about twice a month, sometimes for celebrities, for men who came from Japan for meetings and parties, and sometimes for the public.[1600]

Interviews with fair participants like Takata give historians unprecedented insight into the foreign pavilions' inner workings. For example, she notes where dance performances were held, as well as the intended audiences.[1601] Events showcasing Japan, especially "Japan Day," were broadcast not only nationally, but also via shortwave radio to Japan.[1602] Thus, the GGIE was broadcasting events to both the occupiers and the occupied of the Manchurian Invasion.

Takarazuka Ensemble

Besides government dignitaries and political figures, guest performers and entertainers were invited to perform on Treasure Island. The Exposition Company extended invitations to several ensembles, but none was as famous as the Japanese Takarazuka Girls group. Its performance and participation at the fair exemplified the nexus of propaganda, gender, and politics.

[1600] Carpenter and Totah, "Dorothy Takata," 39.
[1601] Takata and her husband were interred in a Japanese internment camp in Arizona shortly after Pearl Harbor, forever changing the trajectory of her life. Carpenter and Totah, 40.
[1602] James and Weller, *Treasure Island,* 226.

Impresario Kobayashi Ichizō (1873–1957) founded the Takarazuka Revue in 1912.[1603] The ensemble's name changed periodically, starting off as the Takarazuka Choir, then the Takarazuka Girls Opera Training Association.[1604] The training school became a music academy, where the arts were taught in a two-year course program.[1605] Jennifer Robertson, an anthropologist and art historian who is an expert in the Western reception of the Takarazuka Revue, posits that the creation of this ensemble and training component were "utilized by the state as a vehicle for disseminating and enacting a vision of co-prosperity."[1606] The concept of *co-prosperity* was a propaganda tool that the Japanese government used to justify its military aggression and colonial aspirations by promising the peoples of Asia a civilized and egalitarian society, with the Japanese emperor as "the head of the nation."[1607] This assimilation policy was the motivating force behind policies leading up to and including the GGIE years.

The 1920s saw the completion of the 3,000-seat Takarazuka Grand Theater (1924) in Takarazuka, Japan and the rise of the actors, now known as "Takarasiennes," a nod to the "early influence of the French revue."[1608] (Some similarities existed between the Takarazuka and the *Folies Bergere* at the GGIE—

[1603] *The Grand Cherry Show: Takarazuka Girls*, program, Hosotani-Simbikwan Co., Osaka, Japan. The Claremont Colleges Library Special Collections.
There is a Takarazuka Archive (Ikeda Bunko) in Osaka. Sydney Lewis, personal communication, Conservatory of Sydney, April 2016.
[1604] Jennifer Robertson, *Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan*, University of California Press: Berkeley, 1998, 4.
[1605] Ibid.
[1606] Jennifer Robertson, "Mon Japon: The Revue Theater as a Technology of Japanese Imperialism," in *American Ethnologist*, vol. 22, no. 4 (Nov, 1995): 971.
[1607] Ibid.
[1608] Robertson, 5.

both were all-female and presented various entertainment and tableaus). By the 1930s, the Takarazuka's composition was modern, incorporating Western-style orchestras and genres.[1609] Takarazuka had become a symbol of the Japanese state's desire to honor folk traditions while adopting Western practices: Programs would be steeped in Japanese folk tales and stories with "Japanese-style classical dramas and historical subjects" accompanied by "European-style and Broadway-based performances."[1610] The students were trained in "music, art of playing and dance" in the "European and Japanese" styles.[1611] The juxtaposition of the folk and popular, Asian and Western, and political and apolitical can be seen in the Takarazuka's programming choices.

Even though the touring revue was not explicitly political, it represented the Japanese government during international and domestic performances, and depended on the state's support. Robertson notes:

> The usefulness of Takarazuka in creating a vision of a global hierarchy headed by Japan, according to which all nations and races would assume their "proper place," was linked to the symbolic ambivalence of the all-female theater and to the structure of the revue form itself. Revues consisted of a montage-like display and concatenation of different, even contradictory, images, lands, settings, peoples, and scenarios as a means of shaping and reshaping popular and national consciousness. Even as Japanese colonial policy was erasing the cultural difference embodied by colonial subjects, Takarazuka actors were recuperating that difference through wartime dramas designed to familiarize the vast range of geographical and cultural difference contained and redefined by the Japanese Empire.[1612]

The presentation of the stylized Japanese "folk" songs and stories that Takarazuka

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[1609] Ibid. By 1939, the ensemble (revue) and the academy had split.
[1610] Ibid., 7.
[1611] *The Grand Cherry Show: Takarazuka Girls*.
[1612] Robertson, "Mon Japon," 972.

performed for American audiences highlights Robertson's idea of ambivalence. First, the troupe was all female, thereby underlining the Western concept of fetishizing the Asiatic female form (previously explored in Chapter 1 and theorized by Edward Said), and yet, the group performed complex male roles, dispelling preconceived notions of gender divisions. Secondly, the programs presented at the GGIE showcased not only Japanese instruments played conventionally (and with painted sets to depict traditional settings), but also Western-style pit orchestras and popular genres (e.g., swing). Finally, several other foreign and domestic artists and musicians performed at the fair in San Francisco and elsewhere in California, but none received the same level of Western art music-style performance venues as the Takarazuka during this tour.[1613] The night before the group's fair engagement, the Takarazuka revue was performed at the War Memorial Opera House, a preeminent Western art venue in San Francisco.

Robertson's work is thorough and details the history of the revue into the 1990s (*Takarazuka: Sexual Politics and Popular Culture in Modern Japan* [1998]), although she does not include the GGIE international tour in her study. The research in this section is among the first to examine the Takarazuka revue's cultural significance as a performance ensemble at an American world's fair. An example of the impact that GGIE had on musical communities outside the fairgrounds can be found in the Takarazuka ensemble's tour. At the bequest of GGIE management, the Takarazuka Girls ensemble launched a tour that began in Hawaii and included stops

[1613] See Chapter 5 for more information regarding visiting performers and their extra-fair performances.

in San Francisco, Los Angeles, and the New York World's Fair, thereby introducing non-fair audiences to Japanese cultural arts and strengthening ties to established Japanese communities on the West Coast and in Hawaii.[1614] A reviewer of the Los Angeles performance remarked on the audience's composition as "two-thirds Japanese" and that those most interested in the performance were "second-generation Japanese."[1615] Takarazuka provided a connection between Japanese-American audiences and their cultural heritage, and the performances were directed toward "Americans," but especially "American-born Japanese and first-generation Japanese."[1616] Of six hundred female students, only forty were selected to perform on this special tour.[1617]

The two Hawaiian performances of the revue (6:30 and 8:30 p.m.) in Oahu attracted a combined audience of four thousand. A *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* reporter, reviewing a performance ahead of the GGIE engagement, described the performance as a "mélange of singing, dancing, and tableaus" that resulted in "an unusual and striking combination of occidental and oriental light opera, vaudeville and pantomime."[1618] The Honolulu Symphony accompanied the entire performance and reportedly did well, even though it only had one rehearsal. Billed as a "goodwill"

[1614] Isabel Morse Jones, "Grand Cherry Show Given By Ballet Troup[e] From Japan," *Los Angeles Times*, May 10, 1939, Wednesday Morning, Part II, 12. The Los Angeles performance occurred in the Philharmonic Auditorium (a traditional Western art music venue) to positive reviews.
[1615] Ibid.
[1616] Ibid.
[1617] *The Grand Cherry Show: Takarazuka Girls.*
[1618] "4,000 Attend Show Given By Takarazuka Opera Stars," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, April 15, 1939, 4.

tour, the Takarazuka revue continued on its journey to San Francisco.[1619]

The troupe's engagement at the GGIE lasted three days and coincided with "Japan Day," comprising thrice-daily performances (4, 7, and 9 p.m.) April 28–30, 1939.[1620] An illustrated, color program from their GGIE performances at the GGIE has survived, and information regarding programming and directives can be analyzed. Thus, unlike other GGIE programs' provenance, the revue's program came from the country of origin (Figure 8.17). The Hosotani-Simbikwan Co. printed the program (published in Osaka, Japan).

[1619] Ibid.
[1620] "Fair Program in Detail," *Oakland Tribune*, April 28, 1939, 18.

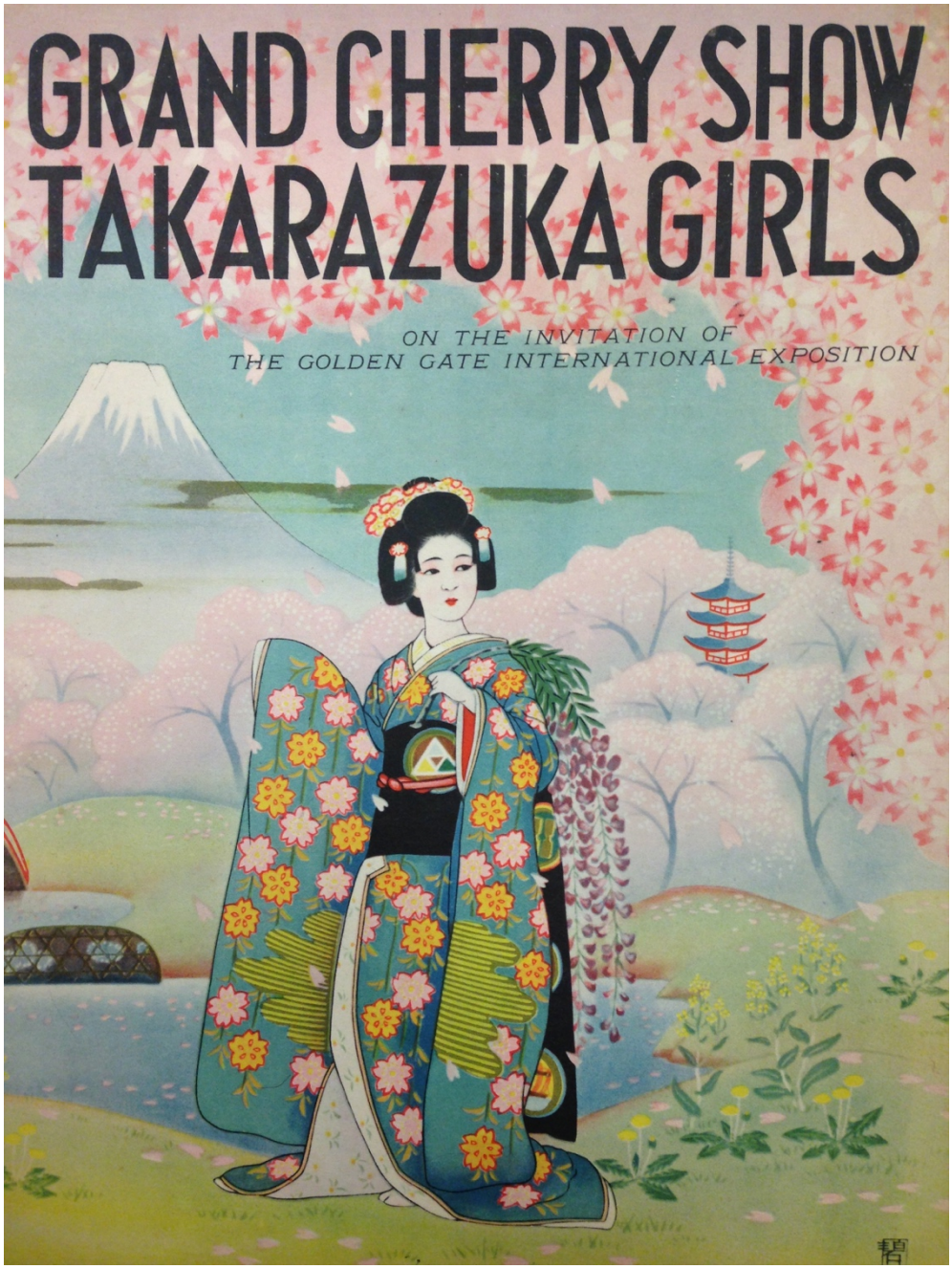

Figure 8.17. "Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls," program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of The Claremont Colleges Library Special Collections.)

On the front cover, the title of the revue, "The Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls," with the additional inscription, "On the Invitation of the Golden Gate International Exposition," designated sponsorship provenance. A female performer is

dressed in a traditional kimono while Japanese symbols—such as Mount Fuji, cherry blossoms, and a pagoda—are illustrated. Inside, an introductory message explains the Takarazuka, the revue, and students' importance to the movement of "new stage art in Japan." The forty female actors are depicted in a class-photo type of display (Figure 8.18), while the remaining photos are of performances with traditional instruments (Figure 8.18).

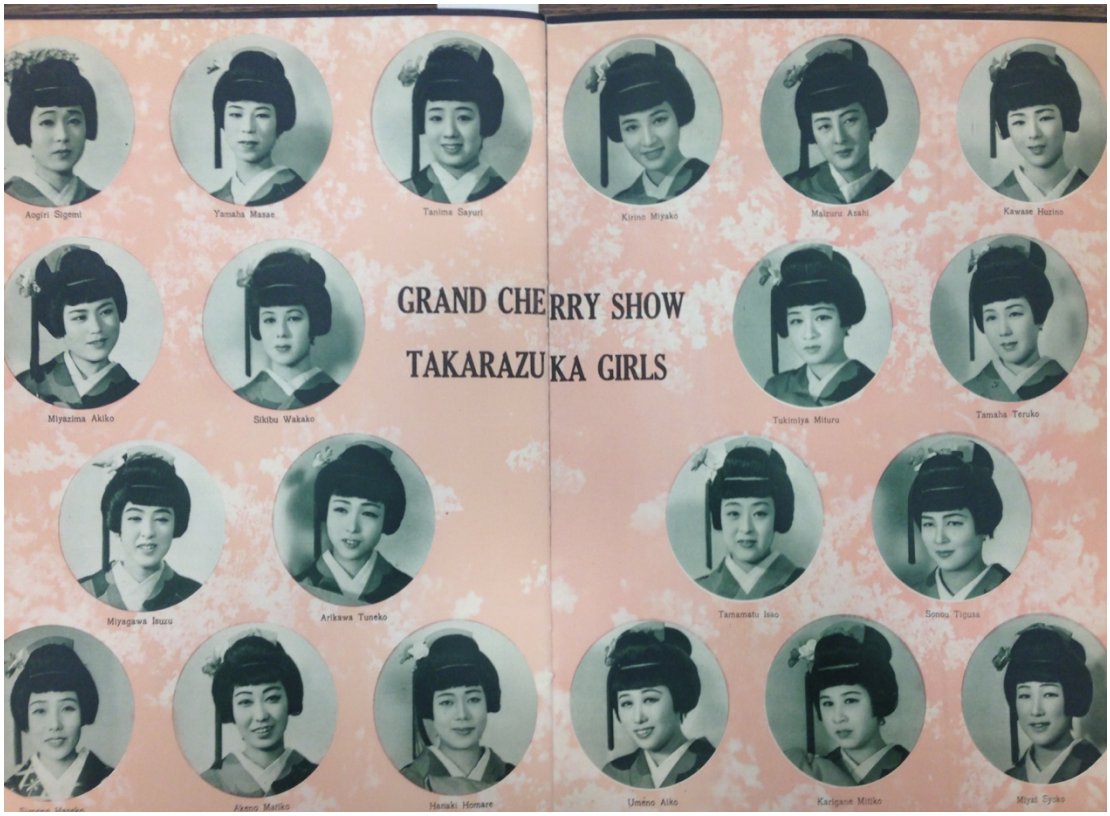

Figure 8.18. "Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls" program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of The Claremont Colleges Library Special Collections.)

Several remaining photos capture scenes from the program, ranging from traditional sets to more modern designed spaces. The program of the GGIE performances includes performers' names after set titles:

A. Dance Takarazuka: “Takarazuka-Ondo” (Cherry Dance)
   Prelude (Three Celebrants)
   At the Riverside
   Puppet Show
   When my Ship comes Home (Fisherman’s Festival)
   Kabuki “Soga”
   Nikko (At the Most Famous Temple of Japan)
   Ancient Martial Frolic (Comic Dance)
   Miss Tokyo (Osayo: Depicting The Sentiment of Old Edo)
   Harvest Dance
   Spring Twilight (Ballet)
   Miss Osaka (Osome: Dance with Rich Local Color)
   Chanson Nippon (Japanese Folk-Songs)
   Dance Snow Flakes
   “Samisen: (Wandering Musician With Popular Japanese Instrument)”
   Kyoto (Swordsman and “Geisya”: Meiji Restoration Era)
   Battledore & Shuttlerock (New Year’s Recreation)
   Finale (Cherry Festival)
B. Demon AND KNIGHT
C. THEY FOOLED THE BOSS
D. UKIYOE (“Hikone Byoku”)
E. MUSUME DŌZYŌZI (Five maidens at the Dōzyōzi Temple

The program includes photo stills of the act listed above. For example, Figure 8.19 is a still from the “Samisen: (Wandering Musician With Popular Japanese Instrument)” portion of section A.

Figure 8.19. "Grand Cherry Show Takarazuka Girls" program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of The Claremont Colleges Library Special Collections.)

The collection of tableaus and performances reads like a Western version of vaudeville: several short acts with dancing, singing, and depictions/tableaus comprise a set performance. As stated above, the cast was all-female, so male roles were "touser roles."

A historic item of note: In the official program's introductory message, the author mentioned the previous year's international tour in Europe: "Last autumn, the organization had the happy chance of sending a special group of these girls to Europe

on the invitation of Germany and Italy, and the enterprise was a great success."[1621] Further research is needed, but the Takarazuka revue may have been the last professional touring ensemble to visit Germany, Italy, and the United States in the years before World War II. Although the revue represented Japan during wartime, when they returned from their American engagement, the troupe decided to defy the Japanese government and not speak during an anti-British rally. The Takarazuka executives were "summoned by the Tokyo gendarmerie for questioning," and the government cancelled the group's upcoming Chinese tour.[1622]

Conclusion

Although the GGIE was created to provide a fantasy-like spectacle, global conflict permeated Treasure Island's boundaries. Juxtapositions abounded: modern vs. tradition, enemy vs. ally, and peace vs. war. The choice of foreign representation and sponsorship of music aligned with these contrary forces. Although the primary reasons cited for the foreign music programming were entertainment and education, the participant nations and American fair attendees could easily detect political messages in every display.

The GGIE would be the last event in which diplomats and foreign visitors, especially from countries that would ally themselves with the Axis powers, would be able to visit the United States freely until the end of World War II. Less than a year

[1621] *The Grand Cherry Show: Takarazuka Girls*.
[1622] Associated Press, "Troupe of Girls Defies Japanese," *San Bernardino County Sun*, July 31, 1939, 2.

after the GGIE's 1940 closure, Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, and America entered the war. Shortly afterward, Japanese-Americans were interned in camps, thereby dispelling any utopian promise of peace and equality that the GGIE promoted.

CHAPTER 9
MUSIC WRITTEN FOR THE FAIR & THE GGIE SHEET MUSIC COLLECTION

Uncovered from a variety of archives and collections, fifty-nine pieces of sheet music, a cantata, a symphony, and a march were written specifically for the GGIE.[1623] The type of music written and dedicated to the fair reflects a variety of genres: popular (sheet music), marches (wind band), and western-art (orchestral). Music written for the GGIE was utilized in three general categories: as promotional material to benefit the city of San Francisco, California, and the Western States as well as federal agencies (e.g. The United States Marine Corps); as sonic souvenirs; and as reminders of fair concessionaires (i.e. Billy Rose's *Aquacade*). Civic engagement was juxtaposed against the global event of the GGIE; the broad appeal of the event is made apparent by the variety of compositional styles and reputations of composers whose works were dedicated to the Fair.

Several works composed especially for performance at the GGIE had premieres conducted on the fairgrounds. For example, famed band leaders Edwin Franko Goldman and Richard Goldman composed a march specifically for the GGIE, and the majority of information regarding *The Golden Gate* comes from an analysis of the Goldman Band Program Book (GBPB). This chapter will include an analysis of the GBPB within the context of the GGIE, and its contents will shed new insight into concert band programming at American fairs.

[1623] The Donald G. Larson World's Fair Collection at Fresno State University has an extensive collection of ephemera and sheet music as well as the Library of Congress and the California Historical Society. The principal collections consulted are: Fresno State Special Collections, Oakland Performing Arts and Design, San Francisco Public Library, Museum of Performance and Design (San Francisco).

The GGIE prompted the composition of numerous popular songs published as sheet music, and these songs were apparently intended for beginning to intermediate-level performers. The themes of the song lyrics reflect the aspirations of a society for peace, economic wealth, and a general sense of escapism. The range of composers (gender and nationalities as well as composition level) reflects the myriad of participants who were involved in the GGIE. A focused analysis (lyrical, textual, and harmonic) of selected examples from each category: popular, wind band, and western-art music will be conducted in order to examine how the music written for and about the GGIE reflects the social, political, and cultural consciousness of the Depression-era fair-attending public.

The GGIE Sheet Music Collection (GGIESMC)

During the final years of the Depression, millions of people turned to popular entertainment to escape the harsh reality of the present. World fairs are by-products of a society's popular culture, and in effect, the music produced at these events were expressions of mass culture.[1624] The growing movement of cohesive cultural norms in America gave rise to the term "popular culture"[1625] or what sociologist Halbwachs theorized as "everything that a society recognizes as culturally normative."[1626] The

[1624] See Chapters 3, 4, 5, and 6. "Mass culture" is generally defined as commercially produced culture for mass consumption. The technology readily available to a wide audience made mass culture possible.
[1625] This dissertation does not classify music analyzed with the labels of "high" and "low" cultures because of the hierarchical connotation those labels imply. Instead, "popular" and "western classical" will be used.
[1626] Halbwachs (1877-1945) was a leading French sociologist who studied, among other subjects, the

most obvious example of popular music consumption is sheet music. Meant for wide distribution and with an appeal to general audiences, sheet music is a tangible representation of an era's popular culture.

"Popular" Music

The primary draw of a world's fair is entertainment for the masses; therefore musical byproducts of a fair would be considered "popular." Musicologist Warren Allen describes several factors that result in the creation of popular music, with one that lends itself to world's fair compositions: When groups within the community are busy making all kinds of music, [there is a demand for] new music for special functions and various special purposes."[1627] New works were needed for the GGIE, and the music was utilized for "special functions" and "various purposes." It is therefore important to acknowledge and showcase the variety of popular music written for the GGIE.

Theorists have built arguments regarding the importance (or lack thereof) of "popular" music. Perhaps the most famous twentieth-century detractor of popular music consumption, Theodor Adorno (1903–1969), argued against the distribution of so-called "popular" music. Adorno deemed popular music distributed "by the music

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working man and living standards. He lived in occupied France and "was arrested by the Gestapo in Paris in July 1944 and died in February 1945 in the camp at Buchenwald." Georges Friedmann and John H. Mueller, "Maurice Halbwachs, 1877–1945," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 51, no. 6 (1946): 509.

[1627] Works Projects Administration, *History Of Music In San Francisco: An Anthology Of Music Criticism*, vol. 7, Northern California Writers' Program (City and Country of San Francisco: San Francisco, CA, 1942), 398, accessed July 7, 2018, https://archive.org/stream/anthologyofmusic00unit#page/398/mode/2up/search/Golden+Gate+.

industries as 'mass culture' [that] required the listener to make very little effort."[1628] Popular music, in Adorno's opinion, did not stimulate the common listener, thus creating disengaged listening. This passivity of audiences was at the crux of Adorno's argument. Keith Negus explains that Adorno "maintained that music, like other art forms, should have the potential to provoke listeners to think critically about the world."[1629] Popular music, argued Adorno, was indeed responsible for contributing to social passivity, as audiences regressed to a 'child-like' state and were thus easily manipulated by the adult authority of capitalist corporations and fascist states."[1630] While acknowledging Adorno's theories, historian and fierce proponent for popular culture, Ray Browne (1922–2009) argues that the study of the "popular" or "common" should not be dismissed.

Browne posits that "popular" is comprised of "all those elements of life which are not narrowly intellectual or creatively elitist and which are generally though not necessarily disseminated through the mass media."[1631] Browne's theory resonates with the music written for the GGIE because the works written (from all three categories) never became a part of the musical lexicon and were not "disseminated through mass media." Kathleen Smith explains in her book, *God Bless America: Tin Pan Alley Goes To War*, that "popular music could be defined by the number of recordings or sheet music copies a song sold or the number of times a tune was

[1628] Keith Negus, *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction* (Hanover, New Hampshire: Wesleyan University Press, 1996), 9.
[1629] Ibid., 10.
[1630] Ibid.
[1631] Kathleen Smith, *Tin Pan Alley goes to War* (Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 2.

played on the largest broadcasting networks in a specified period of time (usually a week)."[1632] What would constitute a "hit" song, according to Smith, was the sale of "200 thousand copies of sheet music and 100 thousand records."[1633] Most of the compositions written for the GGIE were meant for local audiences and faded into a collective memory of Bay Area music-making.

Sales numbers and song broadcast figures of specific GGIE compositions could not be discovered by the aurhor at this time, so it is difficult to argue one of the songs would reach "hit" status according to Smith's definition. Of the sheet music collection compiled, only two songs would be considered "popular" (utilizing Browne's definition), "Bells of Treasure Isle" by Frank Churchill (1901–1942) and "Yours For A Song" by Dana Suesse (1909–1987). The two pieces of sheet music were written by professional and well-known composers and were expressions of fair attractions and film shorts (both pieces are analyzed later in this chapter).

The term "popular," for the purposes of this study, is used in reference to the style of music-making indicative of the Tin Pan Alley tradition.[1634] These songs exhibit a thirty-two bar measured song, AABA (or ABAC) structure, and usage of verse-refrain. Audiences attended performances at the GGIE and purchased sheet music with preconceived notions of what constituted "popular" music entertainment.

[1632] Ibid.
[1633] Ibid.
[1634] The Tin Pan Alley composition tradition of the late 19th and early 20th centuries has its roots in New York City. Music publishers and songwriters created popular music that codified into identifiable compositional techniques, such as: verse-refrain structure, 32 bar phrasing. In the 1920s and 30s, the tradition expanded upon the AABA and verse-chorus structure, seen in the GGIESMC. Larry Starr and Christopher Waterman, *American Popular Music*, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 107.

"Popular songs," according to Nicholas Tawa, include elements that make the music memorable. He explains:

> The term "popular song" has usually indicated a vocal composition that is easy to sing and remember. The piece of music is intended for as wide a distribution as possible…. To achieve success, songwriters cannot go it alone and express themselves only. They must observe and take note of their public, digest what they see and hear, mirror this knowledge in their writing, and offer up a composition devised for the public's enjoyment and the songwriter's profit.[1635]

The popular songs explored in this chapter reflect elements Tawa describes —the songwriters of the GGIE sheet music collection articulated the celebratory occasion of the fair. (I have not discovered any evidence of a protest or song vocalizing dissatisfaction of any elements of San Francisco hosting the GGIE or the fair's theme cannot be found). The form and style of most of the collection is static, harkening to examples of American world's fair music of the early twentieth century.

With the advancements in recording technology and the popularity of radio, the demand for sheet music (previously the primary source of popular music dissemination) was on the decline. Due to the diminishing sheet music sales, music-making in the home during the years leading up to and during the fair (latter half of the 1930s and early 1940s) was becoming increasingly obsolete. In spite of the aforementioned downward market trend, the demand for sheet music, with the GGIE as the subject, was substantial. The Bay Area (and outlying regions) created a large enough market that supported the creation of fifty-nine specialty songs (hereafter referred to as The GGIE Sheet Music Collection, or GGIESMC). An author-compiled

[1635] Nicholas Tawa, *Supremely America: Popular Song in the 20th Century: Styles and Singers and What They Said About America* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2005), 1.

collection from various sources and archives can be found in Table 9.1. The bolded song titles will be analyzed in-depth later in this study:

Table 9.1: The GGIE Sheet Music Collection (GGIESMC) List (compiled by author)

Title	Date	Composer/Lyricist	Publisher
'39 the time San Francisco the place	1938	Jack M. Lipton	National Music Pub., Oakland, CA
A Date At the Golden Gate**	1938	Bess Dolan	Self-published, Oakland, CA
At the San Francisco Fair	1939	F. Gilbert Pollay	20th Century Music Publishers, Broadway, NY
Back to Treasure Island: March	1940	Karl Stiska; G.E. Bronx	National Institute of Music and Arts, Inc., Los Angeles, CA
California We'll Be There	1938	W. H. Bowersock	Self-published, Milwaukee, WI
California Welcomes You	1938	Joseph [Dardis]	*
California, I Want to Rest in Your Arm	1938	Henry A. Stein, arr. by Walter W. Newcomer	The Author Music Co., SS
California's Calling You	1939	Joseph Meyer/ Richard Sloss	Crawford Music Corporation, NY
Chorus of "Where Earth and Heaven Meet" (San Francisco Waltz Song)**	1936	Inez McClane Williamson; orches. by F.R. Fuller [scratched out]	*
Come on America to Treasure Isle.	1938	Harry A. Powell/ J.B. Chapman	Strathmore Press, San Francisco, CA
Come Swing With Me on the Golden Gate	1939	Cy. W. Owens	Self-published, San Bruno, CA

Exposition March**	1939	Elsa Cellarius Woodlams	*
(Follow the Crowd to) Treasure Island	1938	George Rex/Ralph Allan	Rex Music Publishers, San Francisco CA & Vancouver, Canada
Golden Bridges-San Francisco	1937	C.A. Sandahl	*
Golden Gate International Exposition San Francisco, California Welcome Song and March	1939	Frank Vetry	Self-published, San Francisco, CA
Golden Gate March	1939	Edwin Franko Goldman/Richard Frank Goldman: arr. for piano solo by Erik W.G. Leidzen	Belwin Inc., Boosey-Hawkes, NY
Great Fair of the Golden Gate	1937	Irvin L. Dresser/ Raffaele Mirto Grimwaldi	*
Hurrah! San Francisco Fairtime is Here**	1937	Hazel M. Robinson	*
I'll Be There at the Fair in "Thirty-Nine"	1936	Wallace Wakefield; arr. Alice Bredesen	Frank X. Harrigan, San Francisco, CA
I'm Off to California in the Morning	1938	Roll Grane	California Contented Club, Oakland, CA
I've Got A Moonlight Date (at The Golden Gate)	1938/9	Frank E. Churchill/ Paul Francis Webster, piano score by Mario Agnolucci	Paramount, NY
Let's Go San Francisco	1938	Philip Francis Phelps	Bay Publishing Company, San Francisco, CA
Let's Go to San Francisco**	1936	Frances Hoenig	*
Listen World**	1936	Enid Hamilton Hill	*
Me and My Sugar at the Fair**	1939	Jacquelyn Kay Wilson	Self-published, Kansas City, MS
Mother Goose On Parade**	1939	Virginia Ballaseyus	San Fox Publishing Co., Cleveland, OH

My California Queen	1939	J Gordon Temple/ Charles E Bray	Occidental Music Co., San Francisco
Our World's Fair song	1938	V. Toutjean Jr./ D.A. Childers	Self-published, Oakland, CA
Out in San Francisco At the Fair	1938	Cleve Hodges	*
San Francisco (Where I'll Meet You 'At the Fair')	1939	Bud Bessette	Sun Music Publishing Company, Los Angeles, CA
San Francisco Calling You to the Fair of the Golden West**	1939	Florence Howard Davis	Leftwich Publishing Company, Los Angeles, CA
San Francisco Exposition	1938	Jack Brooks	*
San Francisco Fair City of the Fair**	1939	Jimmie Brown/ May Delaney Streater arr. by Larry Grant	Sequoia Music Publishers, Los Angeles, CA
San Francisco Fair: Souvenir in a Song	1939	George Langer	Cranford G. Courington, Los Angeles, CA
San Francisco in 1939	1937	Walter A. Mc Kinnon	Emanon Music Publishing Co., Long Beach, CA
San Francisco March	1938	Gunner Talbot	Carl Fischer, NY
Shadows On The Trail	1939	Gene Autry, Bert Van Cleve, Herb Rosine	Western Music Publishing Co., Hollywood, CA
Song of the Coastlands	1938	Harry A. Powell/ J.B. Chapman	Strathmore Press, San Francisco, CA
Songs of San Francisco: Gotta Getta Goin' To the Golden Gate	1939	Sterling Sherwin, ed.	Remick Music Corporation, NY
Songs of San Francisco: My Theme Girl of Love	1939	Sterling Sherwin	Remick Music Corporation, NY
The Bells of Treasure Isle	1939	Frank Churchill/ Paul Francis Webster	Paramount, NY
The Pacific Pageant	1937	Geo. E. Brenner	*
The San Francisco Bay Bridge March	1936	Charles Napoli	*

There's a Silver Moon on the Golden Gate	1936	Charles Tobias, Bob Rithberg, Joseph Meyer	Irving Berlin, Inc. Music Publishers, NY
To the Fair San Francisco Heigh De Hey**	1939	Annette Miller	Self-published
Treasure Island**	1939	Ida Sutton	National Music Publishers& Distributer, Oakland, CA
Treasure Island**	1938	Grace Love Vaughn	National Music Publishers & Distributer, Oakland, CA
Treasure Island**	1938	Kathleen Hall/ harmonized by Constance McFarland	Self-published, San Francisco, CA
Treasure Island March	1938	Karl Sitska/ E.F. Copenhafer	National Institute of Music and Arts, Inc., Los Angeles, CA
Treasure Island March	1939	Ray Meany & Bernie Kaai	Golden Gate Publications, Oakland, CA
Treasure Island Memories	1940/1	E.L. Orr	Self-published, Richmond, CA
Treasure Island Moonlight-Fantasy (American Rhapsody No. 5)	1939	Charles Bardin	Wesley Webster San Bruno, CA
Treasure Island Pride of the Golden West	1939	W. Vernon Huey	Self-published, South San Francisco, CA
Treasure Island Souvenir	1939 (June 9) & (September 26)	"Morrie" Morrison and Fred Whitfield	The Independent Music Co. (June 1939), Seattle, WA/The Clipper
Treasure Isle Exposition Song**	1938	E. L. Lassegues/ Christiane Larsen	L. Cole, San Francisco, CA: selling agents Sherman, Clay & Co. San Francisco.
Welcome to Treasure Isle**	1939	Pauline Schaackey	Self-published, Oakland, CA
When the Sun Goes Down on Treasure Island	1939	Mel Westenberg	Self-published, San Francsico, CA

Yours for A Song **	1940	Dana Suesse/ Billy Rose and Ted Fetter	Robbins Music Corporation, NY

*=registered with the Copyright Office but not published.
**=female composer or lyricist
Bold=selected for analysis

Music-Making, Composing, and Publishing in the late-1930s Bay Area

Even though radio was replacing music-making in the home nationwide, the Bay Area had a thriving musically-literate community where there was a market for music that could be purchased and performed in the home. Information regarding the sale and performance of GGIE sheet music is hard to find, but there were a variety of businesses catering to sheet music sales and publication. Evidence of sheet music sold specifically at the GGIE fairgrounds is not mentioned in published sources. But information gleaned from the physical copies of the sheets proves music was made available at an affordable price (indicated on the sheet, usually twenty-five to fifty cents),[1636] and some pieces were even given out as souvenirs on the fairgrounds. The instrumentation reflects instruments readily available to amateur musicians, ranging from solo piano works to solo songs, and the majority offer ukulele and/or guitar and even banjo tablature as an alternative.[1637]

Composers of the sheet music in the collection ranged from amateur to professional, and while some of the works are self-published or commercially published, others were submitted to the U.S. Copyright Office by the composers themselves as unpublished works (indicated in Table 9.1 with a single asterix). There

[1636] Equivalent to $4.50–$9.00 in 2018 currency.
[1637] Publisher's note on "I've Got a Date at the Moonlight Gate."

was interest outside of the Bay Area to compose songs about the GGIE, and the inspired composers hailed from Los Angeles, Wisconsin, Washington, and New York.

Female representation and participation at the GGIE are reflected in GGIESMC collection—out of the fifty-nine pieces of sheet music, eighteen of the composers are female. The compositions written by female composers (or lyricists) range from self-published to distributed by official companies. Out of the collection, Dana Suesse is the most well-known female composer, and her work will be analyzed later in this chapter. Several composers are easily identifiable in the GGIESMC, but other composers, especially those who wrote songs for publication of sheet music (locally), are harder to identify. According to available 1940 census data, GGIESMC composers' ages ranged from 38–63, with the average age of mid-late fifties,[1638] thus perhaps underlining the affinity for Tin Pan Alley-type songs. Information from nontraditional sources is important when tracking lesser-known composers. Resources such as genealogy databases, immigration information, census data, and newspaper reports were all utilized in searching for composers' provenance.

Oftentimes information regarding a composer or publisher is included on the physical copy of the sheet music. An example of this inscription can be found on the cover of the song, "Treasure Island Moonlight-Fantasy (American Rhapsody No. 5)" from the collection of the California Historical Society. On the front cover, the recipient of this piece of music wrote: 1) "compliments of the composer," on the top

[1638] United States of America, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940): T627, 4,643 rolls.

of the page; 2) next to the composer's name is handwritten in pencil "a Sacramento boy; died 1957"; 3) next to the publisher, Wesley Webster, is written "likes to help young composers" (Figure 9.1). The source of the penciled notes is unknown at this time and further biographical information regarding Webster cannot be recalled, but the penciled information is helpful in identifying little-known local music-makers. In addition to "Treasure Island Moonlight-Fantasy (American Rhapsody No. 5)," Webster also published Julia Klumpkey's *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* (see later in this chapter).

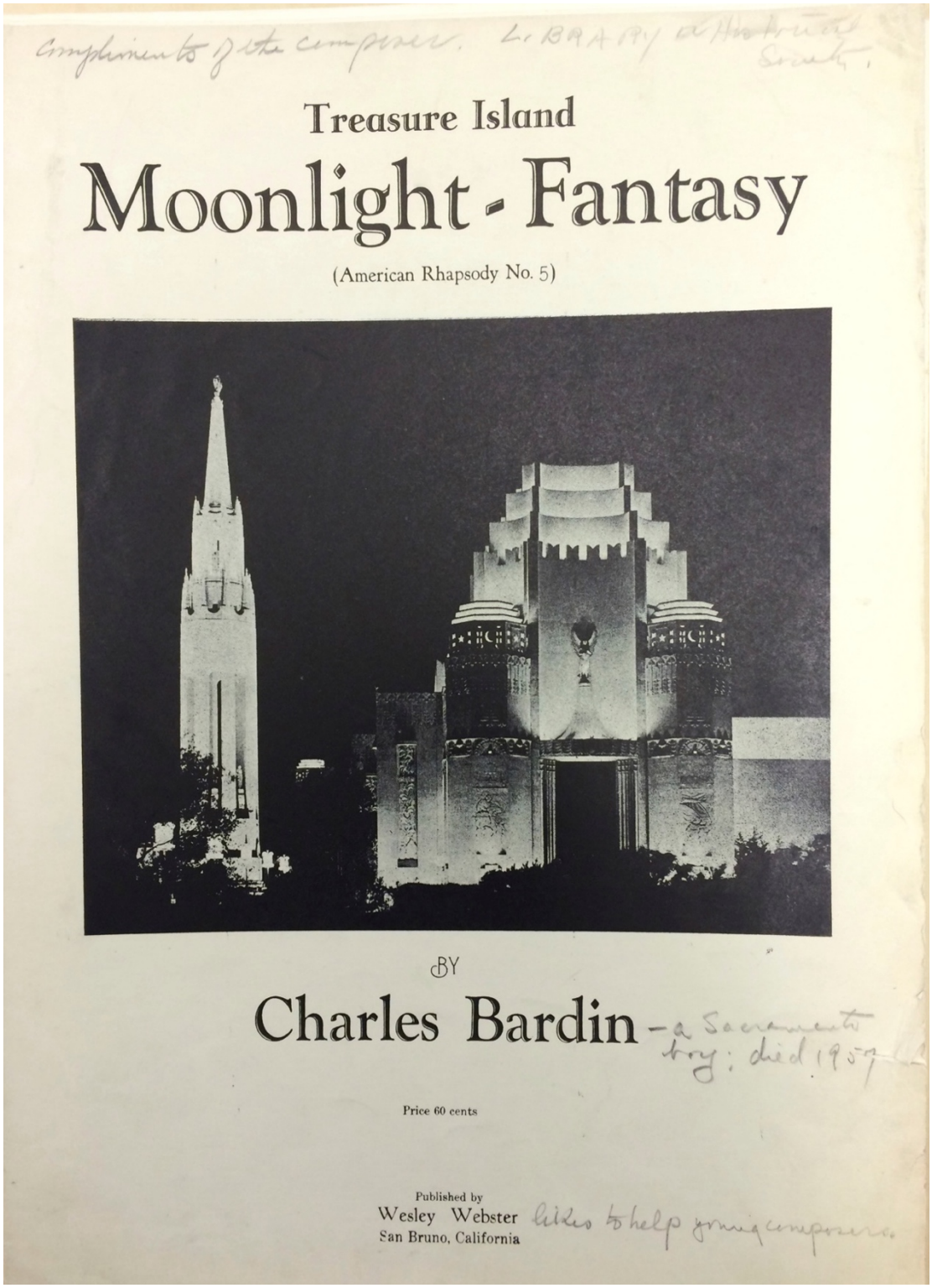

Figure 9.1. "Treasure Island Moonlight-Fantasy (American Rhapsody No. 5). (Courtesy of the California Historical Society.)

The GGIESMC reflects genres popular at this time, primarily ballads and marches. The latter style was not a dance, but rather a nostalgic genre that recalled the end of the nineteenth century popular song styles. An *Oakland Tribune* report from 1939 remarked on the popularity of older styles of songs: "Songs written more than 20 years ago, before the widespread use of radio, are being performed more often than songs which radio made popular a few years ago."[1639] The article's author includes a list of contemporary (1939) popular songs that had previous publishing dates from the early to mid-twentieth century: "Shine On, Harvest Moon," (1909); "Let Me Call You Sweetheart" and "Mother Machree" (both 1910); "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" (1912); "Chinatown, My Chinatown" and "St. Louis Blues" (both 1914); "Tiger Rag" (1917) and "After You've Gone" of (1918).[1640] "Chinatown, My Chinatown"[1641] and "St. Louis Blues" were utilized in GGIE performances and/or promotion: the former was included in the pre-fair souvenir song booklet: *Songs of San Francisco* (studied later in this chapter) and the latter was sung by the composer, W.C. Handy, at the ASCAP Music Festival in 1940 (see Chapter 10).

Swing, a dance style, was the rage in the late 1930s and therefore it is surprising that even though the GGIE hosted famous swing bands and dance contests,

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[1639] "Songs of 20 Years Ago Still Prove Popular," *Oakland Tribune*, August 20, 1939, B-7.
[1640] Ibid.
[1641] Krystyn Moon dedicates a section to "Chinatown, My Chinatown" and its cultural implications and issues in her book, *Yellowface: Creating the Chinese in American Popular Music and Performance, 1850s-1920s* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2005). Charles Garrett explores musical orientalism in America in his article, ""Chinatown, Whose Chinatown? Defining America's Borders with Musical Orientalism" (*Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2004): 119–174.

only one song, “Come Swing With Me on the Golden Gate” (1939)[1642] by Cy W. Owens has the word “swing” in the title as well as the directive to play at a “swing tempo.” Missing from the piece are any tropes that can be ascribed to the Swing genre such as augmented or diminished chords, a flattened third (“blue note”) or “swung” eighth notes (both musical elements would be considered progressive for popular songs during this era).

I cannot produce a definitive analysis of household composition and the correlation between music proclivities from the era and ages at this time. But it is not unreasonable to assume that the market for home-music making seems to be towards the older household members. Those who grew up in the late 1800s and 1910s would recall Tin Pan Alley-styled songs with fondness and could afford instruments and might have skills in piano-performance. Generally younger members of the household composed the large demand for “hot jazz” and “swing” bands mentioned in Chapters 5 and 6.

The following five pieces from the GGIESMC will be selected for analysis to serve as a sample of the wide variety of musical compositions: “California’s Calling You,” “Let’s Go San Francisco,” “Yours For A Song,” and “I’ve Got A Moonlight Date On The Golden Gate,” “Bells of Treasure Island.” The first and second pieces, “California’s Calling You” and “Let’s Go San Francisco are examples of sheet music as promotion materials (the former song written by a well-known Californian-born composer). “Yours For A Song,” composed by a female composer, was the headline

[1642] Cy W. Owens, “Come Swing With Me On The Golden Gate” (San Francisco, CA: Cy W. Owens, 1939), sheet music.

song for the fair's most popular 1940 attraction, *Billy Rose's Aquacade* and utilized the most contemporary compositional style compared to the other songs from the GGIESMC. The final two examples share the same composer and lyricists and are representative of sheet music written by professional composers sponsored by film studios. Most importantly, "Bells of Treasure Island" is the only piece of sheet music that we can establish being performed at the opening and closing days of the GGIE.

Examples of Sheet Music as Promotion Materials

Examination of the sheet music provides insights into the cultural consciousness of the era as well as the wide range of interest in the GGIE. Music was an integral aspect of the fair because it not only entertained and attracted visitors but was also used as an educational and promotional tool. The majority of the GGIESMC's song lyrics and cover art reinforce travel, tourism, and promotion of the city of San Francisco in addition to containing references to escapism in the midst of the depression. Several songs anticipated the forthcoming world's fair. An example of a song published well before the fair's opening date and commemorating the completion of the bridges is "I'll Be there at the Fair in Thirty-Nine." Written on the cover is a dedicatory note: "San Francisco Bay Exposition Song Commemorating the Completion of the Golden Gate and San Francisco Bay Bridges The Mightiest Spans in the World." Registered for a copyright on April 6, 1936, this song is among the first in the GGIESMC to be published.

"California's Calling You"

The second piece to be registered that same year was "California's Calling You." The Californian-born composer,[1643] Joseph Myer (1894–1987), also wrote the unofficial Californian anthem, "California Here I Come" in 1924.[1644] "California's Calling You" is expressly dedicated the GGIE and has the instrumentation of piano, voice, and an alternative guitar accompaniment and performed in the key of E♭ major. The lyrics by Richard Sloss depart from the physical and symbolic tropes of the collection, perhaps due to the early publication date. Without the specific architectural or official symbols of the fair shared to the public by GGIE Management in 1936 (or 1935), the lyrics focus on California's beauty and the utopian promise of a good time.

The lyrics of "California's Calling You" underline San Francisco's fair climate, a hackneyed marketing tactic first used at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894.[1645] The text reads as follows:

> When it's thirty two below
> When the streets are white with snow
> Then a voice from far away steals into your heart to say.
>
> CHORUS
> California is calling you
> Land of magic where dreams come true
> Ev'ry day the sun goes west
> To the shores it loves the best.
> California has joy to spare
> Now's the moment to claim your share

[1643] Meyer was born in Modesto and performed in San Francisco cafes as a violinist pre-World War I. After he was discharged from the army, he moved to New York and began his musical career. "Joseph Meyer," Songwriters Hall of Fame, accessed March 28, 2019, https://www.songhall.org/profile/Joseph_Meyer.
[1644] "California Here I Come" was written for a movie and performed by Al Jolson. It is considered the unofficial state song, the official song, "I Love You, California" was chosen in 1951.
[1645] See Chapters 3 and 4 for information regarding San Francisco fairs' marketing strategy.

Just get going westward hoing,
California's calling you.

The rhyming scheme is for the chorus part AA BB CC DD departing from the pattern only in the final two lines. The text harkens to California's stereotypical fair weather, and state pride in being the "best." There is almost a mythical quality to arrival in the state that parallels the promises made to those who came during the Gold Rush. "Now's the moment to claim your share/Just get going westward hoing," evokes the '49 promise of riches, but instead of gold, '39 promises a "good time." The song utilizes western vernacular and tropes such as "hoing" to underline the connection between the mythic western past.[1646]

The compositional elements of this piece have characteristics similar to a Tin Pan Alley song: (verse in minor (G minor) and chorus in major (E♭ major); verse-refrain structure; tempos and directions in English (the performer is directed to perform "Brightly (with spirit)." There are two identifiable departures. First, the structure, although it is based upon the AABA format, is instead abABA^{1}B (Table 9.2):

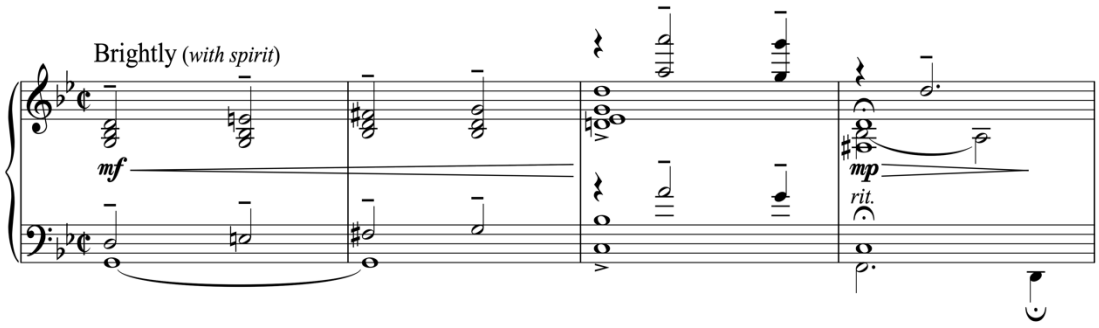
[1646] See Chapter 3 for information regarding the mythologized western myth and its ties to the GGIE.

Table 9.2: Joseph Myer, "California's Calling You," Structure

a	mm. 5–12
b	mm. 13–20
	CHORUS
A	mm. 21–28
B	mm. 29–36
A^1	mm. 37–44
B^2	mm. 45–47 slight variation at end of phrase, is there a designation of B^2 or can it be called a tag
Tag	mm. 48–51
	REPEAT CHORUS

Second, the introductory musical material (mm.1–8) is not related to the refrain and is in the minor key (Example 9.1).

Example 9.1 "California's Calling You," introductory material, mm.1–4. Transcription by author.



Meyer also helped compose another song in the GGIESMC, "There's A Silver Moon On The Golden Gate" (published in 1936 by Irving Berlin, Inc.). Authored by Meyer, Charles Tobias, and Bob Rothberg, the piece is in the style of a waltz and unlike "California's Calling You," the introductory material mimics the refrain. The

first eight measures of text read as follows: "Joy will take the place of sorrow/smiles will take the place of tears." Because both pieces were published before final GGIE preparations, the lyrical themes deal with the beauty of California and the promise of happiness and prosperity. For an audience amidst a depression, Meyer's songs conveyed hope and promise of a good time on the west coast.

"Let's Go San Francisco"

"Let's Go San Francisco" was written in 1938, before the fair's official opening. The song serves as an example of a typical Tin Pan Alley-style song in the GGIESMC. The composer is Philip Francis Phelps (1896–1945), a Los Angeles-based composer.[1647] Although the U.S. copyright indicates the city of publication was Los Angeles, the publisher of the work is noted as the Bay Publishing Company that was located in the Ambassador Hotel Building in San Francisco. The sheet music has a cover illustration that shows people from Asia, South America, and the Southern Pacific hurrying (in some cases, running) to the GGIE fairgrounds using different methods of transportation of the day: foot, zeppelin, steam boat, plane, and train and in abstract methods of dress (Figure 9.2).

[1647] According to the 1940 U.S. Census, Philip F Phelps was born in Missouri and the highest grade completed was the second year of high school. At the time of the report, he was 45 years old, married, resident of Los Angeles, CA (Glendale), and identified as "white." United States of America, Bureau of the Census, Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940, Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627, 4,643 rolls. Phelps' conclusive birth and death dates were registered in the *California Death Index*, 1940–1997. State of California, *California Death Index*, 1940–1997, Sacramento, CA, State of California Department of Health Services, Center for Health Statistics.

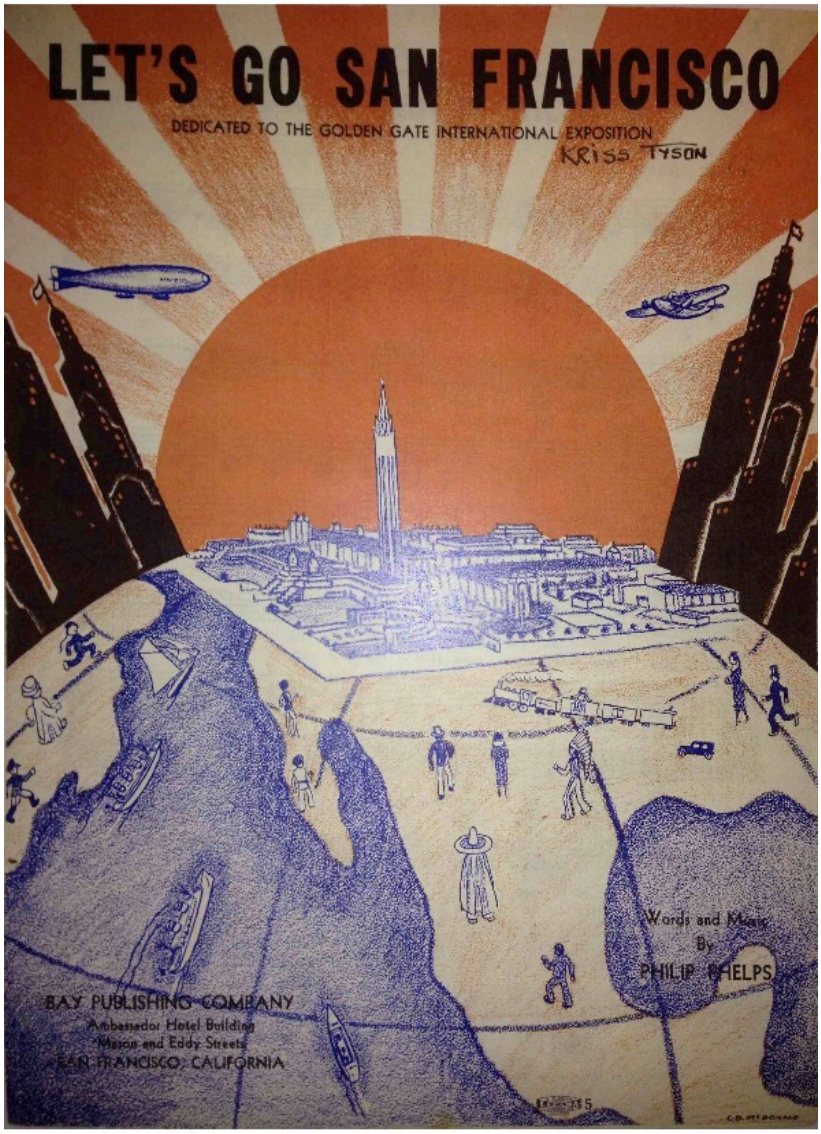
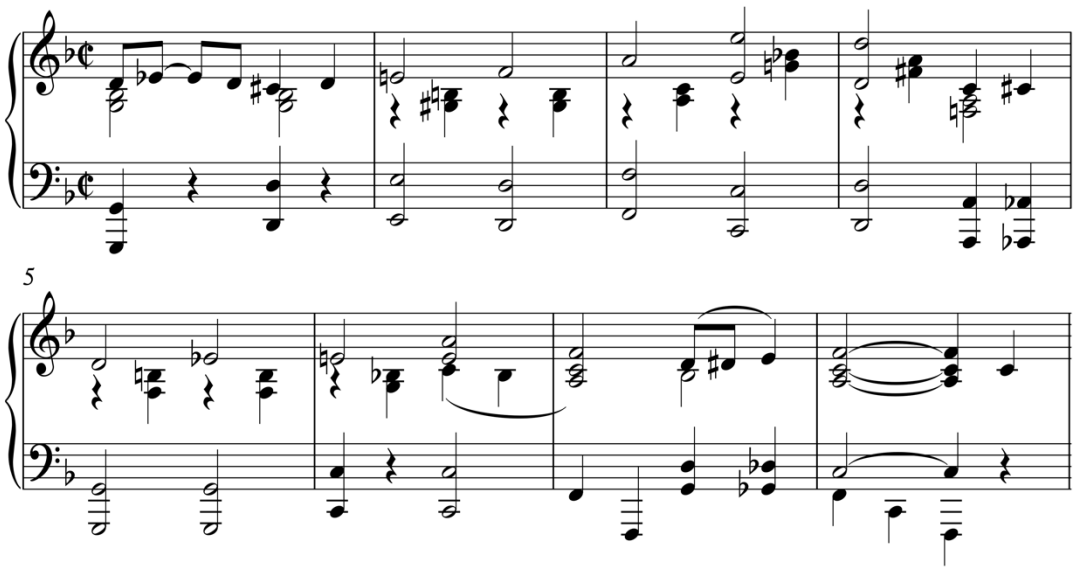
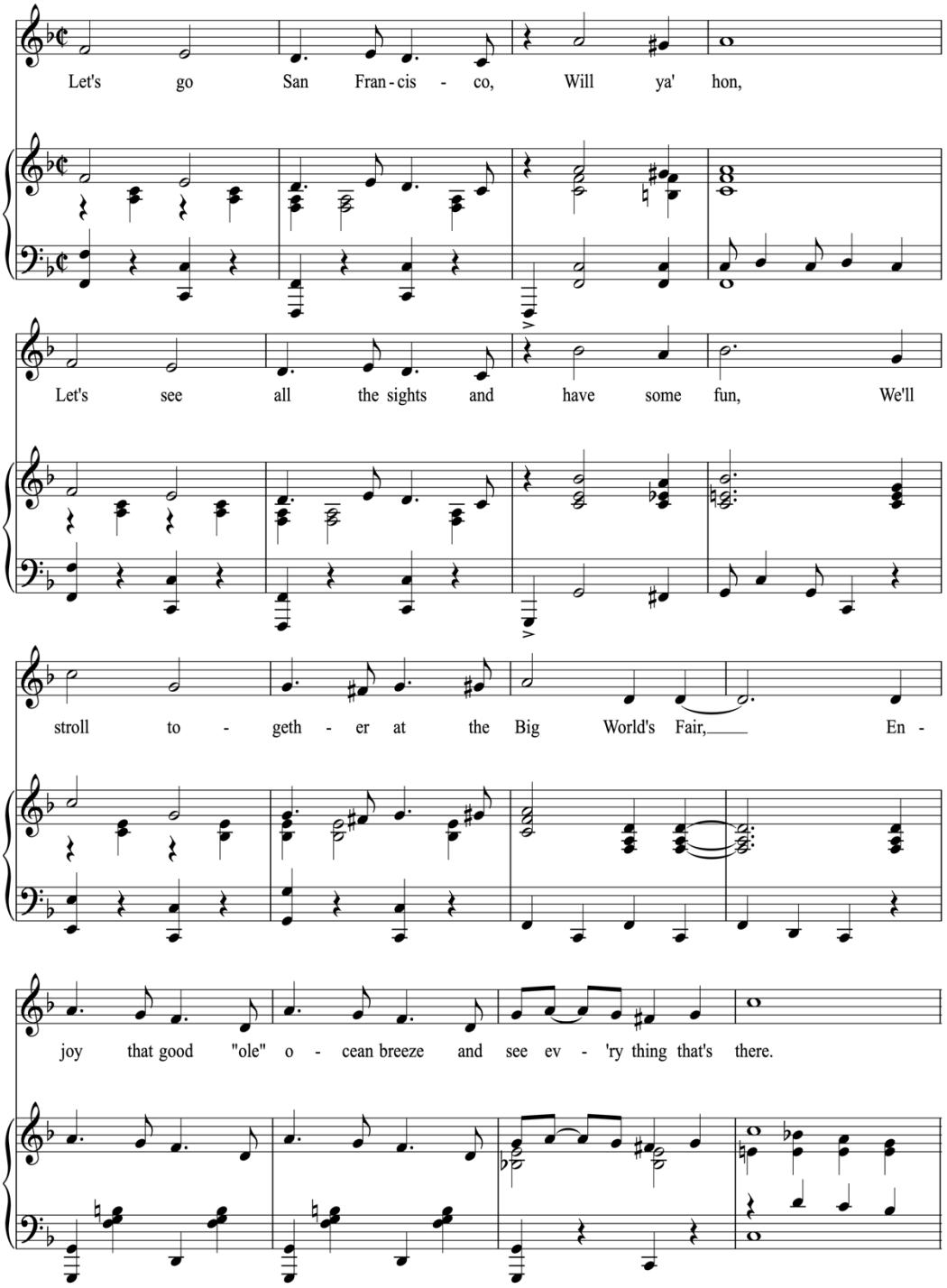


Figure 9.2. "Let's Go San Francisco," cover. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

At the center of the cover is the Tower of the Sun, one can see how it rises from the exaggerated size of the GGIE fairgrounds, thus reflecting the importance of the GGIE—it takes up the larger part of the Western United States.

Dedicated to the GGIE, the work begins with an eight-bar introduction (Example 9.2) with an atypical harmonic progression for this type of verse-chorus format. The piece begins with an off-tonic opener followed by unstable harmonic progression. Aside from the introductory material, the structure of the piece is in an older style, a strict 32-bars with less frequent harmonic changes than contemporary songs.

Example 9.2 Introductory material, mm. 1–8. Transcription by Leslie La Barre.

The melody line is sung over a march-style bass (Example 9.3), segmented by 16-bar phrases:

Example 9.3 “Let’s Go San Francisco,” mm. 25–38. Transcription by Leslie La Barre.

Written in the easily approachable key of F major and with a vocal range of a little over an octave, this vocal and piano piece included tablature for ukulele. Incidentally, the ukulele was very popular on the mainland and used in Tin Pan Alley and vaudeville songs. The Hawaiian craze in the 1930s was evident during the tenure of the GGIE with invited performance groups from the islands and the inclusion of the uke in sheet music.[1648] (Another piece from the GGIESMC, "Treasure Island March" by Ray Meany and Bernie Kaai, is arranged specifically for Hawaiian steel guitar.)

The lyrics of "Let's Go San Francisco" highlight desires and hopes of the general fair audience.

> My ship came in and brought me a million dollars,
> And I'm gonna spend it all on you,
> Come sweetheart cuddle up a little closer,
> While I tell you what I'd love to do.
>
> CHORUS
> Let's go San Francisco,
> Will ya' hon/Let's see all the sights and have some fun,
> We'll stroll together at the big World's Fair.
> Enjoy that good "ole" ocean breeze and see ev'ry thing that's there.
> We'll see all the show folks do their stuff/We got to go there, come on we must
> Think of the things that you and I could do,
> At the San Francisco Fair.
>
> In San Francisco bay there's a Treasure Island
> As the story goes there's jewels and gold,
> Come on sweetheart let's play you and I are pirates,
> And we'll sail to Treasure Island bold.
>
> CHORUS
> Let's go Treasure Island,
> Will ya' hon/Let's see all the sights and have some fun,
> We'll stroll together at the big World's Fair.
> Enjoy that good "ole" ocean breeze and see ev'ry thing that's there.
> We'll see all the show folks do their stuff/We got to go there, come on we must
> Think of the things that you and I could do,
> At the San Francisco Fair.

[1648] See Chapter 7 for further information regarding Hawaiian participation at the GGIE and Chapter 3 for the nation's participation at both the 1915 and 1939 fairs.

"Let's Go San Francisco" reflects the healthy shipping tradition that harkens to the strong maritime-economy that undergirded the city of San Francisco. The primary narrator mentions their "ship came in" and brought "a million dollars" where all of it will be spent on their date in San Francisco, specifically at the GGIE. The use of "we" and "let's" mirrors the inclusive intention of the GGIE.

Many songs in the GGIESMC mention the beauty or the geographic location of the fair, and in this song, there is the mention of that good "ole" ocean breeze for which San Francisco is famous. The second iteration of the refrain switches the lines of the lyrics to focus on the imagery of Treasure Island and nods to the Stevenson novel and pirate theming.[1649] A lyric worth noting is the appeal of the fair's entertainment, with this couple wanting to see the "show folks" do their stuff. The use of the colloquial terms like "ole" and "hon" makes the narrator seem working-class, juxtaposed with the new-found wealth brought in from the sea that makes it seem that the average fairgoer could find happiness on the island.

Songs as Souvenirs

Sheet music was sold as a tangible souvenir of the GGIE. Eight pieces and one song book were expressly created as souvenirs of the GGIE: "The Marine's Hymn," "San Francisco Fair: Souvenir in a Song," "Let's Go to San Francisco," "My California Queen," *Songs of San Francisco* (booklet), "San Francisco: Where I'll Meet You 'At the Fair'," "When the Sun Goes Down on Treasure Island," "Songs of

[1649] See Chapter 4.

the Coastlands." The only piece of the music given away free of charge, however, was "The Marine's Hymn," printed in color and for "for complementary distribution by the United States Marine Corps Publicity Bureau."

An example of a souvenir song from the GGIE is "Treasure Island Souvenir," written by "Morrie" Morrison and Fred Whitfield. Published in Seattle and written in the 1930s style of a fox trot, this song is organized in a verse-chorus structure. The front cover[1650] has an exaggerated sized Tower of the Sun, just like the cover of "Let's Go San Francisco," rising between the Golden Gate and Bay Bridges (Figure 9.3):

Figure 9.3. Cover comparison: "Let's Go San Francisco" & "Treasure Island Souvenir." (Photographs of both covers taken by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

[1650] The visual artist is unknown.

The cover artwork showcases the myriad of architectural images attached to the GGIE, such as Tower of the Sun and pyramid-shaped Elephant Towers.

The fair was a celebration of the the new trans-bay bridges and physical symbols, such as the Golden Gate and Oakland-Bay Bridges, were common artistic subjects for the covers of the collection.[1651] The back cover of "Treasure Island Souvenir," shows the Tower of the Sun, the bridge with the famous Pan American clipper plane flying low (Figure 9.4):

[1651] See Chapter 3.

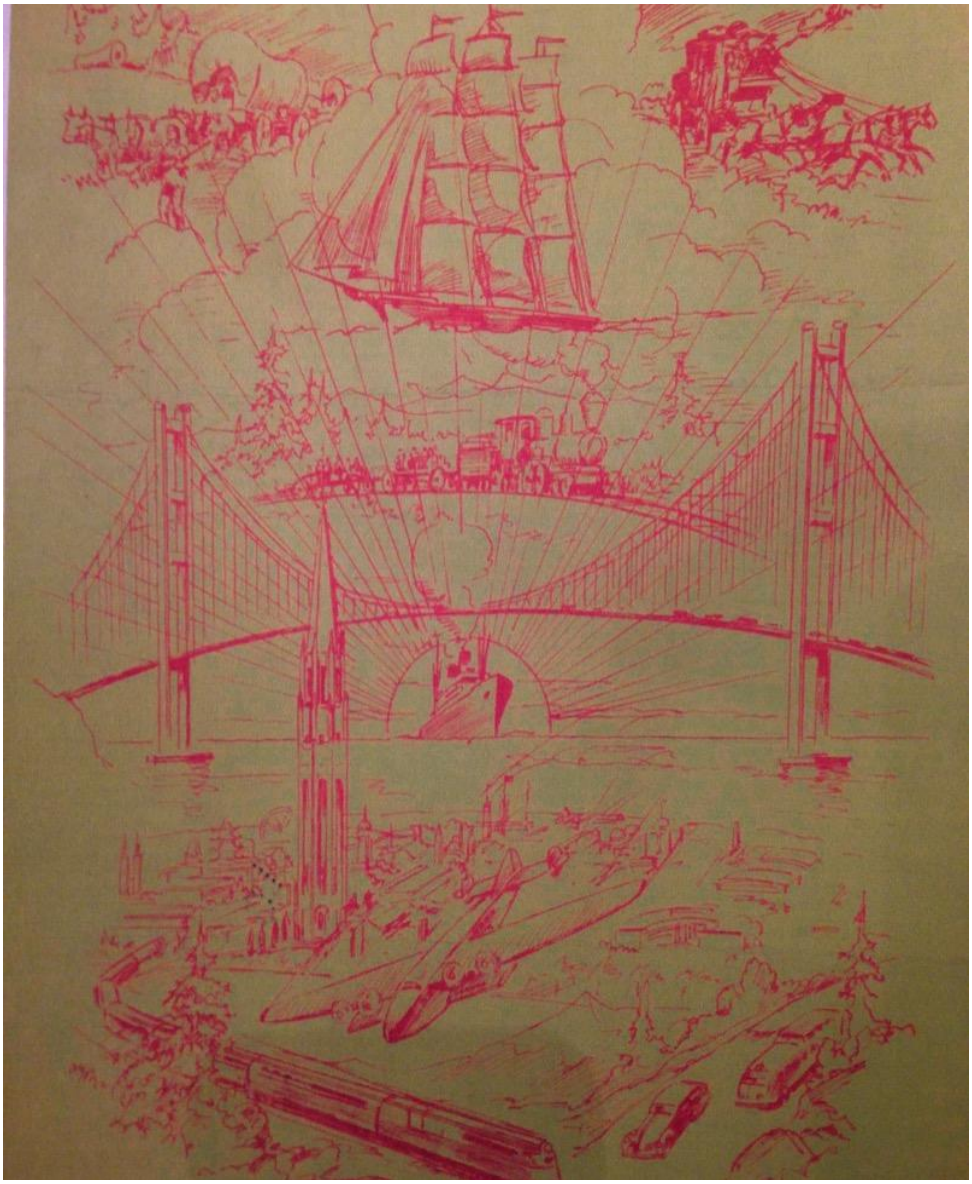


Figure 9.4. Back cover of "Treasure Island Souvenir." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

In addition, iconic images of the West are included: oxen and covered wagons (upper left-hand corner, steam train (center), tall ship (center), and a stagecoach (upper right-hand corner) among methods of transportation of the day: modern train, steam ship, car and airplane. Of particular interest is the last line of text: "Treasure Island song of

cheer/Token of the Happy Year/Keep this golden melody for your souvenir," because it urges the consumer to make music a *tangible* memory from the GGIE.

Songs of San Francisco was an edited volume compiled and published in honor of the fair as a "souvenir song book."[1652] Exposition management sponsored the publication, and Frank E. Feliz (GGIE's Director of Publications) wrote that even though the publisher hailed from New York, the booklet would "contain new and old California songs."[1653] According to the press release published in the *Call*, the book included sketches and other submissions by "prominent San Francisco artists and authors"[1654] to accompany a volume of "San Francisco songs" that ranged from those composed for the Exposition to some that would be "familiar to Americans of previous decades."[1655]

The editor, Californian composer and ASCAP member Sterling Sherwin, compiled well-known pieces about San Francisco: "Chinatown, My Chinatown," "California, My Homeland," "Out San Francisco Way," and "California, Here I Come," alongside two of his own compositions created especially for the GGIE: "Gotta Getta Goin' To the Golden Gate," and "My Theme Girl of Love." Sold as the "souvenir songbook of the 1939 World's Fair on San Francisco Bay," the public was able to purchase copies for home entertainment. Sheet music sold to audiences allowed both fairgoers and those who did not attend an opportunity of a shared

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[1652] Sterling Sherwin, *Songs of San Francisco* (New York: Remick Music Corporation, 1939), front cover.
[1653] Ibid.
[1654] The introduction was written by a "famous California Author," Evelyn Wells. Sterling Sherwin, *Songs of San Francisco*
[1655] "S.F. Songs Due in a Few Days," *Call*, March 14, 1939, SFPL Newspaper Clippings.

experience. Music-making in the home showcased the inclusiveness of performance and promoted the GGIE beyond the walls of Treasure Island.

GGIE Attraction Songs: "Yours For A Song"

GGIE attraction music was sold to the general populace, and three examples of songs for showcases on the fairgrounds from the GGIESMC are: "Mother Goose On Parade," "Shadows On The Trail," and "Yours For A Song." Of the three, two were written by female composers and one by famous musician-entertainer, Gene Autry (1907–1998). "Mother Goose on Parade" was written by Virginia Ballaseyus and performed at the Children's Village at the fair. "Shadows On The Trail" was written by Gene Autry, Bert Van Cleve, and Herb Rosine and performed by Micky Page, the "miniature Gene Autry" in the "Singer's Midget Village at the GGIE."[1656]

The most popular show of the 1940 fair was Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, which ran at both the New York and San Francisco fairs.[1657] Billy Rose's *Aquacade*, was an aquatic show complete with poolside orchestra and glee-club and engaged only for the 1940 iteration.[1658] The swimming pool ran "200 feet long and 60 feet wide"[1659] with a stage on the left-hand side where the live orchestra performed. In the closing

[1656] Gene Autry, Bert Van Cleve and Herb Rosine, "Shadows on the Trail," (Hollywood, CA: Western Publishing Company, 1939).
[1657] An entire study of Billy Rose's *Aquacade* at the GGIE is conducted in Chapter 5.
[1658] *Billy Rose's Aquacade: Golden Gate International Exposition 1940*, *program*, California Historical Society.
[1659] "After several weeks of negotiations, the management of the Exposition Company entered into a contract with Billy Rose's Exposition Spectacles, Inc. to produce and operate the "Treasure Island Water Follies," later known as the "Aquacade." This contract was approved by the Executive Committee and was executed under date of March 16, 1940. The Aquacade was located in International Hall and it was necessary for the Exposition to move a large number of exhibitors and concessionaires, who were former tenants of that building, to new locations." H.C. Bottorff, *Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition,* 48.

report for the GGIE, the compiler credited the *Aquacade* as the "most popular show on the grounds" which played a "vital part in contributing to the general attendance to the Exposition in 1940."[1660] Unlike other concessions, the *Aquacade* made a profit, reportedly $48,097.20 (approximately $859,978.48 in 2018 currency) after its 128 day run.[1661] Esther Williams (1921–2013) and Johnny Weissmuller (1904–1984) starred in the "spectacular swimming, diving, dancing, and singing novelty" housed in the International Hall on the fairgrounds.[1662]

Billy Rose (1899–1966)[1663] was a songwriter and entertainer who "collaborated with composers such as Ray Henderson, Mort Dixson, Save Dreyer, Al Jolson, Vincent Youmans, Harold Arlen, Dana Suesse, Mabel Wayne, and Harry Warren on scores for Broadway productions."[1664] Reports stated that although the *Aquacade* was presented at both fairs, "the show at Treasure Island was by far the more beautiful."[1665] For the New York (1939) and San Francisco (1940) fairs, Billy Rose's *Aquacade* performed a piece titled, "Yours for a Song." Composed by Dana Suesse (1909–1987), a composer and lyricist "known as the 'Girl Gershwin.'"[1666] As

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[1660] Ibid.
[1661] "The contract with Mr. Rose provided that he was to finance the construction and production costs of the Aquacade show, and the Exposition Company was to participate in the gross receipts after the construction costs had been amortized and the operating costs paid. The total gross receipts for the 128 days of operation amounted to $897,777.56. The Exposition's profit from the operation was $48,097.20. (Subject to final audit)." H.C. Bottorff, *Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition*.
[1662] *Motorland: A Travel Magazine for Western Motorists*, vol. XLVI May 1940, 17.
[1663] His birth name was William Samuel Rosenberg.
[1664] Don Tyler, *Hit Songs, 1900-1955: American Popular Music of the Pre-Rock Era* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2007), 466.
[1665] H.C. Bottorff, *Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition*, 48.
[1666] A well-known piece of hers is the 1934 "You Oughta Be in Pictures." Don Tyler, *Hit Songs, 1900-1955: American Popular Music of the Pre-Rock Era*, 479.

a pianist and composer, Suesse worked with some of the top names in the industry, such as Eddie Heyman, Irving Kahal, E.Y. Harburg and Billy Rose.[1667] Versions of "Yours For A Song" exist for each iteration of the Aquacade at the 1939 New York fair and 1940 San Francisco fair. The songs are identical except one difference in the lyrics. Billy Rose and Ted Fetter wrote the lyrics for each version of the fair, which change slightly depending on where the *Aquacade* was in residence (1939 New York and 1940 San Francsico). Both versions' lyrics utilize rhyming couplets throughout the song. The original version's lyrics first premiered at the New York fair read as follows:

> I can't resist a melody so let the music start.
> I can't resist a melody played on the strings of my heart.
>
> CHORUS
> Yours for a song for a song of romance
> Yours for a song if romance has a chance
> Yours for the spell of a melody
> One that will stay when you're away from me.
>
> I'm yours in the glow of the low hanging moon
> Trading my heart for a tune.
> Thrill me until the moon is out of sight.
> I'm Yours for a song tonight.
>
> REPEAT OF CHORUS

The San Francisco fair's version is identical to the New York version, except for two changes in the text. First, the authors change the lyrics to: "Yours for the spell of a melody/One that will stay, when you're away from me" in the chorus' first stanza, third and fourth line of text. Table 9.3 displays the difference between the two versions of the first chorus:

[1667] Ibid.

Table 9.3: "Yours For A Song" Version Comparison: New York vs. San Francisco

New York Version	San Francisco Version
Yours for a song for a song of romance Yours for a song if romance has a chance **Yours for the spell of a melody,** **One that will stay, when you're away from me.**	Yours for a song for a song of romance Yours for a song if romance has a chance **I've seen New York and I've seen the Fair** **No one but you could top the wonders there.**

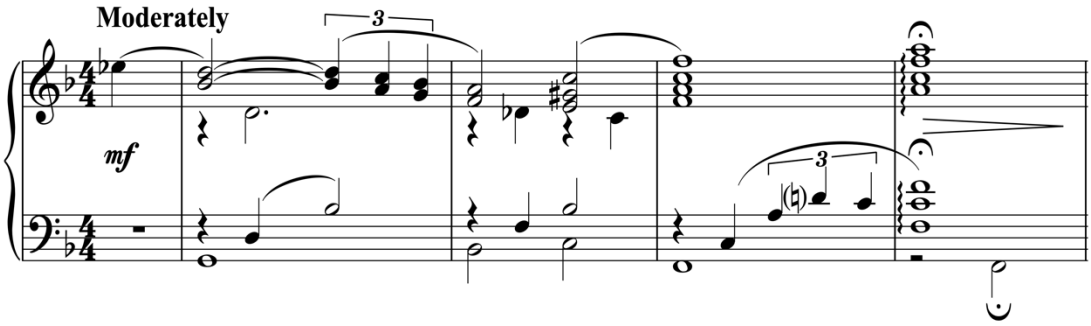
Second, the repeat of the chorus in the San Francisco version generates a new stanza where the repeated text is the original New York version's chorus lyrics. Thus, the San Francisco version's lyrics read:

> I can't resist a melody so let the music start.
> I can't resist a melody played on the strings of my heart.
>
> CHORUS
> Yours for a song for a song of romance
> Yours for a song if romance has a chance
> I've seen New York and I've seen the Fair
> No one but you could top the wonders there.
>
> I'm yours in the glow of the low hanging moon
> Trading my heart for a tune.
> Thrill me until the moon is out of sight.
> I'm Yours for a song tonight.
>
> I can't resist a melody so let the music start.
> I can't resist a melody played on the strings of my heart.
>
> REPEAT OF CHORUS
> Yours for a song for a song of romance
> Yours for a song if romance has a chance
> Yours for the spell of a melody
> One that will stay when you're away from me.
>
> I'm yours in the glow of the low hanging moon
> Trading my heart for a tune.
> Thrill me until the moon is out of sight.
> I'm Yours for a song tonight.

In the change in text for the San Francisco version, reference to the New York fair is a positive one—with the vocalist comparing their lover to the wonderous fair on the east coast.

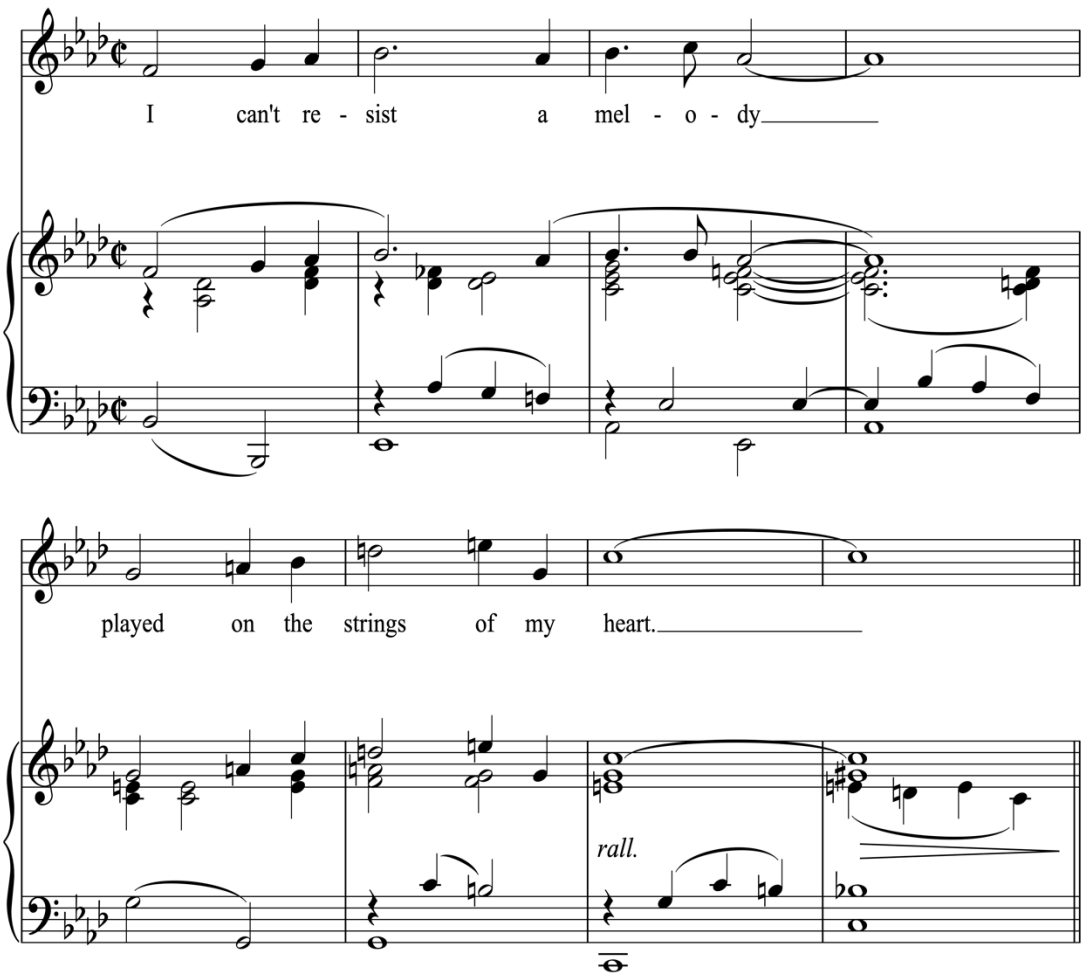
The San Francisco version of "Yours For A Song" is perhaps the most unique of the GGIESMC. Rooted in the Tin Pan Alley tradition, structural identifiers such as the 32-bar refrain, directions in English, accessible key of F major, and a verse-chorus structure, are all evident. The four-bar introduction is no exception, and incorporates melodic material from the refrain:

Example 9.4. "Yours For A Song," mm.1–4. Transcription by author.

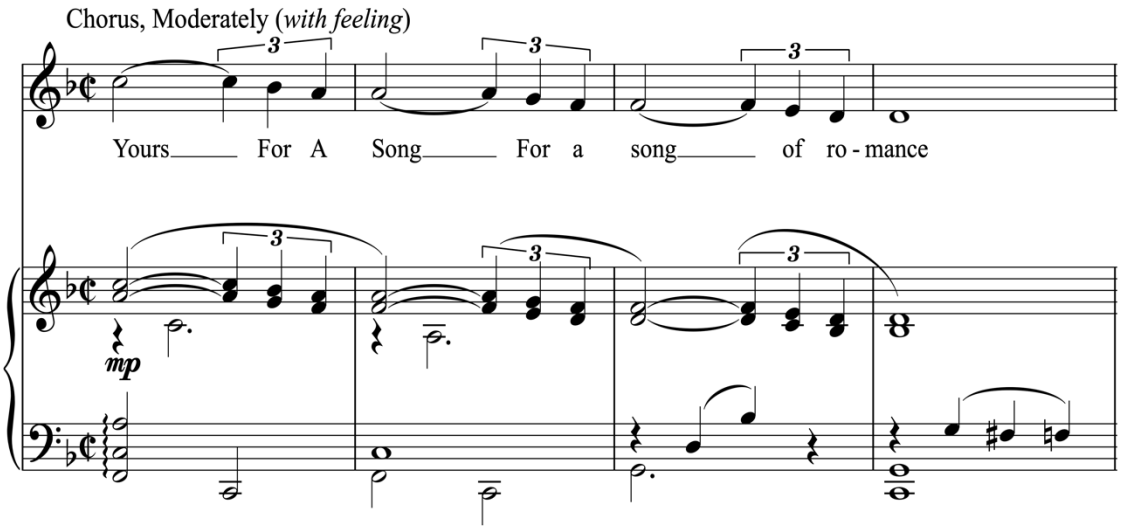


The instrumentation mirrors the majority of GGIESMC songs: piano, voice, and alternative tablature (guitar).

Suesse departs from the Tin Pan Alley format in several ways. First, she composes more complex harmonies than any other work in the sheet music collection. There is a modulatory passage that occurs pre-chorus (Example 9.5, mm. 13–20):

Example 9.5 "Yours For A Song," change of key to refrain modulatory passage pre–chorus, mm. 13–20. Transcription by author.

Secondly, the triplet rhythm throughout the melody creates a triple feeling within a duple meter. (Example 9.6):

Example 9.6 "Yours For A Song," example of triplet rhythm: mm. 20–24. Transcription by author.



The triplet melody elongates the line and evokes a ballad rather than the other duple march-like bass style of the other pieces of GGIESMC's rhythms. Perhaps the triplet elongation of the melodic rhythm is mimicking the radio-performance fad of the era—crooning (in addition, it could also suggest a desirable rhythmic flexibility). Both the New York and San Francisco versions of "Yours For A Song" were made available for sale to the general public in the form of sheet music.

Golden Gate International Expositions and Film Composers

The GGIE's prime lucrative promotional potential attracted movie companies on the Western coast. A relationship between movie studio film composers and sheet music written for the GGIE developed. The most famous and well-known song today is "The Bells of Treasure Isle" composed by Frank Churchill as the "official anthem of the GGIE." Churchill, a Disney Studios composer, wrote the songs and score for

the 1937 film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs,* and gave Disney its first hit "Who's Afraid of the Big Bad Wolf." The freelance Hollywood-based and Oscar winning lyricist, Paul Francis Webster, collaborated with Churchill on two pieces: "The Bells of Treasure Isle" and "I've Got a Moonlight Date At the Golden Gate," which was billed by the publisher as the "theme song of the GGIE."

There are two versions of front cover artwork designed to attract different markets: Version 1: the professional market (Figure 9.5) and Version 2: the amateur/consumer market (Figure 9.6). Version 1 is a black and white artist's rendition of a physical example of the fair's architecture: the Arch of Triumph. There is a note written across the front that designates this version for *quote* "Professional use only Not to be sold."

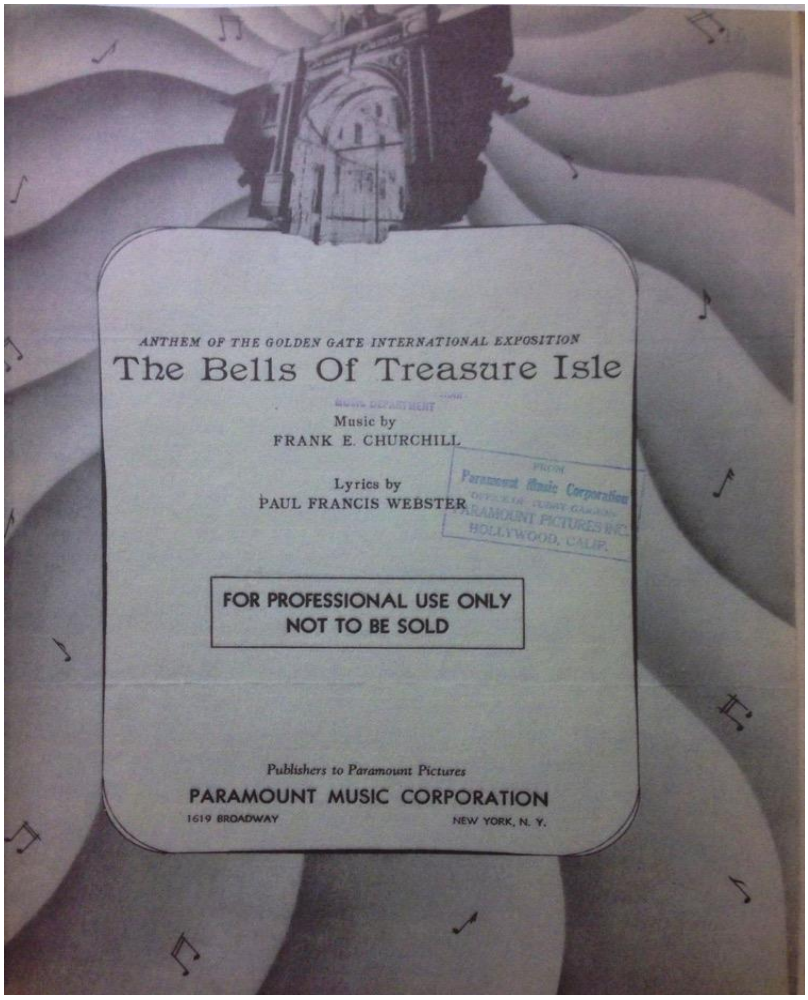


Figure 9.5 Version 1 of "The Bells of Treasure Isle," cover with notice: "For Professional Use Only Not To Be Sold." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

Version 2, from the Library of Congress, is a view from the entrance to the GGIE with the Tower of the Sun (Figure 9.6). The image in Figure 9.6 is a promotional photo marketed by the Exposition Company that is very similar to the image that was included on the cover.

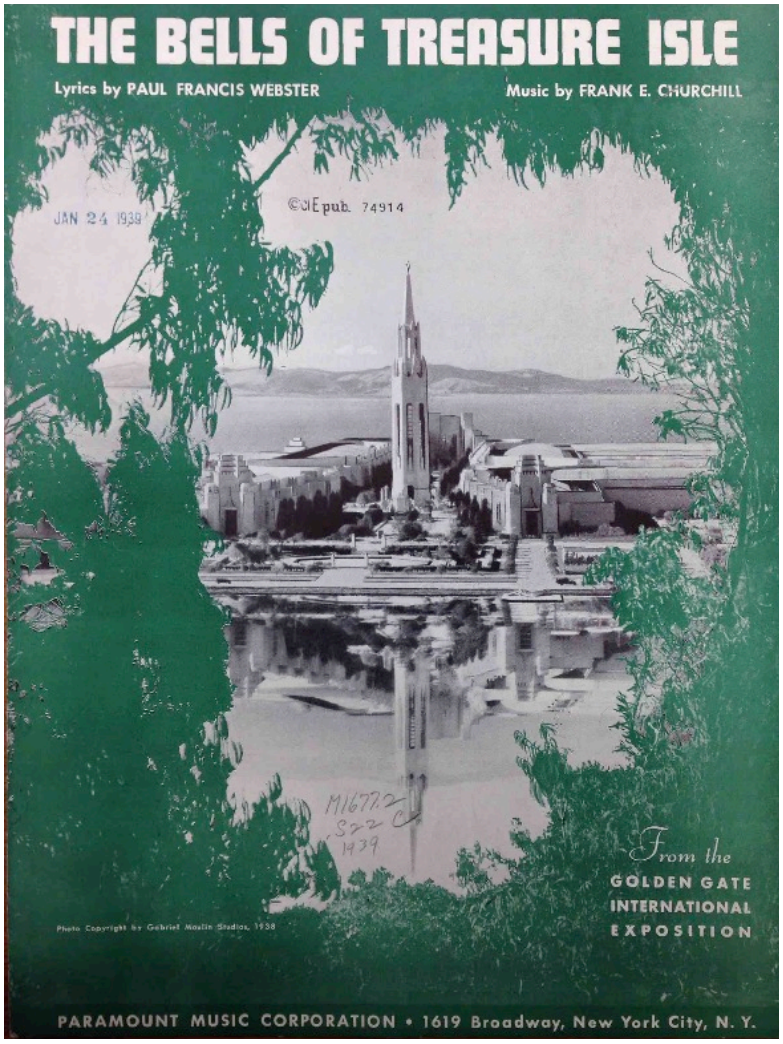
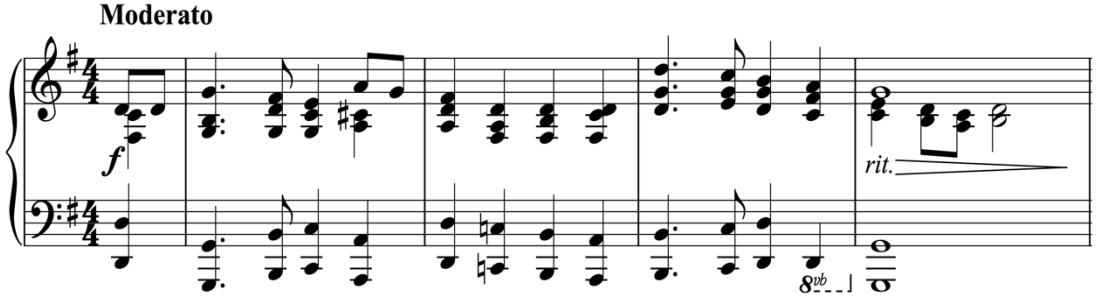
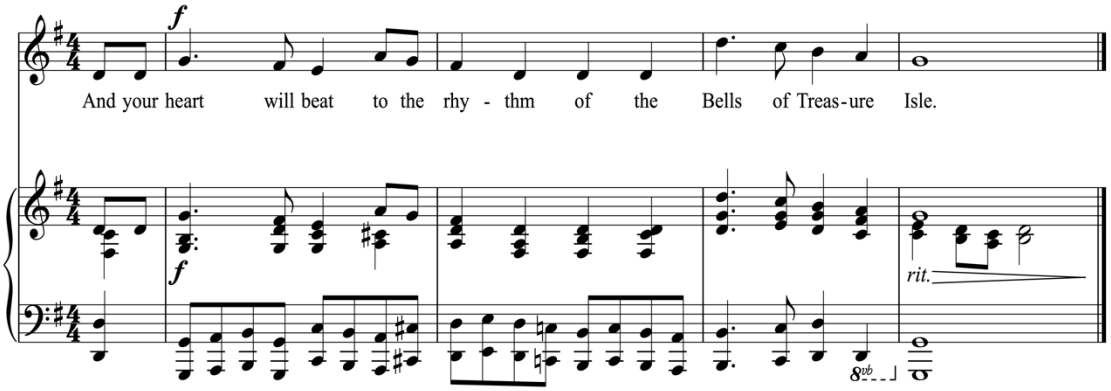


Figure 9.6 Version 2 front cover, "The Bells of Treasure Isle." (Photograph by author, courtesy of Library of Congress Music Division.)

Both versions' piano scores were prepared by George N. Terry and both parts have identical typesetting. The instrumentation calls for piano, voice, optional ukulele and guitar. The vocal range is not high and not especially difficult. Composed as a commemorative anthem, the piece evokes a hymn with the final measures' material used in the introductory section. Example 9.7 demonstrates the first four bars of the introduction in the hymn style (this technique is also utilized for marches):

Example 9.7 Frank Churchill, "Bells of Treasure Isle," mm. 1–4. Transcription by author.

The introductory material in mm. 1–4 mirrors the final four measures of the song. The only departure is a rhythmic acceleration in the piano part (Example 9.8):

Example 9.8 "Bells of Treasure Isle," final four measures, mm. 29–32. Transcription by author.

Evoking a hymn, the four-bar phrases are supported by a simple harmonies and a syllabic treatment of the text that allows the lyrics to be heard clearly. The carillon (see Chapter 3) is mentioned specifically in the second stanza: "When you hear the song of the carillon ring out across the bay." The fair is a fantastical escape from the harsh reality of the present: the lyricist evokes the theme of physical beauty of the fair as well as the concept of escapism—departure for the "the land of dreams."

Unlike most of the sheet music of this collection, "The Bells of Treasure Isle" was performed at both the opening and closing ceremonies of the two-year run of the GGIE. On February 18, 1939, the fair's opening day, the carillon played "The Bells of Treasure Isle." According to the September 29, 1940 closing day multi-radio station broadcast transcript, "The Story of Treasure Island," a male chorus sung "The Bells of Treasure Isle" before the narrator's introduction of President Roosevelt's closing address.[1668]

Churchill and Webster wrote "I've Got a Moonlight Date at the Golden Gate" marketed as the "theme" of the GGIE, although there was not an official song designated by the GGIE. Newspaper accounts rarely refer to the sheet music generally, even the supposed "theme song" of the fair. Critic Alfred Frankenstein made one reference to the popular songs written for the fair, stating, "Well, somebody did write a song called 'I've Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate,' or something such…that was for the Fair."[1669] Frankenstein's ambivalence highlights the discrepancy between music presented formally at the fair versus informal music for the masses.

Just like "Bells of Treasure Isle," the song "I've Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate" has two covers. Version 1's artwork is almost identical to Version 1 "Bells of Treasure Isle" (Figure 9.7).

[1668] Generic Radio Workshop Script Library, "The Story of Treasure Island," Miscellaneous Single Episodes, National Broadcasting Company, September 29, 1940, accessed July 22, 2016, http://www.genericradio.com/show.php?id=2VBDJ546Y.
[1669] Works Projects Administration, *History Of Music In San Francisco: An Anthology Of Music Criticism*, 399.

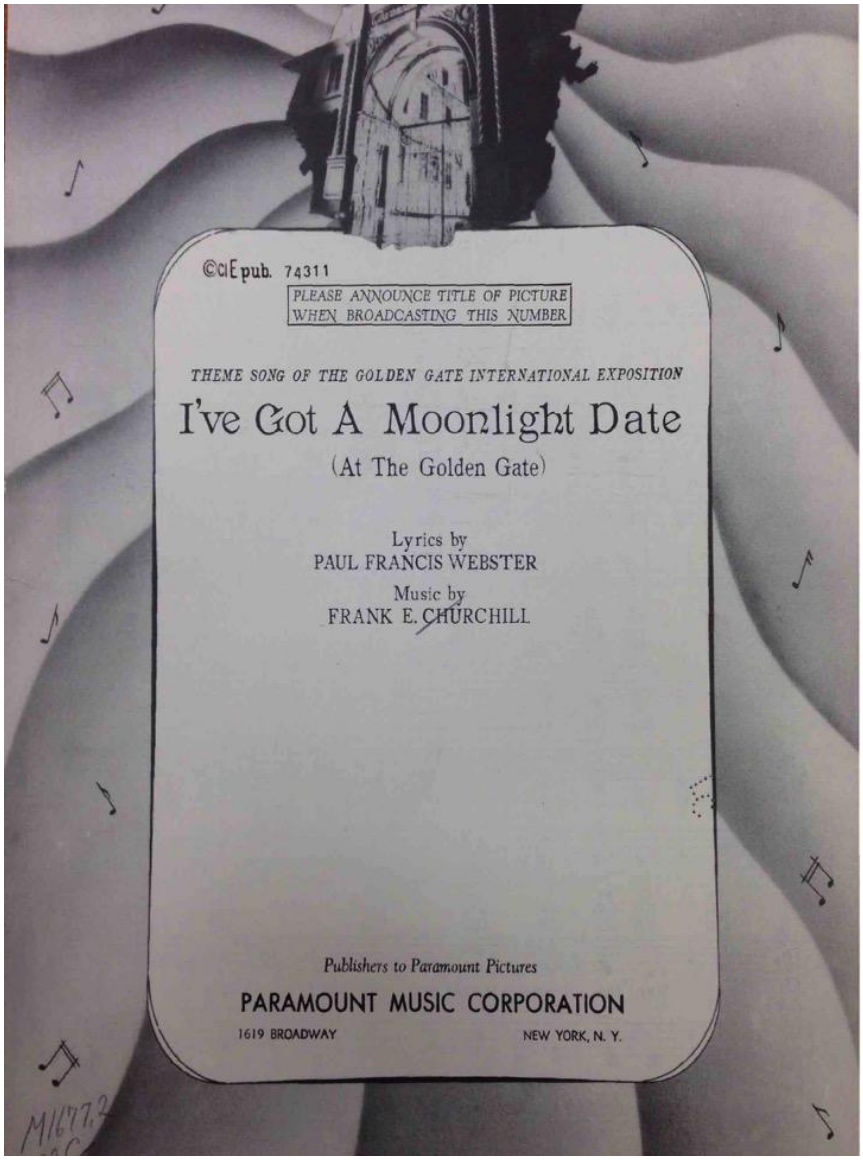


Figure 9.7 Version 1 "I've Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Library of Congress Music Division.)

Akin to the commercial copy for amateur performance of "The Bells of Treasure Isle," a fully illustrated and colored sheet music copy with cover was released (version 2 of "I've Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate") (Figure 9.8):

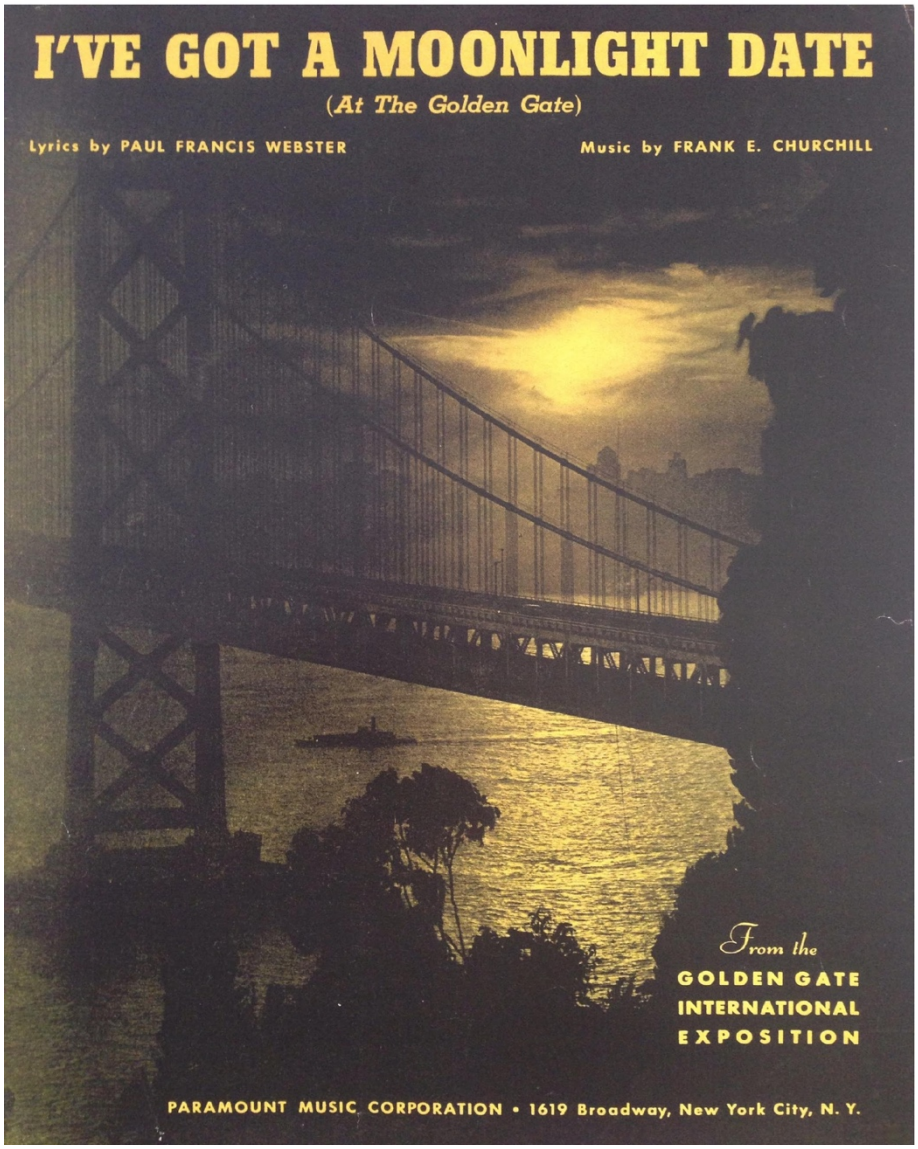


Figure 9.8. "I've Got A Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate," illustrated cover. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the Fresno State University Special Collections Donald G. Larson Collection on International Expositions and Fairs.)

Since both composer and lyricist were on movie studios' payrolls, and Paramount Music Corporation was the publisher, the obvious question is was this music written for a movie or short? One possibility would be that both pieces were originally written for a feature film, newsreel, or short that was canceled and Paramount capitalized on the interest in the fair and sold the individual song in the

form of sheet music. Alternatively, it could be as simple as Paramount capitalizing on a popular attraction of the day. After review of motion picture catalogue files and cinematic archival research, I have not found evidence of a finished film or projected film with the GGIE as its subject. Coincidentally, there is also an absence of the New York World's fair as the subject of a Hollywood film as well.

Wind Band Music Written for the GGIE

The Goldman Band & *The Golden Gate March*

The Goldmans (Edward and his son Richard) and their ensemble were a formidable force in musical programming for the 1939 GGIE season. The most popular and respected concert band in the U.S. at the time, the Goldman Band had a successful performance history in San Francisco, namely their popular engagement at the PPIE. Specifically requested by fair management for the GGIE, the Goldman Band presented free concerts twice daily in the Court of Honor from opening day (1939) until July 1 of the same year.[1670]

Edwin Franko Goldman (1878–1956), a composition student of Antonín Dvořák and Metropolitan Opera orchestra cornetist, first formed his own band (New York Military Band) in 1911.[1671] It was officially named, the Goldman Band in 1922.[1672] Goldman and later his son, would "champion forgotten band music and give

[1670] Different sources state the 1st of July as the contract terminus date whole other state July 2nd.
[1671] George Gelles and Michael Meckna, "Goldman, Edwin Franko," *Grove Music Online*, 2001, accessed March 28, 2019, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.oca.ucsc.edu/grovemusic/view.
[1672] Frank Battisti, The New Winds of Change: The Evolution of the Contemporary Wind Band/Ensemble and Its Music (Delray Beach, Florida: Meredith Music Publications, 2018).

American première (1947) of Berlioz's *Symphonie funèbre et triomphale*.[1673] Like John Philip Sousa, the Goldmans became advocates for wind band music as well as educators and authors. Richard Franko Goldman (1910–1980) served as a member of faculty at several prestigious institutions: Julliard's School of Music, Princeton University (conductor), Columbia University (visiting professor) and New York University (visiting professor).[1674]

The Goldmans would become well-known for their efforts to commission new wind band music.[1675] During the era of the GGIE, Richard Goldman actively endorsed and partnered with composers such as Henry Cowell (see Chapter 6), Pedro Sanjuan, and Luis Heitor Correa de Azecedo "to choose Latin American music suitable for use in the public schools and in orchestral concerts."[1676] At the time, repertoire for wind bands was limited, and both of the Goldmans believed new works would allow the band field to "reach greater heights."[1677] In addition to commissioning, recording, and teaching, the Goldmans also conducted radio performances.

J. Kent McAnally posits that the Goldman Band was "one of the first major musical organizations to perform over the airwaves."[1678] Edwin Goldman saw the

[1673] George Gelles and Michael Meckna, "Goldman, Edwin Franko."
[1674] J. Kent McAnally, "Edwin Franko Goldman, Richard Franko Goldman, and the Goldman Band: Professionals and Educators," in *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education*, vol 17, no. 1 (September 1995), 21.
[1675] Raoul Camus, "Band in the United States," *Gove Music Online*, October 13, 2013, accessed June 21, 2017, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.A2252742.
[1676] J. Kent McAnally, "Edwin and Richard Franko Goldman and the Goldman Band," 21.
[1677] Ibid., 29.
[1678] Ibid., 28.

potential of radio to be " a great educational medium."[1679] McNally continues his claim by echoing Richard Goldman's sentiment in his 1934 book, *Band Betterment*, that "more people had heard the Goldman Band than any other organization in the world—and that included the Sousa band."[1680] By 1928, the Goldman Band was heard by "150 million listeners through the facilities of the National Broadcasting Corporation."[1681] Whether or not that claim can be substaintiated, the Goldman Band had a radio audience at the time of the GGIE and fairgoers would be familiar with its programming and style. Frank Battisti argues that by the mid-twentieth century, the Goldman Band was "the most important and listened-to band in America."[1682] The press touted the members of Goldman's band in anticipation of their GGIE engagement. For example, the *San Francisco Chronicle* advertised that Goldman had recently added Rank Elsass, the "24-year-old cornet virtuoso and 'student discovery' of Dr. Edwin Franko Goldman." The article continues to give the particulars of the Goldman's fifteen-week run at the Fair and that Elsass would be featured in the band's "cornet trio."[1683]

Goldman actively engaged with GGIE audiences through his role of conductor (and guest conductor)[1684] and composer. Although Goldman was a mainstay musical figure during the first few months of the GGIE, he was not, as claimed by Lisa

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[1679] The United States Army Field Band, *The Legacy of Edwin Franko Goldman*, C-D, program notes prepared by SFC Cathy Miller, https://www.armyfieldband.com/images/uploads/media/goldman.pdf.
[1680] McAnally, "Edwin and Richard Franko Goldman and the Goldman Band," 28.
[1681] The United States Army Field Band, *The Legacy of Edwin Franko Goldman*.
[1682] Frank Battsitsi, n.p.
[1683] "Goldman to Feature Cornet Virtuoso," San Francisco Chronicle, February 4, 1939.
[1684] Mentioned in Chapter 4, Goldman was the guest conductor for the Junior Musicians of America's June 25, 1939 concert (James and Weller, 186).

Rubens, the musical director of the GGIE. Rubens states Goldman "was hired as the musical director of the Golden Gate International Exposition."[1685] There is no reference in the records to substantiate the claim that Goldman was officially the musical director before the mid-season hire of fair managing director, Charles Strub, in June 1939.[1686] According to James and Weller, the Goldman Band catered to an older crowd and was a "dated" a link to the PPIE while the Benny Goodman, Kay Kyser, Eddy Duchin Bands appealed to the "swing-conscious young moderns."[1687] Rubens writes that Strub "cancelled the rest of Goldman's engagement at the Exposition" in favor of the leading "big swing bands and jazz dance bands."[1688] This claim is unsubstantiated, based upon multiple published newspaper accounts and the Goldman Band Program Book, that state the Goldman Band performed their original contract end-date of July 1, 1939.

In addition, Goldman was guest conductor of the Junior Musicians of America concert on June 25, 1939 while his band was still in residence at the GGIE, thus proving his involvement at the fair went beyond Ruben's claim of a cancelled contract. The largest audience for a performance of Goldman's *Golden Gate March* on the fairgrounds took place on June 25, 1939. More than ten thousand children musicians performed in a 2:30 p.m. Junior Musicians of America concert in the Court

[1685] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin," 130.
[1686] See Chapter 5.
[1687] James and Weller, Magic Island, 181.
[1688] Rubens, "The 1939 San Francisco World's Fair: The New Deal, the New Frontier and the Pacific Basin," 130.

of Nations and performed memorized works.[1689] Sponsored by the National Institute of Music and Arts, the child musicians hailed from fourteen "Western States and three Canadian provinces." Fair histories dub this performance as being "the largest mass performance ever attempted."[1690] Arguably, this performance was the largest pre-World War II performance; the Peace Jubilee of 1899 and other exposition openings fall short of musician numbers from the ten-thousand of the children's concert.

Karl Stiska (1902?–?), Vice President of the Junior Musicians of America, directed the performance with Edwin Franko Goldman.[1691] Stiska was the composer of two march-style piano reduction pieces in the GGIESMC: "Treasure Island March" and "Back to Treasure Island: March." Both conductors performed their own compositions—Stiska programmed "Treasure Island March" written "especially for the event" as well as his *Junior Musician March*.[1692] The *Golden Gate March* by Goldman was performed and conducted by the composer. Goldman, whose band had finished their contract at the GGIE, was the invited guest conductor and directed his composition, *On the Mall*, in addition to several other pieces.[1693]

Although the Goldman Band was considered an established and old-fashioned choice compared to the newer swing dance bands, their performances drew crowds and were received well by audiences and music critics alike. Musicologist Jonathan

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[1689] Alfred Frankenstein, "Musical Notes of the Week," *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 25, 1939, This World, 22.
[1690] James and Weller, 186.
[1691] "Island Program Enters 2nd Day," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, 6-A.
[1692] "10,000 in Youth Concert at Fair," *Oakland Tribune*, June 25, 1939, B-7.
[1693] "Island Program Enters 2nd Day."

Elkus remembers attending the fair as a child and "seeing both Richard and his father conduct in their white summer suits." An anecdote Elkus shared with the author resonates with the aforementioned contract issues: Elkus writes:

> R. [Richard Goldman] told me decades later, and in all seriousness, that the band's engagement there had been due to a miscommunication with a booking agent: the fair had wanted the Benny Goodman band, which got garbled somehow to Goldman's.[1694]

Elkus's reminiscence places focus on the issues of traditional wind band vs. big band performance at the GGIE. Richard Goldman's discussion regarding the booking of Goodman's band and issues of popularity is of interest due to the absence of GGIE management's contracts and business papers. Although Richard Goldman expressed doubt of their booking, many sources agree that the Goldman Band was chosen specifically to perform at the GGIE.

The Goldman Band Program Book

The Goldman Band Program Book (GBPB) is a slim-bound book that includes every concert program of the Band's tenure—from March 19 to July 1, 1939. This study will be the first to conduct an analysis of the GBPB, and its contents will shed new insight into concert band programming, especially at the GGIE. The book was graciously shared with the author by conductor and Sousa scholar, Loras Schissel. Because GGIE programs are rare, this book is of utmost importance to not only musicologists, but also fair historians and cultural theorists. The programs detail both

[1694] Jonathan Elkus, e-mail communication, May 5, 2019.

the afternoon and evening concerts, listing the program order as well as soloist names (encores are not included in the programs).

The GBPB was the property of Leonard B. Smith (1915–2002) a soloist for the Goldman Band. After the departure of cornet soloist, Del Staigers in 1936, Smith joined the Goldman Band on the recommendation of his longtime trumpet teacher, Ernest S. Williams.[1695] Because the Goldman Band's performance schedule ran only in the "summer months" Smith performed as principal with the Detroit Symphony during the winter (until 1941).[1696] Incidentally, a wide radio audience would have heard Smith's trumpet which "opened weekly radio broadcasts of the popular Lone Ranger broadcasts for many years."

The GBPB was Smith's encore book—handwritten on the first page is the following inscription[1697]:

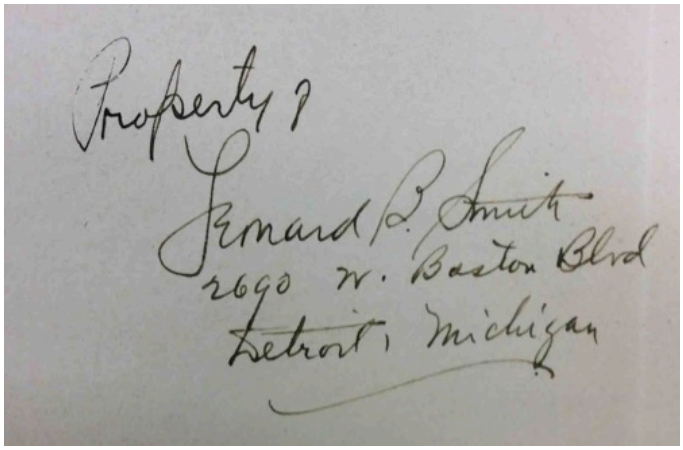


Figure 9.9. "GBPB Inscription: Property of Leonard B. Smith 2690 W. Baston Blvd. Detroit, Michigan." (Photograph by author, courtesy of Loras Schissel.)

[1695] University of Maryland Archives, "Leonard B. Smith Collection," http://digital.lib.umd.edu/archivesum/actions.DisplayEADDoc.do?source=MdU.ead.scpa.0200.xml&style=ead.
[1696] Ibid.
[1697] Provenance of the inscription is unknown.

Listed in the first page of the GBPB, arguably in the same handwriting, is a summation of different aspects of Smith's participation in the Goldman Band's performances (see Figure 9.10).

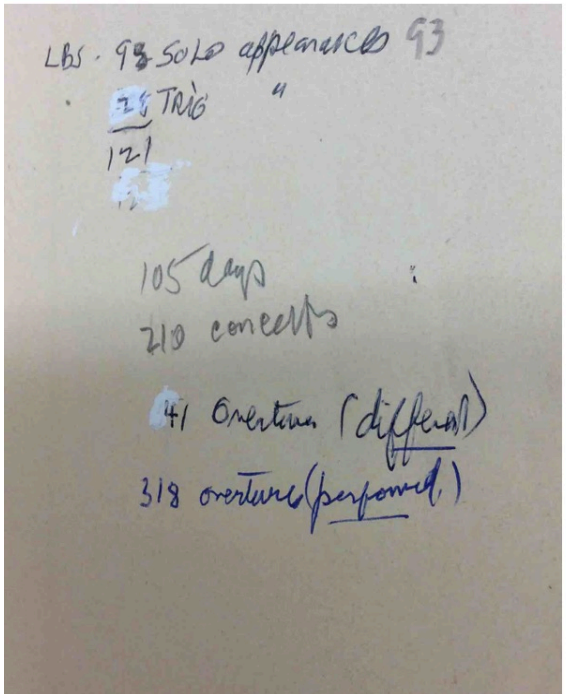


Figure 9.10. "GBPB: Smith's performance tally." (Photograph by author, courtesy of Loras Schissel).

According to this tally, LBS (Leonard B. Smith) performed ninety-three solos and twenty-eight trios (for a total of 121). The Goldman Band performed for 105 and 210 concerts, presenting forty-one overtures ["different"] and 318 overtures in total ["performed"].[1698] A slip of white paper is place between the programs of May 28 and May 29 with another tally.

The programs are uniform in size and the first two are printed single-sided. The program book starts on March 19, 1939, almost a full month after the opening

[1698] Leonard B. Smith. *The Goldman Band Program Book* (1940), frontispiece matter. Courtesy of Loras Schissel.

day of the fair. May 27 is the only program missing, and in its stead, is a typewritten program. Separated into an afternoon and evening program, each of the respective programs have two parts with an intermission.

Hundreds of thousands of people listened to the Goldman Band during its contracted performance at the GGIE, and concert programs were a direct method by which to peddle goods and services. The power of music in advertising is evident in the inclusion of marketing segments printed on the programs. Advertisements showcased on musical programs can connote a sponsor, although none of the advertisers (of which there are four in total for the entire performance run) stated they were sponsors of the Goldman Band's performances. Some weeks did not have a printed advertisement on the physical program. There were only two special advertisements included on the front of the band programs. The first was for Crillo's Restaurant, a "specialty Kitchen" that was located on Treasure Island "one block east of [the] music stand."[1699] An interesting aspect of the Crillo advertisement is the placement of the restaurant in relation to the band's venue—urging patrons to visit before or after the performance. The second was for a performance at the S. F. Civic Auditorium of pianist Paderewski.[1700] The programs from March 22 to March 29, 1939 have an advertisement on the reverse side (see Figure 9.11):

[1699] The Crillo's Restaurant advertisements ran on the front of the programs from March 27–April 13.
[1700] This advert ran only twice, on March 27 and 28.

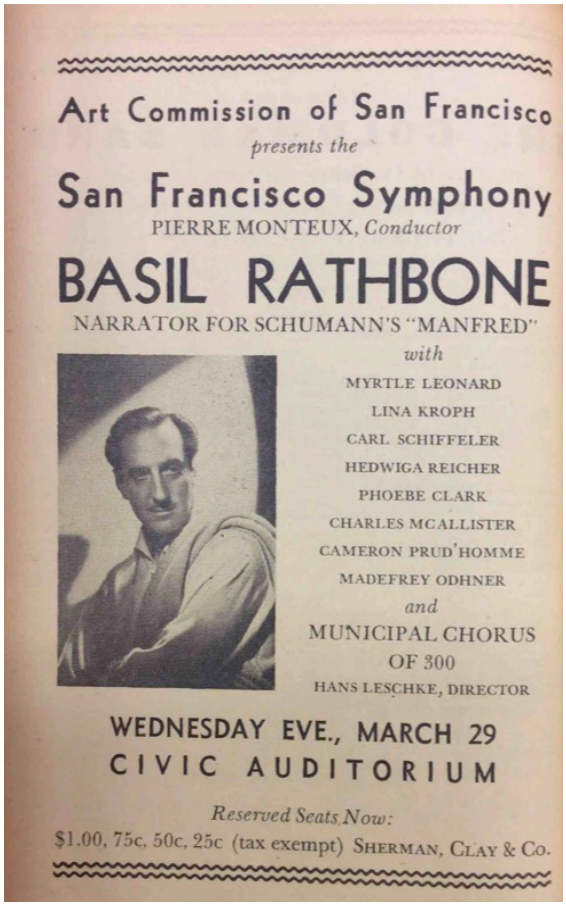



Figure 9.11. "GBPB: Advertisement, back cover of March 22, 1939 program." (Photograph by author, courtesy of Loras Schissel).

Advertising a performance offsite (Civic Auditorium) of the San Francisco Symphony and soloist Basil Rathbone on the Goldman Band Programs may have been a shrewd technique by the Arts Commission of San Francisco to interest an audience that enjoyed the quality of music Goldman presented and entice them off the fairgrounds. In addition, it could have been a message to exposition organizers, who did not initially engage the hometown symphony at the GGIE, to express the public's interest in SFS programming.

Throughout the band's tenure at the GGIE, adverts would be printed on the reverse side of the programs, and not all of them pertained to musical events. For

example, the advert on the March 30 program was for paid for by Jay Kay Laboratories that peddled remedies for a "double chin" while from April 4 to May 26, The Gangplank, "San Francisco's Most Unique Cocktail Lounge" presenting "Dora Maugham 'That Bad...Bad Woman' with songs and stories" and "Janet Jordan at the piano" was advertised.[1701]

Overall, the music is a mixture of commissioned pieces for the Goldman Band, compositions by the Goldmans and orchestral arrangements for wind band. Divided into two parts, the GGIE programs contained performances of marches, overtures, wind band compositions, and well-established opera and orchestral excerpts. An example of musical programming would be the afternoon performance of March 20, 1939 that began with Peter Tchaikovsky's *Marche Slave* and followed by wind band arrangements of the "Overture" from the opera *Mignon*, Schubert's *Unfinished Symphony* (first movement), and excerpts from Georges Bizet's Carmen. Part II began with Gioacchino Rossini's "Overture" from *La Gazza Ladra* and ended with Johann Strauss's *Liebeslieder* ("Waltz'). Other programs included commissioned pieces for the Goldman Band as well as wind band literature composed by the two Goldmans. The programs did not necessarily end with a traditional march—several included finales of orchestral excerpts and overtures.

[1701] Smith, *Goldman Band Program Book*. Interesting to note that both musical entertainers, including the pianist, were women. See Chapter 5 for information regarding advertisements for Sally Rand's *Nude Ranch* on Goldman Band programs.

The Golden Gate March

Goldman composed many marches for his ensemble to perform throughout his career. *The Golden Gate March* was written by Edwin Franko Goldman and dedicated to the Golden Gate International Exposition. Billed as the "official march,"[1702] the composition was first performed at the Goldman Band's GGIE tenure on March 19, 1939. The Library of Congress is the repository for the six-page condensed score and thirty-nine parts (available on microfilm).[1703]

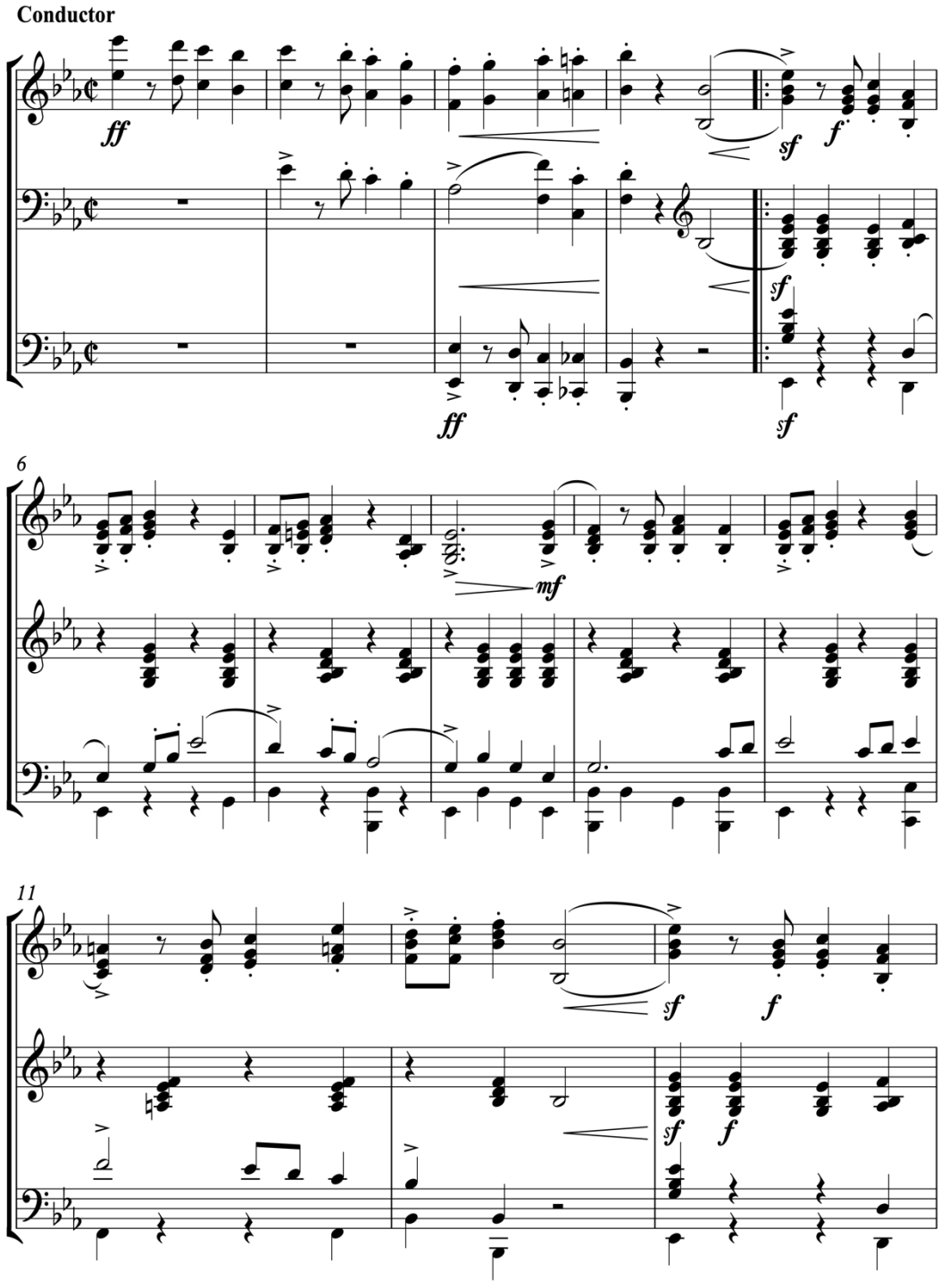
The structure of the march follows a traditional INTRO-MARCH (1st and 2nd strain)-TRIO (3rd and 4th strain)-MARCH (repeat) format with a few exceptions.

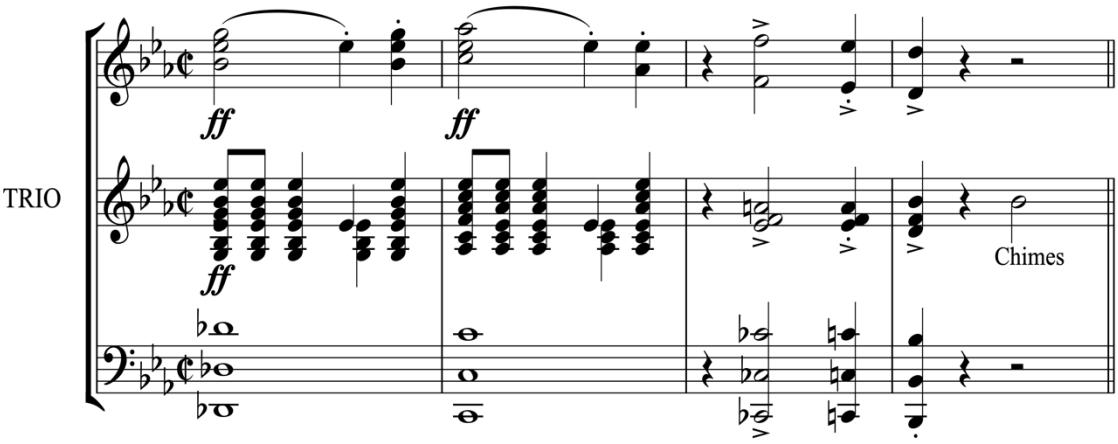
Example 9.9 Edwin Franko Goldman, *Golden Gate March,* structure, organized by author.

MARCH			**TRIO**			
Introduction	**1st strain**	**2nd strain**	**Intro**	**3rd strain**	**Break strain**	**4th strain**
4 Eb	||:16:||	||:16:||	4 Eb	32	12	32

The woodwinds and brass feature in the first bar of the four-bar introduction (Example 9.10). The first strain (or theme A) begins in measure 5 (Example 9.10) and is joined by a counter-lined melody in the mid-range voices.

[1702] The New York World's Fair also had an official song. The march, "For Peace and Freedom" by Eugene La Barre was published (1940). The march was published as sheet music, with instrumentation that included: piano, voice, and tablature.
[1703] Edwin Franko Goldman, *Golden Gate March* (Belwin, Inc.: New York, 1939), microfilm, Library of Congress, Music 3377, item 1206.

Example 9.10 Introduction and First Strain (Theme A) material (mm.1–13). Transcription from the conductor's score by author.

Goldman includes a 12-bar break strain in between the third and fourth strains of the trio section. Not uncommon, (Sousa is famous for utilizing the concept of break-strains and "dog fights" in the trio section),[1704] the use of the break strain in this particular march allows a short interlude to add interest between the repetitions in the trio. The opening measures of the trio section are shown in Example 9.11.

Example 9.11 Opening measures of the trio section. Transcription of conductor's score by author.

The work stays in the key of E♭ major, including the trio section. The strains are not delineated by change in harmonic key centers, but rather by theme (1st strain vs. 2nd strain).

[1704] Information regarding Sousa's musical participation and influence at American world's fairs can be found in Chapters 1 and 4. For further reading detailing the development of Sousa's style have been conducted by: Johnathan Elkus "Defining the Sousa March," in American Music Research Center Journal, 15 (2005): 41–53; Patrick Warfield "The March as Musical Drama and the Spectacle of John Philip Sousa," in Journal of the American Musicological Society, vol. 64, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 289–318; Paul Edmund Brierley, The Incredible Band of John Philip Sousa (Urbana, Illinois: The University of Illinois Press, 2006).

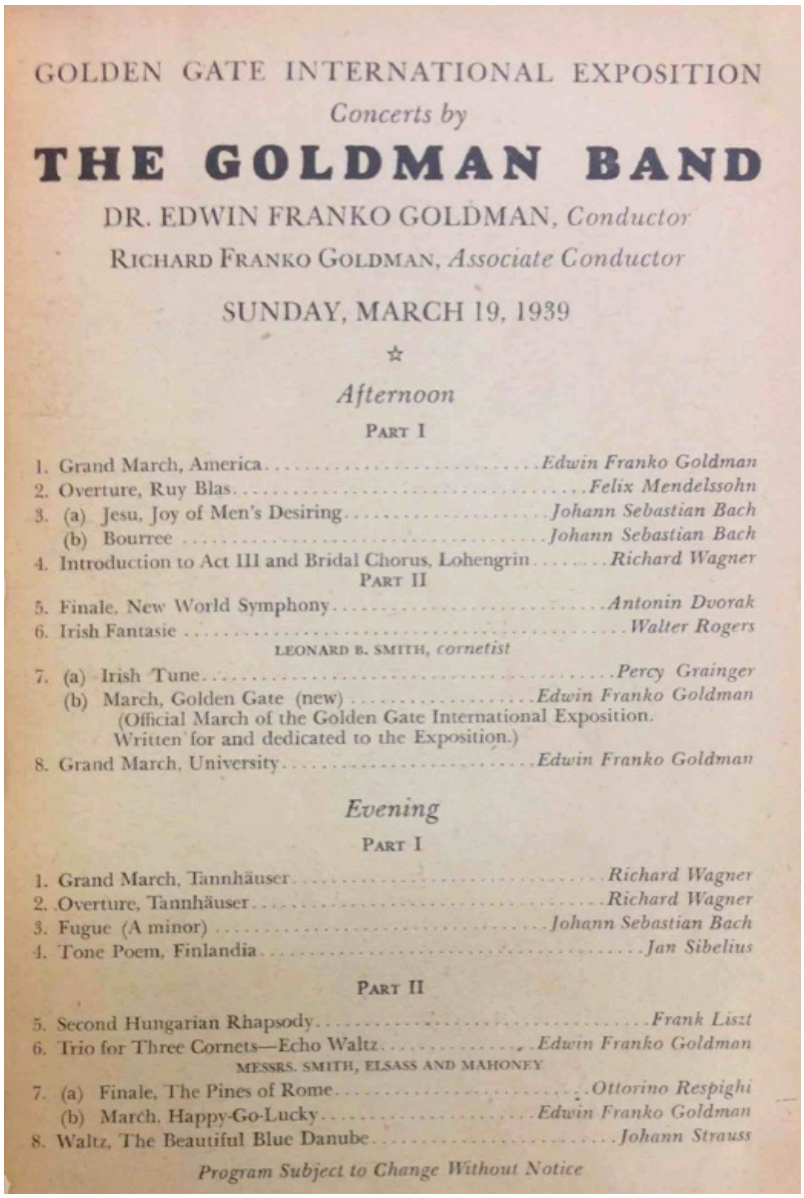
The usage of chimes in the trio section departs from other marches of the GGIESMC. Perhaps evoking the carillon in the Tower of the Sun, Goldman writes a prominent chime part throughout the trio (Example 9.12).

Example 9.12 Trio: timpani and chime part, mm. 38–73. Transcription by author.

The timpanist performs the chime part and has a fast transition from drum to chime: the performer strikes the downbeat on the timpani and immediately performs the chime on beat two (see Example 9.12, m. 4). Prominently featured within this section is the chime part, due to the *piano* dynamic for the other instruments.

According to the GBPB, the Goldmand Band performed the march three times during the Goldman Band's tenure at the GGIE. The first two performances were during the afternoon portion of the daily performances in the Court of Honor. The

first time *The Golden Gate March* is noted in the GBPB is on Sunday, March 19, 1939 (Figure 9.12):



GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION

Concerts by

THE GOLDMAN BAND

DR. EDWIN FRANKO GOLDMAN, *Conductor*

RICHARD FRANKO GOLDMAN, *Associate Conductor*

SUNDAY, MARCH 19, 1939

☆

Afternoon

PART I

1. Grand March, America ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*
2. Overture, Ruy Blas ..... *Felix Mendelssohn*
3. (a) Jesu, Joy of Men's Desiring ..... *Johann Sebastian Bach*
   (b) Bourree ..... *Johann Sebastian Bach*
4. Introduction to Act III and Bridal Chorus, Lohengrin ..... *Richard Wagner*

PART II

5. Finale, New World Symphony ..... *Antonin Dvorak*
6. Irish Fantasie ..... *Walter Rogers*

LEONARD B. SMITH, *cornetist*

7. (a) Irish Tune ..... *Percy Grainger*
   (b) March, Golden Gate (new) ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*
   (Official March of the Golden Gate International Exposition. Written for and dedicated to the Exposition.)
8. Grand March, University ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*

Evening

PART I

1. Grand March, Tannhäuser ..... *Richard Wagner*
2. Overture, Tannhäuser ..... *Richard Wagner*
3. Fugue (A minor) ..... *Johann Sebastian Bach*
4. Tone Poem, Finlandia ..... *Jan Sibelius*

PART II

5. Second Hungarian Rhapsody ..... *Frank Liszt*
6. Trio for Three Cornets—Echo Waltz ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*

MESSRS. SMITH, ELSASS AND MAHONEY

7. (a) Finale, The Pines of Rome ..... *Ottorino Respighi*
   (b) March, Happy-Go-Lucky ..... *Edwin Franko Goldman*
8. Waltz, The Beautiful Blue Danube ..... *Johann Strauss*

Program Subject to Change Without Notice

Figure 9.12. "GBPB: March 19, 1939," GBPB program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of Loras Schissel.)

Programed in the afternoon concert alongside marches, overtures, selections from operas, and contemporary wind band pieces ("Irish Tune" by Grainger), *Golden Gate March* was one of two pieces composed by Edwin Franko Goldman on the program.

The relationship between Percy Grainger, Henry Cowell, and Richard Franko Goldman is explored in-depth in Chapter 6.[1705] Mentioned earlier in this section, the Goldmans were champions of contemporary composers, and the March 19 and other programs in the GBPB prove the use of innovative programing of new works with canonical pieces.[1706]

Audiences who could not attend the GGIE were able to obtain *The Golden Gate March*; a piano reduction was sold in the form of sheet music (arranged by Erik W.G. Leidzen). After the Goldmans' departure from the GGIE, the Goldman Band programed *The Golden Gate March* several times and recorded it for Victor Records. As a guest conductor, Richard Franko Goldman performed the march with the University of Michigan Concert Band in a performance on January 14, 1940. The program notes for the performance read:

> Dr. Goldman is noted throughout the world not only as a conductor but as a composer as well, his works numbering over seventy-five. The first of these two marches [The Golden Gate and A Children's March] is dedicated to the Golden Gate Exposition and is familiar to anyone who witnessed or heard via the radio the series of concerts which his famous band played at the World's Fair.[1707]

[1705] Grainger, Cowell, and Richard Goldman worked to have Cowell's *Celtic Set* performed at the GGIE (see Chapter 7).

[1706] Several studies by historians and the Goldmans discuss wind band programming as well as the uniqueness of the Goldman Band's choices. See: J. Kent McAnally, "Edwin Franko Goldman, Richard Franko Goldman, and the Goldman Band: Professionals and Educators," in *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education*, vol 17, no. 1 (September 1995); Edwin Franko Goldman, *Band Betterment; Suggestions and Advice to Bands, Bandmasters, and Band-Players* (New York: C. Fischer, 1934); Richard Franko Goldman, *The Wind Band: Literature and Techniques* (Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1961); Richard Franko Goldman, *The Concert Band*, (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1946); Richard Franko Goldman, *The Band's Music* (London: I. Pitman & Sons, 1939).

[1707] University of Michigan, *University of Michigan School of Music Programs 1938–1939* (University of Michigan, University: Ann Arbor, MI, 1939), accessed June 17, 2018, https://books.google.com/books?id=h0QJAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA1-PA43&lpg=RA1-PA43&dq=Golden+Gate+march+.

Through the medium of radio, audiences were able to hear live performances of *The Golden Gate March*, including a geographically distant population in the daily musical offerings at the GGIE. After the end of the band's GGIE contract, the Goldmans and the entire ensemble departed for New York on July 1 to begin their "annual Summer concert series on the Mall in Central Park."[1708]

Western Art Music Written for the GGIE

Two pieces from the western-art music tradition were uncovered during research, a symphonic poem and a cantata. *The Golden Gate International Exposition Symphony* by Nicola De Lorenzo and the cantata, *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* by Julia Klumpkey, share several similarities. The works are both: written by local composers who incidentally have composition prizes named after them, written in the Neoromantic style, harken from the western-classical genre formats (symphony and cantata), dedicated specifically for the GGIE, and programmed at either the GGIE or at pre-fair opening festivities.

Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate is the only sample of work presented at the GGIE to be written from the perspective of an indigenous tribe of the Bay Area, the Tamals, albeit with glaring issues of presentation of race and ethnicity. The solitary piece in the entire collection written for the GGIE that received a verifiable performance review by a professional critic (explored later in this section) in addition to a location of the composition's completion is De Lorenzo's work. Compiling data

[1708] "10,000 in Youth Concert at Fair," Oakland Tribune, June 25, 1939, B-7.

regarding the composers' provenance and work in the Bay Area required a myriad of resources, including census data, archival materials, reviews, and newspaper reports.

Cantata: Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate

Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate, an allegoric cantata written by Bay Area composer, Julia Klumpkey (1870–1961),[1709] is comprised of twelve movements based on the 1919 book, *Legends of San Francisco*, by Dr. George W. (Walter) Caldwell (1847–1946).[1710] With a strong musical pedigree, Klumpkey attended the New England Conservatory (violin and composition,1894–95), and taught violin at Converse College for ten years post-graduation. In 1922, she attended the Conservatoire Américaine where she studied violin with Maurice Hewitt and composition with Nadia Boulanger (it is not known if the two reconnected at the GGIE while Boulanger visited).[1711] Forced to return to the United States due to the impending war in Europe, she resided in Oakland, CA and attended the Golden Gate International Exposition. After her death, scholarships in her name were left to the San Francisco Conservatory and Converse College.

Designated by the composer specifically as a "dramatic tone poem," the work's instrumentation calls for solo voices (soprano and baritone), chorus, piano, and string orchestra (ad lib.). On the title page of the score, Klumpkey notes, "In Honor of The Golden Gate International Exposition 1939 on Treasure Island, San

[1709] The spelling Klumpkey is used by the composer while Klumpke is used by other members of her family.
[1710] *Legends of San Francisco* was published in 1919 by San Francisco, CA: Philips &Van Orden Co.
[1711] NEC: necmusic.edu/archives/Julia-Klumpkey.

Francisco Bay."[1712] *The Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* tells the Indian legend of how the Twin Peaks, two hills in the center of the city of San Francisco, came to be from the perspective of the Tamal tribe. Klumpkey does not set Caldwell's entire seventeen-page poem, but rather choses to include important narrative moments. She notes this abbreviation of the text in her score as "mostly from Dr. George W. Caldwell's Legends of San Francisco (By permission)."[1713] In the program notes, she includes lines of text from the Caldwell poem that do not appear in the piece, but rather set the mood for each movement. Table 9.4 lists the lines that are included in the program notes; those notated but without musical characterization are included with bracketed notation. Although these poetic lines do not signify any musical performance, they are included in this discussion because the text sets the stage for each corresponding movement.

One of the interesting aspects of the piece is the organization of alternating the movements amongst different permutations of the ensemble. For example, the "Prelude; The Sea" begins with solo piano followed by the second movement with choir and piano, then instrumental introduction, etc. Also, the use of recitatives throughout the piece brings forth a storytelling element to the work. The Table 9.4 outlines not only the instrumental per movement but also the text.

[1712] Julia Klumpkey, "The Twin Guardians of The Golden Gate," (San Bruno, California: Wesley Webster, 1939).
[1713] Ibid.

Table 9.4: Instrumentation and Text chart for *The Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate*. Compiled by author

Movement	Instrumentation	Text
I. Prelude The Sea	Instrumental: piano	[No text]
II. The Tamals	SATB and piano	"The Tamals, Indian fisherman who live by the Sea Yana-Tana, the chieftain's young twin daughters wonderfully fair. Hear them sing: "Gentle seagulls flying near the shore, warn us of the foeman, warn us of the foes. We the chieftain's daughters wandering on the ridges gathering the golden poppies; we heard of the foeman of the Northland in mighty fleet of war boats; an ever present shadow threatening our shores."
III. The Signal Lights Announce the Foe	Instrumental: piano; "orchestral introduction"; SSTB	[The signal lights around the shore announce the foes] Voices: "The sea gulls are flying southward shrieking; the foes are coming, coming, coming, they are coming."
IV. The Spirit of California Appears	Instrumental: piano and spoken word	Spoken: "and she said"
V. I Am the Spirit of the Country	Solo soprano and soprani I- II	"I am the Spirit of the country. I choose you my twin daughters for the beauty of your bodies, and the worth of Soul within you, as the Saviours [sic] of your people, as the guardians of my harbor. If you stand upon the hilltop with the talisman I give you no harm can come to your people. Take this Magic Iris with you, guard it well for every petal has a charm that brings an answer to an unselfish prayer. Never, while you guard the hilltop, shall a foe invade your country. Petals three there are, wishes three shall be granted when you make them, as a prayer for all your people." "Then the Poppy maiden vanished."
VI. The Twin Sisters Watch on the Hilltop	Instrumental: piano S1, Contralti, Tenors/Basses	[The twin sisters watch on the hilltop. Through the night they watched and waited, while the silver moon was racing through silken clouds, and flooding all the bay and hills and ocean with a pale illumination. From the Heights of Point Bonita rose a thread of smoke that lengthened, broadened, flaunted like a banner, black and ominous of evil. The foes are coming! See the Signal fires are lighted! The foes are coming!] *Chorus of voices announcing the foes:* "The sea gulls are flying southward shricking [sic.], shricking: the foes are coming, they are coming."
VII. Tanas Prayer	SCTB and Piano features soprani and contralto	[Tana plucks a petal from the Magic Iris and prays] "Spirit of our Native Country, goddess guarding home and harbor, roll the fig banks o'er the land and hide the narrows from the foeman; bring the west wind from the ocean, drive their boats to crash and shatter on the rocky surf-bound islands;

		bring the west wind, bring the fig banks."
VIII. From the Ocean Came the West Wind	SCTB and piano features baritone recitative	[The Maiden's prayer is answered.] Baritone Recitative: "From the ocean came the west wind blowing stronger, growing cooler, bringing protective log-banks sweeping landward o'er gray waters flooding through the Golden Gate." SCTB: "Over northern rim of ocean came the war canoes by hundreds until the waters darkened with the number of the war boats. Swiftly rose and fell their paddles flashing in the brilliant sunshine trailing scarfs of foam behind them as they raced toward the harbor. Through the fog the boats were racing for the entrance of the harbor, and they plunged into the breakers, crashed upon the rocks and splintered; from the surf the foeman struggled to the rocks and scrambled on them."
IX. Baritone recitative and Quartet	Baritone Recitative & vocal quartet (SATB), piano	B.R.: "Then the maiden plucked another petal from the Magic Iris and prayed." Vocal Quartet: "Spirit of our native country goddess guarding home and harbor change the foeman to sea creatures that they never may attack us."
X. Instrumental—Speaking voice; The foes are changed into sea creatures	Instrumental number with spoken word	[As the magic petal fluttered to the ground the foes were changing; arms and paddles changed to flippers; legs were bound as in a bandage and their brown and hairy bodies wriggled on the rocks as the crowded, barking, fighting one another.] "ah"
XI. Baritone Recitative and Chorus	Baritone recitative SATB and piano	Baritone Recitative: "There still remained another petal of the Magic Yellow Iris. "One more wish; we have one only," said one sister to the other." Chorus: "Would we might remain forever as the guardian of the harbor to protect it from the foemen, to invoke the fog and west wind."

XII. Then again the Poppy maiden stood triumphantly before them	Instrumental Number followed by solo and chorus, piano	[Then again the Poppy Maiden stood triumphantly before them.] "You have chosen well, my children. Had you wished for wealth or beauty, robes or jewels, or for any selfish purpose, then the petals would have fallen to the earth and lost their magic; but all your thoughts are for your people, therefore you shall be immortal, standing on the heights forever as the Guardians of the Harbor. Draw your mantles around your shoulders, furs they are, but flowers they shall be, as my garments are of flowers so shall yours be of golden poppies; lupines blue shall deck your mantle, blue and gold shall be your colors; blue for purity of purpose, gold for worth of soul and spirit. While you stand above the harbor, while you call the fog and west wind, while you wear your cloak of poppies never shall a foeman enter through the Golden Gate with war boats." Chorus: "To this day the ancient warriors flounder on the sea rock islands barking, roaring, crowding, fighting near the gateway of the harbor while the sisters, as the Twin Peaks, invoke the fig and west win, and stand forever as the Guardians of the Harbor."

Klumpkey's treatment of the text is primarily syllabic. In fact, the only occurrence of melismatic treatment is in movement X, "Instrumental—Speaking voice; The foes are changed into sea creatures." In this particular section of the piece, the de-humanization of the voice sonically depicts the magical transformation of the foes into sea creatures. The syllabic treatment is one method by which Klumpkey can progressively move through the large amount of text as well as keep narrative clarity. The instrumental accompaniment enhances the syllabic vocal treatment throughout the work. The perspective of the work is not only from the indigenous people, but a female indigenous voice. With most of the text sung by the soprano, the baritone acts as a narrator. This shift from the traditional male-dominancy to female empowerment makes the piece different than any other in the GGIE collection. The story itself

focuses on the female(s) protagonist, with female figures (the Spirit of California, Twin Sisters) as the active agents in the narration. Whether or not Klumpkey was drawn to the source material and decided to create a dominant female-role is unknown at this time.

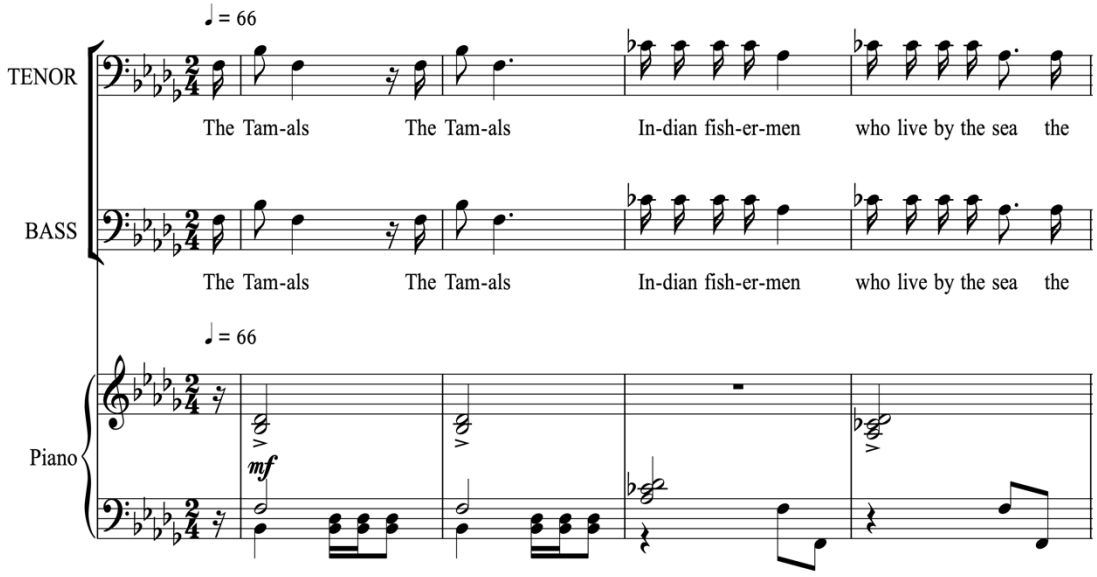
To date, this piece is the only one, either performed and/or performed at the GGIE that was written from the perspective and of a legend of a local indigenous group. While acknowledgment of the first peoples of San Francisco during the period of the GGIE is unique, it does come with issues of authenticity, presentation of ethnic minorities, and agency. The choice of text based upon the tradition of Native American mythic storytelling, aligns the composition to the overall treatment of the GGIE's secondary theme of the mythic western frontier town utilized in the pre-fair opening ceremonies of 1939 and 1940 as well as the *Cavalcade*. (Artistic and literary expressions of the western myth at the GGIE are examined thoroughly in Chapter 4).

Problems arise with the original author of the text, George Caldwell, who was an amateur ethnologist, writer, and painter and whose works were a combination of stories based upon fact but embellished with artistic license. At this time, the specific legend of Twin Peaks cannot be corroborated as a myth of the indigenous people of the San Francisco Bay. In fact, the name of the tribe of Tamals is incorrect; today this ethnic group would self-identify as Coastal Miwoks.[1714] Klumpkey's management of the text where the native peoples enter as a chorus is indicative of her era's treatment of musical stereotypes (i.e. rhythmic and repetitive drumming). Issues arise in this

[1714] I cannot ascertain the provenance of the name Tamals at this time.

work, especially in the second movement “Tamals.” Native American musical tropes, like rhythmic drumming, can be seen in the continuous rhythmic profile of a drum appearing on the second beat of a 2/4 bar; two sixteenth-notes followed by an eighth within the harmonic field of B-flat minor.

Example 9.13 Rythmic drumming in the second movement, "Tamals."



The only instance of this rhythmic pattern is when the native peoples enter as a chorus. Other than this movement, the trope doesn't recur.

The rarity of a composition written for the exposition with proof of performance in the Bay Area region during the time of the GGIE's tenure cannot be overstated. Sponsored by the Oakland City Women's City Club's "Music Week," a reported performance of *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* was given. Klumpkey's piece won the prize for piano and voice contest for the California Composers and Writers of 1939.[1715] The celebratory performance of the prize-winning work took place with the Fireside Singers of San Francisco (40 voices) and conductor Mrs. M.E. Blanchard (the baritone soloist was Joel Carter (1913–2000)[1716] accompanied by Florence Colby Battram (b. 1889–?).[1717]

[1715] The award program included male and female composers. "Music Week Programs At City Club," *Oakland Tribune*, May 4, 1939, 14-D.
[1716] Carter had an active civic-level performance schedule during the time period of the GGIE (including lead baritone with the Intimate Opera Company). He would continue his career by earning

Another piece of evidence regarding the work can be gleaned from Klumpkey's sister, Anna Elizabeth Klumpke [sic.] (a Bay Area artist) who wrote an autobiography (published in 1940) that mentions Julia's interactions with local musical celebrities, such as San Francisco Symphony conductor Pierre Monteux.[1718] In her book, Anna Elizabeth makes a special mention of *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate*, stating:

> One notable work of Julia Klumpke[sic.]'s is a dramatic tone poem entitled "The Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate," in honor of the exposition scheduled for 1939 on Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay. The island has been reclaimed from the depths of the sea by some hydrate magic, and a great pageant of the sea will be given.[1719]

Klumpke's mention of her sister's work in a publication validates the piece's importance within Julia Klumpkey's composition output as well as gives a thematic tie to the GGIE. Although Treasure Island was representative of new land as "reclaimed" from the San Francisco Bay, the text of the *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* deals with the creation myth of new terrain in San Francisco. Both the fairgrounds and Twin Peaks are geographical markers, one man-made and the other natural, that change the topography of the Bay Area.

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his Master's and Ph.D. from Stanford. After serving in the U.S. Air Force during WWII, he became a faculty member at the University at Chapel Hill in 1949 until his retirement in 1978. "Obituary," *News & Record*, Greensboro, North Carolina, March 17, 2000, accessed March 28, 2019, www.greensboro.com/obituaries/article.

[1717] Battram came to Bay Area in 1915 and was an "Oakland resident in the 1930s–1950s." "Florence Battram," Northern California Composers, Finding Aid San Francisco Public Library, accessed July 22, 2018, sfpl.org. "Music Week Programs At City Club," *Oakland Tribune*, May 4, 1939, 14-D.

[1718] Anna Elizabeth Klumpke, *Memoirs Of An Artist*, Lilian Whiting, ed. (Wright & Potter Printing Co.: Boston, Massachusetts, 1940), 87.

[1719] Anna Elizabeth Klumpke, 87.

De Lorenzo's Poem As Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition *or* Ode to the Exposition

Nicola De Lorenzo[1720] (1875?–n.d.), a Bay Area composer, composed *Poem As Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition* in preparation for the upcoming fair. The one movement work features the standard tone-poem format of a full symphonic orchestra, and changed titles to *Ode to the Exposition* in the years following its completion. The handwritten manuscript, housed at the Hargrove Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley, is in ink and contains a score and forty-eight numbered parts. The score contains several markings, indicating that the piece underwent a rehearsal. Out of the entire collection of music written for the fair, this work is the only one to have the location of the composition's completion: at the end of the manuscript, a handwritten inscription reads, "Fine Feb. 1st, 1938, Berkeley."[1721] The piece was performed at least twice by the Oakland Symphony Orchestra,[1722] under the direction of Orly See—on May 9, 1940 at the Auditorium Theater (Oakland, CA).[1723] In Figure 9.13, See and De Lorenzo are pictured alongside C. W. Olmstead[1724] in front of the statue of Pacifica:

[1720] De Lorenzo's name is spelled several different ways, the composer uses De Lorenzo.
[1721] Nicola De Lorenzo, *Poem, as homage to Golden Gate International Exposition, for full symphony orchestra,* Nicola De Lorenzo musical compositions, ARCHIVES DE LOR. 1, The Music Library, University of California, Berkeley, Box 2, item 10. Nicola De Lorenzo Musical Compositions.
[1722] The only date available at this time is the May 9, 1940 premiere date. Sources do state that this was the second premiere day of *Ode to the Exposition*. The Oakland Symphony Orchestra was established in 1933 and conducted by Orly See until his death in 1957. The orchestra continued under several different directors until declaring bankruptcy in 1986 and restructured as the Oakland East Bay Symphony. "About Us: History," Oakland Symphony, accessed August 15, 2018, oaklandsymphony.org.
[1723] "Oakland Symphony Scheduled: Ode To Exposition," *Oakland Tribune*, May 5, 1940.
[1724] Olmstead was in charge of "installation work" on the Ford Exhibit. "Ford Exhibit Material Here," *Oakland Tribune*, April 21, 1940, C-7.

'IN CASE YOU DON'T KNOW, THAT'S—'

Orley See, conductor of the Oakland Symphony Orchestra, points his cane at some object of interest at the Fair while C. W. Olmstead (center) and Nicola DeLorenzo look on. DeLorenzo's "Ode to the Exposition" will be played by the orchestra May 9. The aloof lady in the background is Pacifica, in case you have forgotten.

Figure 9.13. "Orly See, conductor of the Oakland Symphony Orchestra, points his cane at some object of interest at the Fair while C.W. Olmstead (center) and Nicola DeLorenzo [sic.] look on. DeLorenzo's "Ode to the Exposition" was played by the orchestra on May 9, 1939. "In Case You Don't Know, That's—," *Oakland Tribune*, April 28, 1940, B-7.

Historically, De Lorenzo's name may not be among the most famous Californian composers of the era (i.e. Cowell, Harrison), but his name lives on in the form of a composition prize. The University of California, Berkeley awards the Nicola de Lorenzo Prize in Music Composition to the "best original completed musical composition" to both "graduate and undergraduate students of any

major."[1725] The award is a top honor of Berkeley's music department and yet information regarding the composer whose name is attached to the award is hard to discern. After repeated attempts of identifying the provenance of the award, the staff at UC Berkeley could not recall any information besides the prize being established in 1958.

A cursory investigation regarding De Lorenzo's biographical history in California unveils his status as an immigrant from Italy. 1920 U.S. Federal Census data revealed Nicola De Lorenzo as a forty-five year-old resident of Santa Clara, CA with a birthdate of "abt [sic.]1875," and as occupation, he lists "musician."[1726] By 1940, he was a resident of 1139 Addison St. Berkley, CA, according to the Alameda County, California Voter Registrations (1940).[1727] In a 1940 *Oakland Tribune* article, De Lorenzo was identified as a violinist for the Oakland Symphony Orchestra.[1728]

Information regarding pieces written for the fair with reviews of the performance is rare. The only piece in the entire collection written for the GGIE that received a verifiable performance review is De Lorenzo's work. Two reviews of the *Ode to the Exposition* were published: The first was an unnamed authored-column published on April 21, 1940, and dedicated to the upcoming May 9, 1940 performance, and the second, by Jack Mason, was a post concert review. On April 21, 1940, an *Oakland Tribune* article provides rare details regarding not only the work's

[1725] University of California, Berkeley, "Prizes and Honors/Nicola de Lorenzo Prize in Music," accessed March 28, 2019, financialaid.berekeley.edu.
[1726] Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
[1727] State of California, United States, *Great Register of Voters*, Sacramento, CA: California State Library.
[1728] Jack Mason, "Symphony's 6th Season Comes to End," *Oakland Tribune*, May 10, 1940, 27.

quality and program notes (or lack thereof), but also includes biographic information. The last section of the article emphasized De Lorenzo's thirty-five years of American citizenship, mostly spent in California. The Bay Area region reminded him of his native Italy, thus his work is inspired by the "natural beauty" of the Bay Area, with pieces titled: "'Lyric Poem' on a Lake Merritt theme" and "'Sketches From California Scenery.'"[1729]

De Lorenzo was from a musical family and studied at the National Conservatory of Music in Naples and toured "with concert companies in Australia, Dutch India and South Africa" and in Mexico City where he "appeared with Tetrazzini who was singing there."[1730] Whether or not his touring exposed him to different world music traditions other than his western-classical background, the reporter remarks on the "bits of melodies which characteristically indicate various nationalities," in *Poem As Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition*.[1731] After analysis of this work, evidence of other world music cultures included, in any form (melodic, harmonic, rhythmic, etc.) cannot be found. There are several short modal moments in the melody that could have caused the reviewer to mention "bits of melodies" from other nations, but none was determined to be indicative of any particular musical culture. Evidence of cultural delineation in the score, for example, labels connoting foreign areas present at the GGIE cannot be found in the manuscript. The piece does not have segments nor are there any lines of text outlining sections

[1729] "Symphony To Honor Exposition," *Oakland Tribune*, April 21, 1940, 21.
[1730] Ibid.
[1731] Ibid.

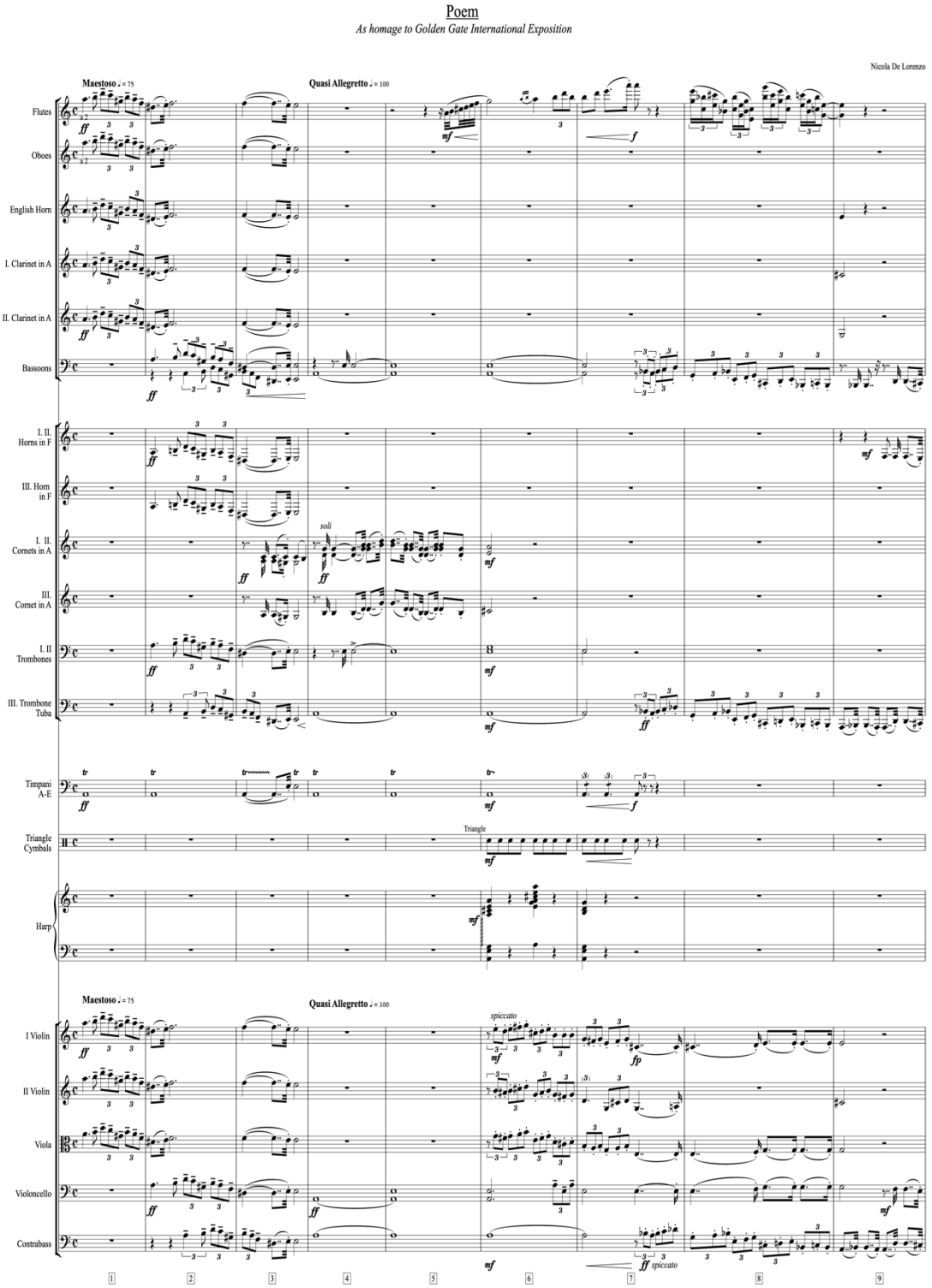
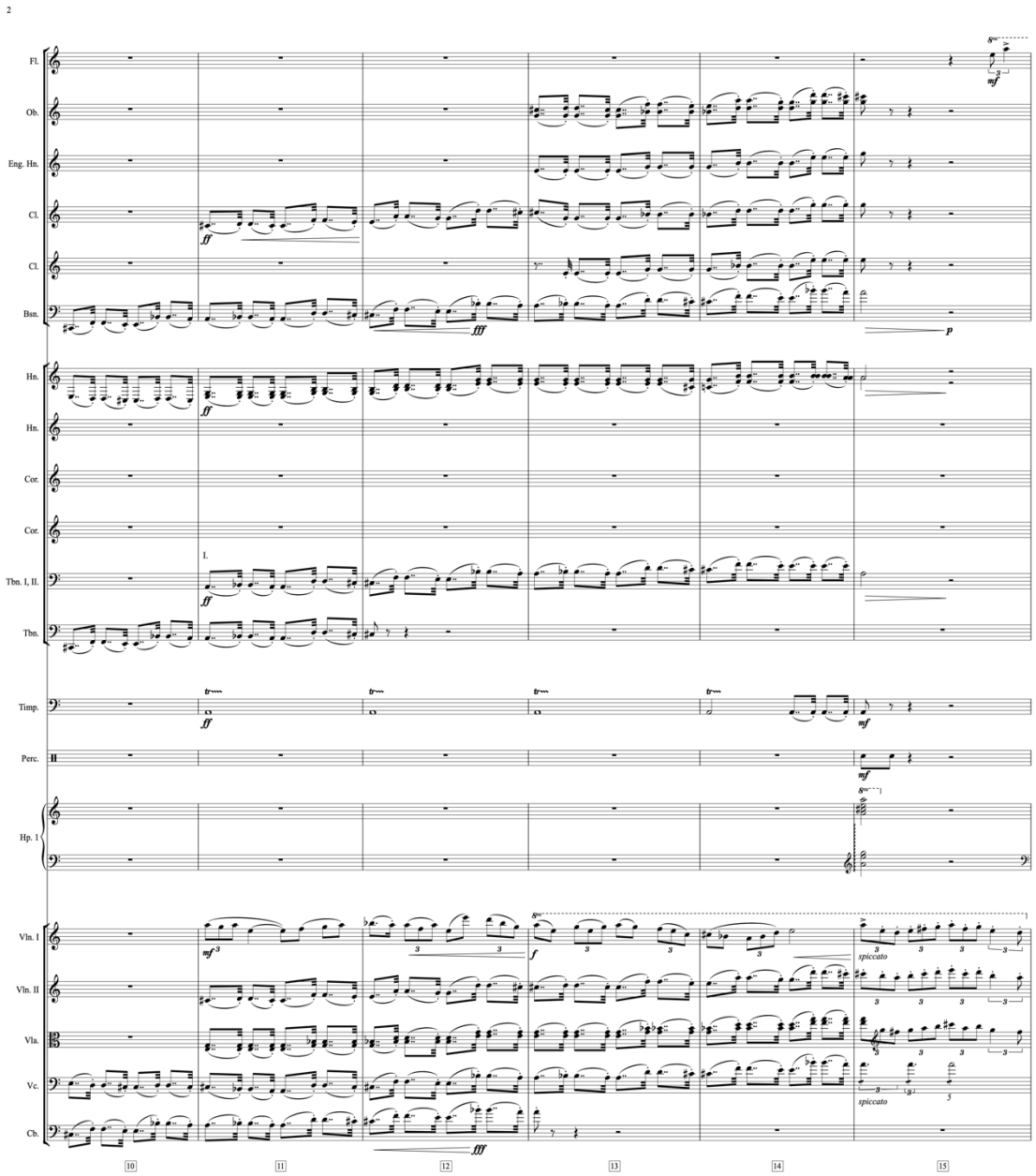
(like Klumpkey's *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate*). Rather, the only markings made are tempi notations in Italian.

According to the April 21 review, De Lorenzo did not include program notes for his piece, "preferring to leave to the imagination of his hearers the details of this tonal excursion to the Exposition."[1732] In the absence of notes, the reporter surmises that the opening segment of the piece suggests the announcement of the "event and opening of the gates":

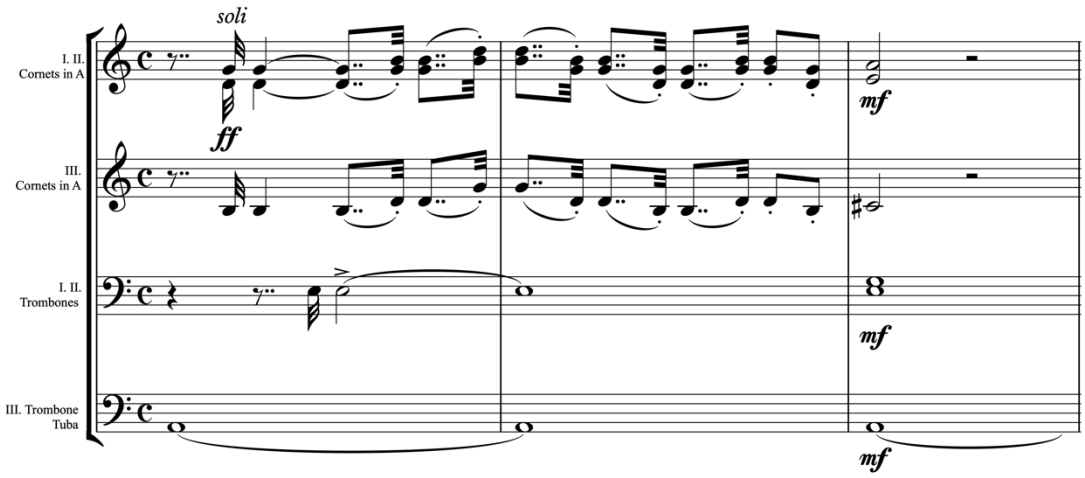
> Tripping strings suggest the surging crowd of visitors bent on sightseeing and pleasure. A brief passage in brass and strings is reminiscent of ringing chimes in the Tower of the Sun, while delicate tracery in wood-winds pictures myriad blossoms nodding with the breeze. Throughout the harmonic background is suggestive of the confusion and movement of good natured throngs in holiday mood.[1733]

By comparing the score and the reviewer's comments, one can find the examples mentioned in the article. For example, the "tripping strings" [echoed in the brass and woodwind parts] suggestive of the crowds attending the exposition, occur in measures 6–7 (Example 9.13). The dotted eighth-sixteenth note rhythm ("tripping" strings) is carried through as Theme A into measures 10–15 (Example 9.14).

[1732] Ibid.
[1733] Ibid.

Example 9.14 Nicola De Lorenzo, *Poem: As Homage To Golden Gate International Exposition*, mm.1–9. Transcription by Leslie La Barre.

Example 9.15. Nicola De Lorenzo, *Poem: As Homage To Golden Gate International Exposition*, mm.10–15. Transcription by Leslie La Barre.

The "brief passage in brass and strings" that recalled the "ringing chimes in the Tower of the Sun" can be found in measures 4–5 (Example 9.15). Although the reviewer mentioned the "bell-like" quality in the strings and brass, it could also be construed as a fanfare in G Major (indicated as a *soli* section in mm. 4–5).

Example 9.16. mm. 4–5 "Fanfare" *soli* section, transcription by Leslie La Barre.



The post-concert review by Jack Mason of the *Oakland Tribune* praises De Lorenzo's "timely composition" and "full orchestration" that has a "splendid" and "dynamic" conclusion.[1734] The negative aspects of the work are explained in one brutal critique by Jack Mason:

> Its defect is in the lack of any strong thematic strain. It calls for the most exacting virtuosity on the part of the orchestra, yet fails to do its share in the way of providing anything positive for the ear or the heart to catch onto.[1735]

The absence of an identifiable melody may have contributed to the loss of longevity and popularity of the *Ode to the Exposition* in subsequent concert programs. Mason

[1734] Jack Mason, "Symphony's 6th Season Comes to End."
[1735] Ibid.

does suggest that a "second hearing" may help in discovering "more of merit" in the piece.[1736]

Conclusion

Examples from the GGIESMC and *Golden Gate March*, *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate*, and *Poem As Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition (Ode to the Exposition)* provide a sample-sized glimpse into the microcosm of pre-World War II popular song and symphonic composition and music publishing. The collection's composers and songwriters ranged from amateur to professional, well known and to unknown, and local to the Bay Area as well as out-of state. The traditionally marginalized group of female composers and authors are well represented for the era, with eighteen composers/authors of sheet music and one symphonic composer noted. Several of the composers of the GGIESMC are first generation immigrants (i.e. Stiska and De Lorenzo) who taught and composed in California but are not as well-known as other authors in the collection.

Famous composers, like Edwin Franko Goldman, wrote works in honor of the GGIE. Extra-musical archival items, the GBPB, allow insight into world's fair programming. The *Golden Gate March* is a valid example of the traditional march-style of the 1930s and reinforces the popularity of wind bands at the GGIE as well as other American world's fairs. The unique incorporation of the bells evokes the carillon in the Tower of the Sun, a sonic tie from the work to the actual event. Like

[1736] Ibid.

Goldman, film composer Frank Churchill and lyricist Phillip Phelps also capitalized on the unique sonic symbol of the carillon, writing specific lyrics identifying the instrument in both pieces of published sheet music: “The Bells of Treasure Isle” and “I’ve Got a Moonlight Date At The Golden Gate.”

Investigation into the origin of local composers lost to historical record yields information valuable to scholars and identifies significant figures of local histories. For example, composers Klumpkey and De Lorenzo were local musical figures whose names live on at highly regarded music institutions, but their lives and work are little known. Both De Lorenzo and Klumpkey’s works share various similarities and unveil insight into the sound of the Bay Area western-classical scene of the late-1930s. *Twin Guardians of the Golden Gate* showcases a female composer’s work during the late-1930s, an era in which very few pieces by women were performed in the concert hall. Although the work utilizes cultural appropriation and stereotyped musical tropes, it is a very rare representation of a text with indigenous female protagonists. De Lorenzo’s *Poem As Homage to Golden Gate International Exposition or Ode to the Exposition* is a rare example of a piece performed by a local composer for the GGIE with an intact score, parts, and two separate reviews regarding the performance as well as a post-concert assessment. Both western-art pieces are titled by the composers as “poems,” but differ greatly in their treatment and structure.

Research into the sheet music is a byproduct of popular culture, and yet does not often attract scholarly attention. The number of pieces created (published and

unpublished) in the GGIESMC proves a market demand for popular songs within the Bay Area communities. The hope is that this chapter's analysis adds to the popular music field, as well as contributes to the local music-maker histories pre-World War II.

CHAPTER 10
RADIO UNCHAINED: THE ASCAP VS. BMI WAR AND PROTEST CONCERT

While war was waging in Europe and Asia in September 1940, another bitter conflict between American radio networks and songwriters was well underway. Since 1932, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) had contracted with individual radio stations, but now ASCAP wanted to renegotiate its licenses and charge the networks, for a total of a 7.5% increase plus an annual licensing fee. The 1939–1941 battle between the National Broadcasters Association (NAB) and ASCAP for the airwaves used radio as a weapon and fashioned beloved American-created music as artillery.

ASCAP assembled its famous membership to present a highly publicized musical protest in the form of a two-part concert series at the Golden Gate International Exposition. ASCAP President Gene Buck announced that this music festival would be "the greatest group of creative talent ever in one spot in the history of the world."[1737] The society's intention was to show their unification and strength to the American public and radio networks during a time of key contract negotiations. But the protest failed. Instead of adding pressure to the networks, this act of defiance proved to be one of the factors that led to the eventual boycott of ASCAP-affiliated music in 1941. Using recordings and reviews, this chapter will shed new light on the issues of mass culture, music licensing, musical protest, and the reaffirmation of the

[1737] *Carousel of American Music*, Music & Arts Program, 1997, CD2, track 1, ca. 1:35.

American popular music canon on the West Coast in the final years before the United States' involvement in WWII.

ASCAP, the first U.S. "performance-rights licensing organization"[1738] was founded in 1914 by a consortium of composers (mostly those associated with the popular genre or Tin-Pan Alley), who sought to protect and enforce their copyrighted musical works based on the Copyright Law of 1909 that granted the copyright owner compensation for public performance of the work.[1739] Sociologist John Ryan highlights that ASCAP became a private organization that protected a public law.[1740] Even in its infancy, the ASCAP organization had issues collecting royalties from businesses; the latter (e.g. hotels and restaurants) believed that performing a song increased sheet sales and additional payment per song was unnecessary. Bruce Pollack argues that in the historical timeline of music business, the date of ASCAP's establishment, February 13, 1914, should be more prominent.[1741] On that date, the most "distinguished and popular songwriters" in the United States "arrived en masse at the Hotel Claridge in New York City to support the mission of a new organization for songwriters and publishers called ASCAP."[1742] Victor Herbert spearheaded the

[1738] John Ryan, *The Production of Culture in the Music Industry* (Langham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1985), 11.
[1739] Before the first copyright legislation in 1897, composers and lyricists were not compensated for public performances of their work. Enumeration for hit songs by composers such as Steven Foster, Irving Berlin, and Charles K. Harris did not materialize. The latter chose to publish his own song to protect his compensation. Harris' piece titled "After the Ball" became a "multimillion-seller." Bruce Pollack, *A Friend In the Music Business: The ASCAP Story* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Hal Leonard Books, 2014), 3.
[1740] Ryan, *The Production of Culture in the Music Industry*, 17.
[1741] Nine members established ASCAP on February 13, 1914 in New York City: Victor Herbert, Raymond Hubbell, Louis Hirsch, Silvio Hein, Glen MacDonough, Jay Witmark, Nathan Burkan, Gustave Kerker, and George Maxwell.
[1742] Pollack, *A Friend In the Music Business,* 1.

society and began the fight for payment that commensurate with the proportion of performances.

A governing board of 24 directors managed ASCAP: half were publishers and the other half were composers. To be a member, one must be a composer or author of music and have an established repertoire of at least five works, and ASCAP distributed royalties based on the number and type (i.e. song or symphony) of performance.[1743] The internal politics regarding the subjective distribution methods of ASCAP created tension between established and younger members during the first and second decade of the society.[1744] Because ASCAP was the sole copyright protectorate in the United States, membership included the most popular and talented stable of American songwriters and composers. But the rules also excluded many potential members, especially those who did not have an established repertoire—thus excluding those writers and composers from genres other than popular and classical.

Tim Taylor argues that ASCAP contributed to the absence of "jazz, blues, or any other music by African-Americans from radio for quite some time after its advent in the 1920s,"[1745] thus explaining the lack of "Hillbilly," "country," and jazz as chart-toppers even though all three genres had healthy commercial and audience support throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Pollack contradicts Taylor's argument by stating that although ASCAP was reluctant to include other genres, it "unquestionably became an important player in the development of jazz, eventually signing up most of

[1743] Ibid., 14. The New York Public Library Music Division houses the ASCAP files from 1914–1986.
[1744] "ASCAP and the Antitrust Laws: The Story of a Reasonable Compromise," in *Duke Law Journal* 1959, no. 2 (Spring, 1959): 261.
[1745] Timothy Taylor, "Part III: Radio," in *Music, Sound, and Technology in America*, Timothy Taylor, Mark Katz, Tony Grajeda, eds., (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2012), 247.

the best jazz songwriters of the '20s and '30s—some at the peak of their careers, but many only after years of petitioning."[1746] Jazz composers who enjoyed success during this era, like Fletcher Henderson (1897–1952) and Jelly Roll Morton (1890–1941), faced hardship when applying to ASCAP. Arguably, the society favored white and male membership, but this choice was in part due to the genre of music the society protected—mainly popular music. ASCAP granted membership to prominent African-American composers like William Grant Still and W.C. Handy (a jazz/blues composer), and in turn, supported the efforts of ASCAP.

The 1917 unanimous Supreme Court ruling in *Herbert v. Shanley Co.* ruled in favor of ASCAP and upheld "the right of a copyright owner for compensation for a public performance of his work." The ruling solidified ASCAP's existence and laid the legal groundwork for future disputes. From its inception, the society had (and is currently) faced issues of agency, lawsuits, and modernity, but at the time, it provided the only comprehensive performance royalty society in the United States. From 1914 until the completion of World War II, ASCAP experienced a "Golden Age of pop songwriting" and was the dominant influencing organization in the popular music genre.[1747] By 1940, ASCAP membership had swelled to over 1,300. The society not only oversaw payment for sheet music and public performances in concert venues, but also included payments from "hotels, restaurants, cafes, dance halls, movie companies, and radio stations."[1748] Although payments to members were classified,

[1746] Pollack, *A Friend In the Music Business*, 22.
[1747] Ibid., 21.
[1748] "Two Concerts to Honor ASCAP Day at Exposition: Outstanding Song Writers Will Appear in Person," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 22, 1940, 51.

members who were out of work were given subsidies and the society was "paying $50 a week" to the "aged daughter of Stephen Foster"—a composer who did not benefit from copyright protection.[1749]

With the advent of radio, ASCAP's source of income shifted from sheet music and live performance royalties to radio. To meet the programming demand, stations heavily relied on ASCAP songwriters' works to fill the slots and provide a wide variety of audiences with popular music, thus enabling ASCAP control of music performed on the airwaves and the ability to shape Americans' taste in music. By 1939, two-thirds of ASCAP's revenue was the blanket license fee that authorized the grantee use of the entire ASCAP repertory for specific types of use, like radio.[1750] At this point in time, ASCAP made contracts with stations, not the networks[1751] and controlled "the rights to some 80% of the music radio broadcast."[1752] The amount of controlled American music by ASCAP led to the start of federal antitrust ligation.

In 1932, NAB and ASCAP negotiated a licensing agreement that charged each station a flat blanket-licensing fee and 2 percent of the station's gross advertising revenue for 1933, 3 percent for 1934, and 5 percent for 1935.[1753] Grappling with a shift in technology and mass consumerism, ASCAP was determined to enforce its

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[1749] Ibid. Although Steven Foster (1826–1864) composed many American classic songs ("Jeanie with the Light Brown Hair," "My Old Kentucky Home," "Oh! Susanna," etc.), due to the absence of copyright protection, he died penniless. His predicament was one of the reasons Herbert formed ASCAP.
[1750] John Cirace, "CBS v. ASCAP: An Economic Analysis of a Political Problem," in *Fordham Law Review*, vol 47 (1978): 288.
[1751] Ibid, 288–289.
[1752] Lionel Sobel, "The Music Business and the Sherman Act: An Analysis of the Economic Realities of Blanket Licensing," in *Loyola of Los Angeles Entertainment Law Review*, Rev. 1 (1983), 3, accessed July 22, 2017, digitalcommons.lmu.edu/elr/vol3/iss1/1. The Sherman Act is still revlenat today and is utilized in contemporary copyright lawsuits and arguments.
[1753] John, Cirace. *CBS vs ASCAP: An Economic Analysis of a Political Problem*, 287.

rights and lobbied Washington for firmer "copyright laws on the airwaves."[1754] According to intellectual property lawyer, Lawrence Lessig, ASCAP raised their annual licensing fees over 448 percent from 1931 to 1939.[1755] Understandably, the stations realized that they had to fight ASCAP's dominant business practices because they were paying a fee even when ASCAP music was not performed, for example, during spoken-radio broadcasts and news hours. Both NAB and ASCAP viewed each other as monopolies. The conflict went so far as the creation of anti-ASCAP legislation and a 1934 antitrust suit by the US Department of Justice (which was abandoned a year later).

After seven years of failed negotiations, the contentious battle between ASCAP and the NAB came to a head. The 1935 contract was about to expire in 1940 and ASCAP decided to propose new increases to their fees. ASCAP proposed a reduction in rates for the affiliates (or individual stations): 50 percent for the smallest and weakest stations, 33 1/3 percent for medium sized, and none for the largest. ASCAP demanded 7.5 percent of the networks' gross advertising revenue in addition to the annual blanket-licensing fee[1756] (an approximate hike of $4.5 million to $9 million dollars in royalties).[1757]

[1754] ASCAP100, "ASCAP History," American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers, accessed on March 28, 2014, http://www.ascap.com/100#share.
[1755] Lawrence Lessig, "Lawrence Lessig: Laws That Choke Creativity," TED2007, accessed June 21, 2014, http://www.ted.com/talks/larry_lessig_says_the_law_is_strangling_creativity/transcript?language=en#t-335000.
[1756] "1939 Picture of Radio," *Variety*, April 3, 1940, Radio–27.
[1757] Sol Taishoff, "Radio Declares Its Music Independence," *Broadcasting*, August 15, 1940, 13.

President Gene Buck announced to the Los Angeles chapter of ASCAP that the amount of royalties ASCAP was asking for was inconsequential to the amount of business the networks were bringing in because of music. Buck stated that in 1939, the turnover in royalties from CBS was only $360,000.[1758] Unwilling to pay the increase, the NAB met and decided to request a formal licensing agreement from ASCAP by July 1939. Buck responded to NAB's request by positioning ASCAP as an agent of public service to the American people and declared to the 1,450 composers and approximately 130 publisher members of ASCAP in an open letter dated July 1939:

> We have a duty and responsibility to thousands of enterprises which depend upon the steady flow of new music to entertain their patrons. And an equal responsibility to the thousands of musicians and artists who interpret that music. And above all, to the public which needs the inspiration and stimulation and relaxation of music to maintain its morale in these days of uncertainty. The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers is conscious of its duty and will perform it. When the public says, "let's start the show, let's have some music," we'll see to it that they shall have music. We're show people. We have a tradition that the show must go on. The show will go on![1759]

Buck believed that by labeling ASCAP as fundamentally "American" and a force that was "indispensable" to American culture during "these days of uncertainty," he would find an empathetic resonance with the American public who had struggled through years of depression and faced an impending war in Europe. Although ASCAP's fundamental mission was to collect money for its membership, Buck

[1758] "Music: Gene Buck's Talk to LA Members," *Variety*, August 14, 1940, 33.
[1759] Gene Buck, "They Shall Have Music!," *Variety*, July 31, 1940.

cleverly created an alternative narrative in which the public was the focus and reason for ASCAP's existence.

In September of 1939, the NAB created a rival organization, Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI).[1760] Although there are many differences between ASCAP and BMI, the fundamental variable is the method of disbursing royalties to the membership and the type of music the new society supported. ASCAP's disbursement of royalty payments hinged upon a hierarchical system based upon three criteria: the amount of commercial performance, the members' seniority in ASCAP, and the quality of composition—which provided a larger payout to composers with an established catalog.[1761] Membership of those of color and females constituted a small percentage of income, due to the criteria needed for induction. African-American artists, like W.C. Handy and William Grant Still were stalwart supporters of ASCAP and participated in the GGIE ASCAP 1940 concert program.

Unlike ASCAP, BMI opened its membership to composers, regardless of genre, who had yet to establish a hit song catalog[1762] and paid per number of performances.[1763] The most important result of the creation of BMI was the need to search out non-ASCAP members' works, thus leading to the influx and accessibility of marginalized musical genres to audiences on the airwaves and the revitalization of

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[1760] Founded in September 1939, BMI's New York state charter was not effective until October 14, 1939. "About," Broadcast Music Inc., accessed February 14, 2016, http://www.bmi.com/about/75_years.
[1761] "ASCAP and the Antitrust Laws: The Story of a Reasonable Compromise," in *Duke Law Journal*, 261.
[1762] "About," Broadcast Music, Inc.
[1763] James Pegolotti, *Deems Taylor: A Biography* (Boston, Massachusetts: Northeastern Univ. Press, 2003, 265.

public domain songs such as folk tunes. A *Chicago Tribune* article detailed the positive effects of BMI's creation for composers not on the ASCAP roster. The first was the "sponsorship of new and unknown lyric writers and composer, and the second was to go after ASCAP affiliates and members who were "dissatisfied."[1764] In addition, BMI allowed stock ownership and provided service for all stations, whether or not the station was a NAB member.[1765]

During the same BMI establishment meeting, the NAB also established a broadcasting code, effective on October 1, 1939. The self-imposed code dealt with the nonmusical airtime. This time period would be dedicated to "discussion of controversial issues" of "public matters" and would be presented in a "fair and equal manner."[1766] In addition, all news broadcasts would provide factual and unbiased news stories and would avoid "attacks on another's race and religion."[1767] In discussions of the European war, the NAB decided to maintain a policy of neutrality.[1768] The issue between ASCAP and NAB became litigious, with Buck and other members of ASCAP being served warrants, brought to court, or arrested due to the issues of blanket licenses.[1769] Buck was arrested in Montana and released on a $10,000 bail. His arrest was based on an application made to Montana radio stations to pay ASCAP the amount owed or else "their licenses to play music owned by

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[1764] "Radio Stations Develop Own Music Sources: ASCAP Is Charges with Operating Trust," *Chicago Tribune*, September 16, 1939, 18.
[1765] "1939 Picture of Radio," *Variety*.
[1766] "Radio Stations Develop Own Music Sources," *Chicago Tribune*, September 16, 1939.
[1767] Ibid.
[1768] Ibid.
[1769] Stephen Calkins, "Broadcast Music, Inc. v. Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., 441 U.S. 1 (1979), in *Antitrust Stories*, Eleanor Fox and Daniel Crane, eds. (New York: Foundation Press, 2007), 213.

ASCAP would be revoked." This demand amounted to extortion, according to Gene Buck.[1770] The battle for the airwaves transferred to the state and federal legislature.

Duplicated on a larger scale a year later in San Francisco, ASCAP presented a free, twenty-fifth anniversary celebratory music festival in Carnegie Hall during the week of October 1, 1939. The eight-evening program included works by ASCAP composers and "embraced every type of music in the field of composition, from Symphony to 'Swing' (see Figure 10.1)."[1771]

[1770] "Gene Buck, Composer's Head Arrested on Extortion Charge*," Los Angeles Times,* February 23, 1940, 1.
[1771] La Guardia, Fiorello and Gene Buck, "Announcement," ASCAP Archives, Janelle Travers, e-mail communication, September 10, 2014.

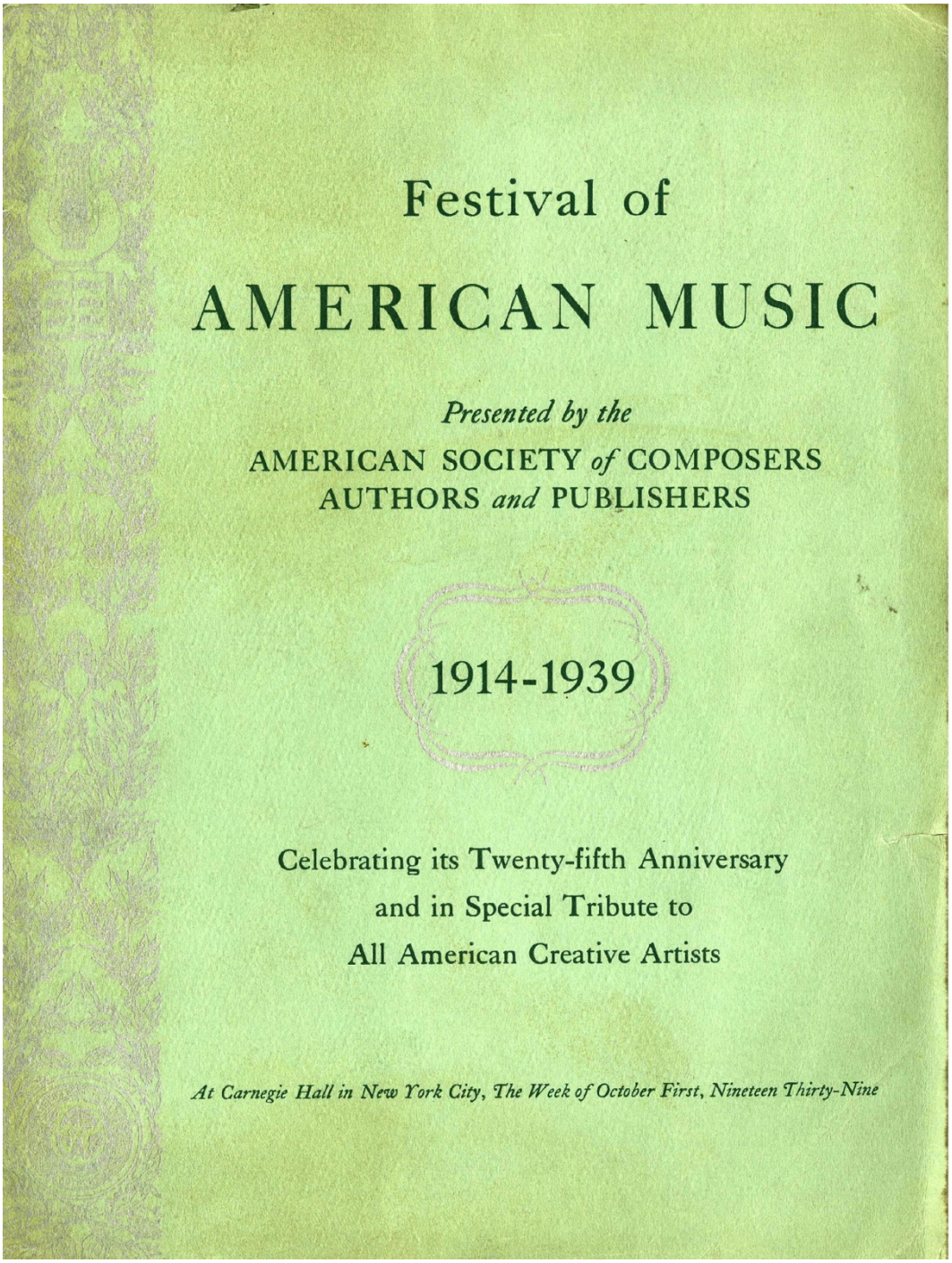


Figure 10.1. "Festival of American Music, ASCAP," program cover. (Courtesy of the ASCAP Archives.)

The program contained an article titled "What is ASCAP….." in which author (and ASCAP leader E.C. Mills)[1772] explained the history of the society as well its mission to protect the "legal rights of its members."[1773] Stressing the importance of the organization, Mills assumed a nationalistic stance in arguing for the importance of ASCAP, defining the society as a "voluntary non-profit association of citizens of the U.S.A."[1774] Following Mills's essay, the eight-concert program was listed (performances were arranged according to genre and theming):

> **Sunday Evening, October 1st:** Light Opera and Musical Comedy
> **Monday Evening, October 2nd:** Negro Composer-Members
> **Tuesday Evening, October 3rd:** Band Compositions
> **Wednesday Evening, October 4th:** Folk Songs of American Composers
> **Thursday Evening, October 5th:** Symphonic Works by Members of the American Society
> **Friday Evening, October 6th:** Modern, Symphonic, and Popular Interpretive Bands
> **Saturday Matinee, October 7th:** Children's Music
> **Sunday Evening, October 7th:** Second Concert devoted to Symphonic Works[1775]

ASCAP archivist, Janelle Travers explains, "We think this series of concerts may have been an early version of the Treasure Island Concert."[1776] The Carnegie Hall

---

[1772] In 1919, Mills was appointed chairman of the Music Publisher's Protective Association (MPPA) and subsequently became the chairman of ASCAP's administration committee. Once entertainers began to perform on the radio, Mills spearheaded the fight to get ASCAP members paid for radio performances in 1923. The U.S. Supreme Court sided with ASCAP and ruled that radio stations had to pay "for the right to use their music." Al Kohn and Bob Kohn, *Kohn On Music Licensing*, 4th ed. (New York: Aspen Publishers, 2010), 10.
[1773] E.C. Mills, "What is ASCAP…..," in *Festival of ASCAP*, program, ASCAP Archive, 2.
[1774] Ibid.
[1775] "Program," Festival of ASCAP, *program*, ASCAP Archive.
[1776] "ASCAP Treasure Island Concert," ASCAP Archives, Janelle Travers, e-mail communication, September 18, 2014.

concerts set the precedent that foreshadowed the utilization of public festivals with high-profile members as a bargaining tactic of ASCAP.[1777]

The Fall and Winter of 1940 was a precarious time for American music on the airwaves. From August 4 to 7, the NAB met in San Francisco at the St. Francis Hotel (see Figure 10.2) and firmly declared to ASCAP that the new license fees needed to be lower.

Figure 10.2. "The Saint Francis Hotel," The location of the NAB convention and Gene Buck press conference. In addition, this hotel was the temporary quarters for many of the top-level performers and corporate sponsors who visited the GGIE, postcard, courtesy of author's private collection.

ASCAP had until December 31, 1940, to renegotiate its expiring contract with NAB; if the contract was not renewed in time, the works of the ASCAP membership would

[1777] ASCAP staged another concert series at the New York World's Fair in October.

be "barred from the air."[1778] As a response to NAB's ruling, ASCAP chose the San Francisco World's Fair to stage a massive public demonstration in the form of two concerts.[1779] ASCAP felt pressured to prove its value and purpose to the American public.

Protest Concert Held at the GGIE

The battle for the airwaves took place on Treasure Island, the San Francisco Exposition fairgrounds in the middle of the San Francisco Bay. Local newspapers described ASCAP Day with warlike metaphors:

> Counter-punching at American broadcasters who threaten a boycott of their music, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers are carrying their battle to Treasure Island this Tuesday for one of the greatest musical shows of the year. Lucky San Francisco will become the musical battle ground as the organized tunesmiths attempt to prove that their music is indispensable to America…. The program shows that A.S.C.A.P. is bringing its heaviest artillery to bear.[1780]

San Francisco would house an epic musical "battle" where composers would fight for their livelihoods. Indeed, the number of talented composers, musicians, and lyricists present to perform their own works was astounding, and arguably, unprecedented in American popular music history.

[1778] "ASCAP to Present Fabulous Musicale in Radio War," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 20, 1940.
[1779] Ibid.
[1780] Ibid.

The local press grabbed hold of the sensationalized cause and promoted the ASCAP festival day with headlines and articles announcing the upcoming deluge of famous songwriters (Figure 10.3):

Music at the Fair

ASCAP Brings Its Radio War Right to Enemy, Scores Victory of Varying Degree

By ALFRED FRANKENSTEIN

The microphones that were in evidence yesterday during the two concerts sponsored by the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers on Treasure Island were not connected with anything more remote than amplifying speakers on or near the stage, and thereby hangs a long and complicated tale. Noth-

and Lord knows who else will be off the air after January 1 unless some solution to this curious lockout is reached in the meantime.

ENEMY TERRITORY

Yesterday's concerts may, therefore, be regarded as a move to take the battle into the enemy's territory. ASCAP convened some of its biggest names on the ground where the

the challenging and significant figures in contemporary symphonic composition belong to the organization. The only one of that distinguished company represented yesterday is Roy Harris, although one left the concert with increased respect for Howard Hanson. Harris', "When Johnny Comes Marching Home" is a somewhat labored piece and is not the best of Harris but

Figure 10.3. Alfred Frankenstein, "Music at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 25, 1940.

The *San Francisco Examiner* announced to its readership the headliners of the ASCAP day festival two-part concert as bringing "the most musicians—from both a qualitative and quantitative standpoint—ever to assemble at Treasure Island at one time."[1781] The press interviewed composer Harold Arlen (1905–1986) on his arrival at the St. Francis Hotel with his actress wife, Anya Taranda (1915–1970). As Arlen posed for photos, he "warbled "Who's afraid of the BMI?" and framed himself with sheet music."[1782]

[1781] "Music Festival to Be Held at Fair Sept. 24," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 18, 1940, 11.
[1782] "ASCAP Will 'Say It With Music' in Radio War: Talent Arriving Here for Tuesday's Fabulous Show at the Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 21, 1940.

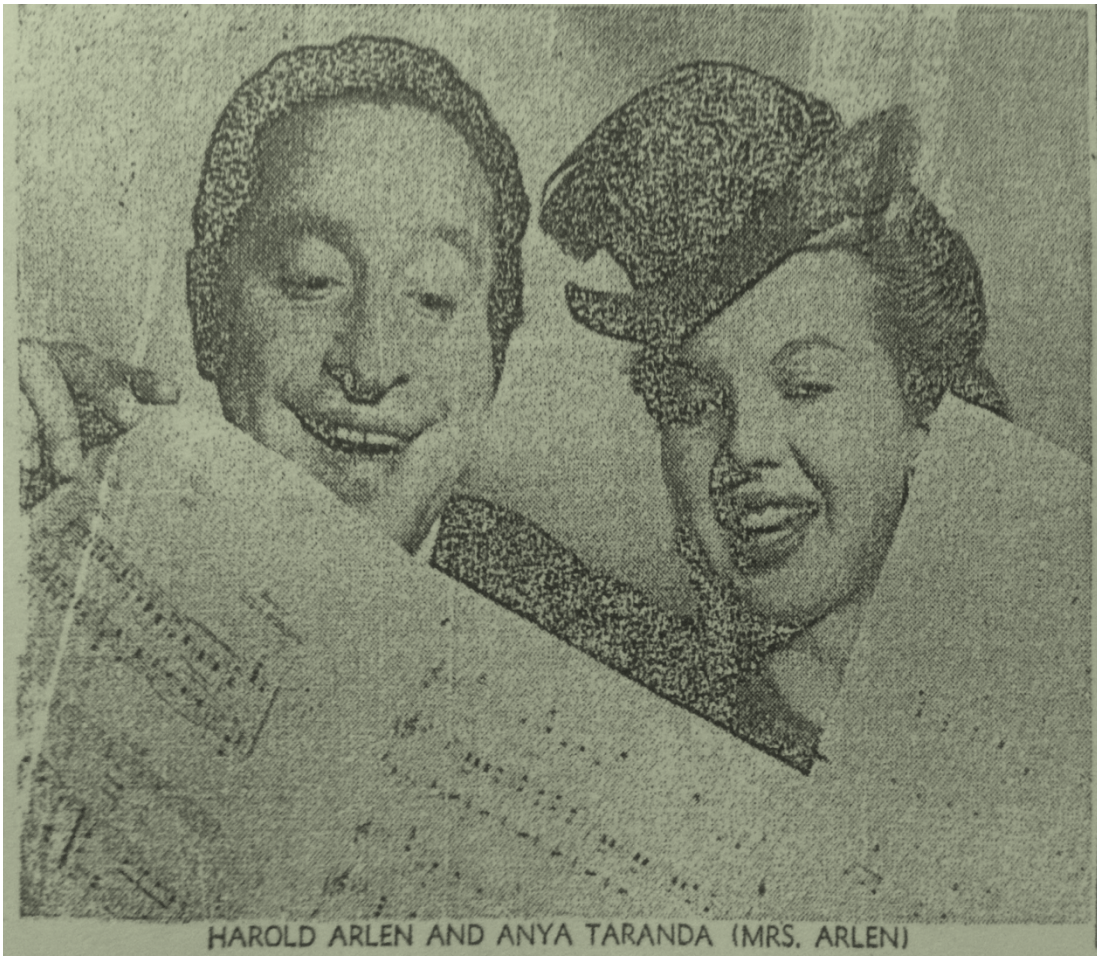



Figure 10.4. "ASCAP Will 'Say It With Music' In Radio War: Talent Arriving Here For Tuesday's Fabulous Show At Fair," *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 23, 1940.

President Buck chose to fight the impending threat of BMI by not acknowledging the fledgling organization. His position was as follows: "We're not here to fight BMI, we're here to show the folks just what ASCAP has to offer. So far as I'm concerned, BMI doesn't exist."[1783] In the very hotel BMI met and decided to go forward with an imposed deadline (St. Francis Hotel), Buck held a press conference where he denied the purpose of a competing performance royalties

[1783] Willis Werner, "ASCAP Music Festival in Frisco," *Variety*, October 2, 1940.

organization.[1784] He stated, "BMI doesn't mean a thing. All my friends want to know why I don't fight BMI. BMI hit its peak at the network-dominated N.A.B. convention in this same hotel."[1785] When prodded by the assemblage about the impending radio ban of ASCAP music, Buck scoffed and replied: "The finest thing in the world would be the end of ASCAP music at midnight on New Year's Eve. Let 'em all play their public domain and amateur music. I couldn't ask for anything better!"[1786] Buck also told the press that although the NAB controlled the airwaves, many individual stations were "continuing to sign up with ASCAP."[1787] Although Buck postured his position at the press conference as cavalier, the size of the concerts and the media coverage showcased the importance of ASCAP to the American public.

Issues of Broadcast Rights for the ASCAP Concert

Due to the conflict with ASCAP, NAB barred the broadcast and did not air the performances on the radio. *The San Francisco Chronicle* reported, "The arriving ASCAP members were miffed but amused to find that their Treasure Island program was not being broadcast by a major network, although it is one of the big musical events of the year."[1788] Bay Area historian, David Banks, who produced and oversaw the release of the concert recordings on a CD (Music & Arts: 1997), states that although it was not publicized, "ASCAP commissioned a San Francisco company,

[1784] San Franciscans feted Buck, including a luncheon hosted by the Bohemian Club (President Marshall Dill was also a member of the exclusive all-male private club).
[1785] Willis Werner, "ASCAP Music Festival in Frisco."
[1786] Ibid.
[1787] Ibid.
[1788] "ASCAP Will 'Say It With Music' in Radio War," *San Francisco Chronicle,* September 23, 1940.

Photo and Sound Inc., to record both concerts in their entirety."[1789] According to Banks, Photo and Sound Inc. used "alternating turntables" in conjunction with the "public address system as an audio source."[1790] Both performances were recorded on "a dozen 16" double-sided blue vinylite discs," with Banks's personal copies bearing a "special ASCAP label" and played "at 33 ⅓ rpm."[1791]

Reports regarding the existence of the recordings are rare. At the time of publication, the only source contemporary to the fair that mentions the recordings is James and Weller's *Treasure Island, "The Magic City."* The authors share with the readers that there were a "set of recordings" of the "entire program," complete with "Gene Buck's sagely sentimental comments between numbers."[1792] Bruce Pollack claims the recordings "turned up at auction sixty-five years" after the 1940 closure of the GGIE and were placed on the market in 1997 by the Music and Arts label.[1793] Since the recordings were not released for commercial markets nor made readily available to the general public, there is the possibility that those who did not attend the ASCAP performances were not able to listen to the historic concert.

ASCAP and fair organizers requested line feeds to broadcast the proceedings multiple times. The station KFWB of Hollywood and KYA the Hearst outlet in San Francisco requested a line feed from the Island for the ASCAP performances "with the possibility that the two stations would hookup to air a portion of the proceedings"

[1789] David A. Banks, "The Lost and Found ASCAP 'Cavalcade of Music' Recordings," The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, accessed June 17, 2014, http://www.sfmuseum.org/hist5/cavalcade.html.
[1790] Ibid.
[1791] Ibid.
[1792] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 203.
[1793] Pollock, *A Friend In the Music Business*, 43.

but met with a firm no by NAB.[1794] Ultimately, the performances never aired, and the only sonic souvenirs of the proceedings are the recordings made by Photo and Sound Inc. In a letter to the editor of *Variety*, composer-lyricist Irving Caesar (1895–1996) wrote a response to the ASCAP Day at the GGIE. As a board member of ASCAP, his letter was in strong support of the protest concert and reprimanded the NAB for barring the performance. He wrote:

> But, because the chains are fighting ASCAP, the event was completely snubbed by them. The chains gave a clear example of disregard of their obligations to the public, disregard of their pledge to the FCC, and disregard of 'news values,' by barring the Music Festival completely from their channels. It was a plain case of prejudice and discrimination despite the supposed freedom of the air.[1795]

Taking a patriotic stance, Caesar invokes federal oversight and uses terms like "prejudice" and "discrimination" to posit his argument against the NAB. He dismisses the importance of radio, stating that even though the radio stations did not broadcast the festival, the amount of interest and the number of attendees highlight two items of importance. Caesar continues:

> The turnout of 66,805 persons for the recent radio-boycotted Musical Festival at the San Francisco World's Fair, despite the fact that the event was publicized solely in the newspapers, proved two very important things, namely:
>
> (1) *The public wants good music enough to go out of its way for it.*
> (2) *Newspapers are still a good means of reaching and influencing the public.*

Later in the column he writes:

[1794] "Gene Buck Pooh-Poohs BMI: In San Francisco For ASCAP Day at Fair He Sounds Off on 'Mr. Klauber's Baby,'" *Variety*, September 25, 1940.
[1795] Irving Caesar, "Radio: BMI Gave A Party, Few Came, Fewer Stayed, Is Irving Caesar Taunt," *Variety*, October 30, 1940, 30.

> What intrigued me particularly about that San Francisco incident was the pulling power of the press. Announcements about the Music Festival were carried only in the news columns of the daily papers. Nevertheless, the event drew a record attendance. I have known of comparable occasions where radio was the exclusive medium of publicity, but the results in public response were much less.

Caesar's letter highlights the conflict of not only ASCAP vs. NAB but also the two technological communication mediums (radio and print) available to audiences. Indeed, the festival was barred from the air but the print media stirred up interest and support enough to achieve over-sold out audiences for both events. This opinion letter provides insight into ASCAP members who were staunch supporters and the method by which they frame their arguments utilizing issues of federal and institutional roles.

While Caesar reflected on the overall technological delivery medium by which the ASCAP concerts were to be accessed by listeners, others attempted to appeal to the public. Harold Arlen's response to NAB's prohibition of the broadcast echoed Gene Buck's 1939 letter to membership and subsequent statements to the press: "That's all right," Arlen said, "the boys will just say it with music on the island. We'll let the public decide." ASCAP shifted the power of NAB to the American public with the hope that there would be a substantial public outcry.

Music at War

ASCAP presented a free afternoon "symphonic concert" and an evening "popular" concert on Tuesday, September 24, 1940 at the GGIE fairgrounds. With both popular song and show tunes alongside symphonic works, there would be music

that interested a wide audience. In a nod to the amusement-park setting of the fair and the general popularity of attraction of "popular" songs, movie and show tunes, organizers awarded the popular music performance the primetime evening timeslot. The ASCAP Day poster (Figure 10.5) advertises the "mammoth free revue" in addition to the top names on the program.

It is worth noting that the poster date lists August 4 rather than he actual performance date of September 24th. This discrepancy is due to the fact that the first effort to put on a performance began with a wire from the managing director of *Variety*, Arthur Ungar, to the GGIE Publicity Director asking if the fair would like to host an appearance of "Irving Berlin, Sigmund Romberg, Jerome Kern, George Cohan, and others" at no expense to the exposition.[1796] With the upcoming NAB conference convening in San Francisco on August 7, the timing for ASCAP representation could not be more perfect. However, the concert on August 4 did not happen due to missed communications between organizers, music representatives, and GGIE President Dill and ASCAP President Gene Buck (who were both on vacation at the Bohemian Grove). According to James and Weller, Buck was surprised to hear about the plans for the concert and promised Dill, "We will right this great wrong we have done your Fair. Because we have disappointed you in this instance, we will put on a show for you the like of which has never been seen

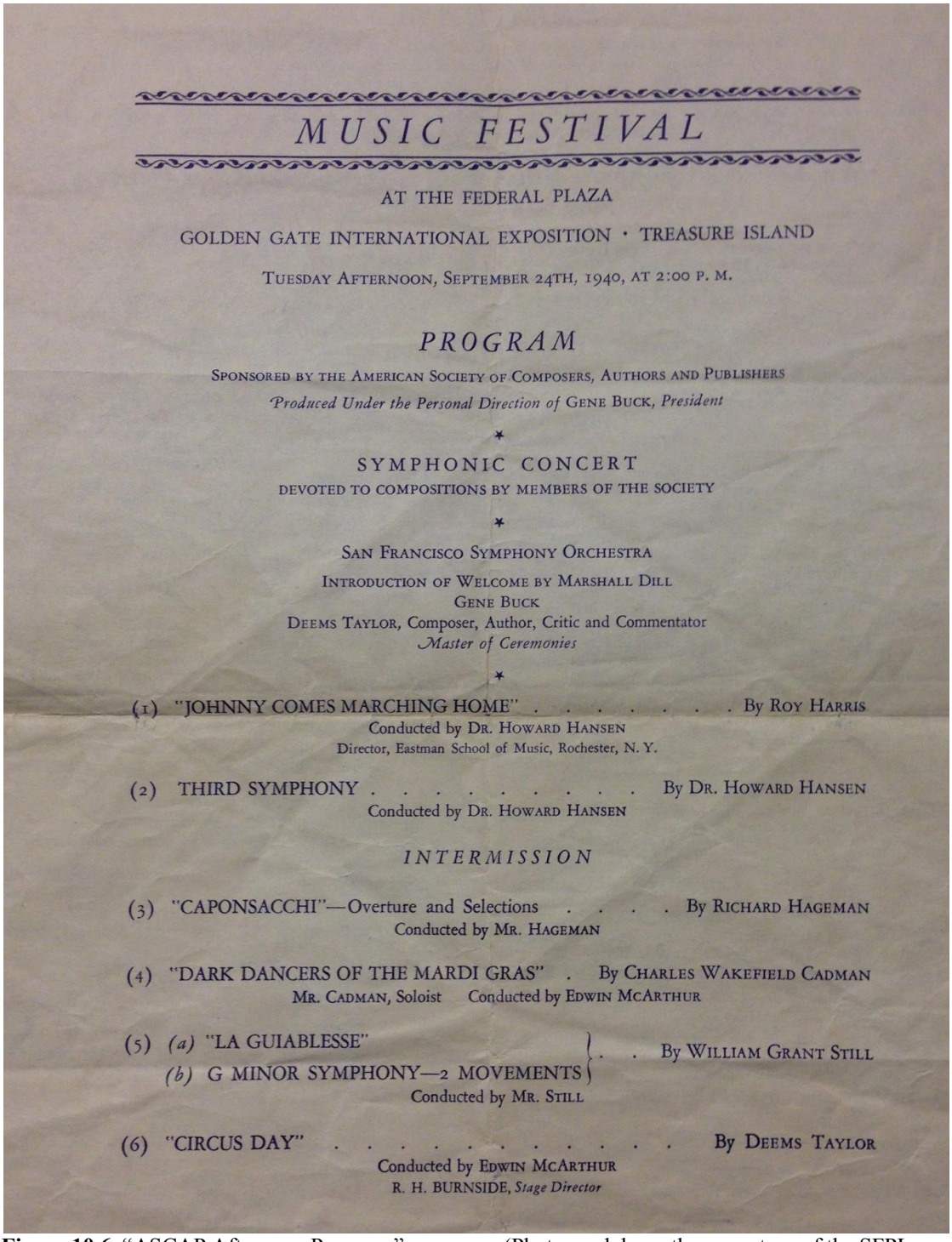
[1796] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 204.

anywhere."[1797] Figure 10.5 is an example of the poster printed by the publicity department in their haste to get the concert publicized.[1798]

Figure 10.5. "ASCAP DAY," program poster. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the SFPL History Center.)

The white and blue double-sided 11x14 inch ASCAP concert program lists both concerts, one on each side (Figures 10.6 and 10.8 and Tables 10.1 and 10.2):

[1797] Ibid., 205–206.
[1798] Ibid., 204.



MUSIC FESTIVAL

AT THE FEDERAL PLAZA

GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION · TREASURE ISLAND

TUESDAY AFTERNOON, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1940, AT 2:00 P. M.

PROGRAM

SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPOSERS, AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS

Produced Under the Personal Direction of GENE BUCK, *President*

*

SYMPHONIC CONCERT

DEVOTED TO COMPOSITIONS BY MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

*

SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

INTRODUCTION OF WELCOME BY MARSHALL DILL
GENE BUCK
DEEMS TAYLOR, Composer, Author, Critic and Commentator
Master of Ceremonies

*

(1) "JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME" . . . . . By ROY HARRIS
Conducted by DR. HOWARD HANSEN
Director, Eastman School of Music, Rochester, N. Y.

(2) THIRD SYMPHONY . . . . . By DR. HOWARD HANSEN
Conducted by DR. HOWARD HANSEN

INTERMISSION

(3) "CAPONSACCHI"—Overture and Selections . . . . By RICHARD HAGEMAN
Conducted by MR. HAGEMAN

(4) "DARK DANCERS OF THE MARDI GRAS" . By CHARLES WAKEFIELD CADMAN
MR. CADMAN, Soloist Conducted by EDWIN MCARTHUR

(5) *(a)* "LA GUIABLESSE"
(b) G MINOR SYMPHONY—2 MOVEMENTS . . By WILLIAM GRANT STILL
Conducted by MR. STILL

(6) "CIRCUS DAY" . . . . . By DEEMS TAYLOR
Conducted by EDWIN MCARTHUR
R. H. BURNSIDE, *Stage Director*

Figure 10.6. "ASCAP Afternoon Program," program. (Photograph by author, courtesy of the SFPL History Center.)

Table 10.1 Symphonic Concert Program Transcription

(1) JOHNNY COMES MARCHING HOME…….....Roy Harris
Conducted by Dr. Howard Hansen

(2) THIRD SYMPHONY…….Dr. Howard Hansen
Conducted by Dr. Howard Hansen

INTERMISSION

(3) 'CAPONSACCHI'–Overture and Selections…….....Richard Hageman
Conducted by Mr. Hageman

(4) "DARK DANCERS OF THE MARDI GRAS…….....Charles Wakefield Cadman
Mr. Cadman, Soloist
Conducted by Edwin McArthur

(5) (a) "LA GUIABLESSE" .....William Grant Still
(b) G MINOR SYMPHONY–2 movements
Conducted by Mr. Still

(6) "CIRCUS DAY" .....Deems Taylor
Conducted by Edwin McArthur

R.H. Burnside, Stage Director

The 2 o'clock afternoon performance at the outdoor Federal Plaza attracted over 25,000 people and featured living American composers' orchestral works performed by the San Francisco Symphony, including Roy Harris's "Johnny Comes Marching Home," Howard Hansen's *Third Symphony*, and William Grant Still's *G Minor Symphony*. Still conducted his own work, and the *San Francisco News* review commented on his direction, stating: "Mr. Still proved a composer who can qualify as

one of the most graceful conductors ever seen on a podium."[1799] Deems Taylor's (1885–1966) multi-movement piece *Circus Day* closed the long program. Taylor acted as emcee and his lively commentary enhanced the performance.

A signed program housed at the San Francisco Public Library San Francisco History Center has several of the composers' signatures—thus, proving their attendance and willingness to sign autographs.[1800] The signed program has several signatures, including Gene Buck, Howard Hansen, and Charles Wakefield Cadman. In Figure 10.7, one can see the signature of William Grant Still underneath his name in the program:

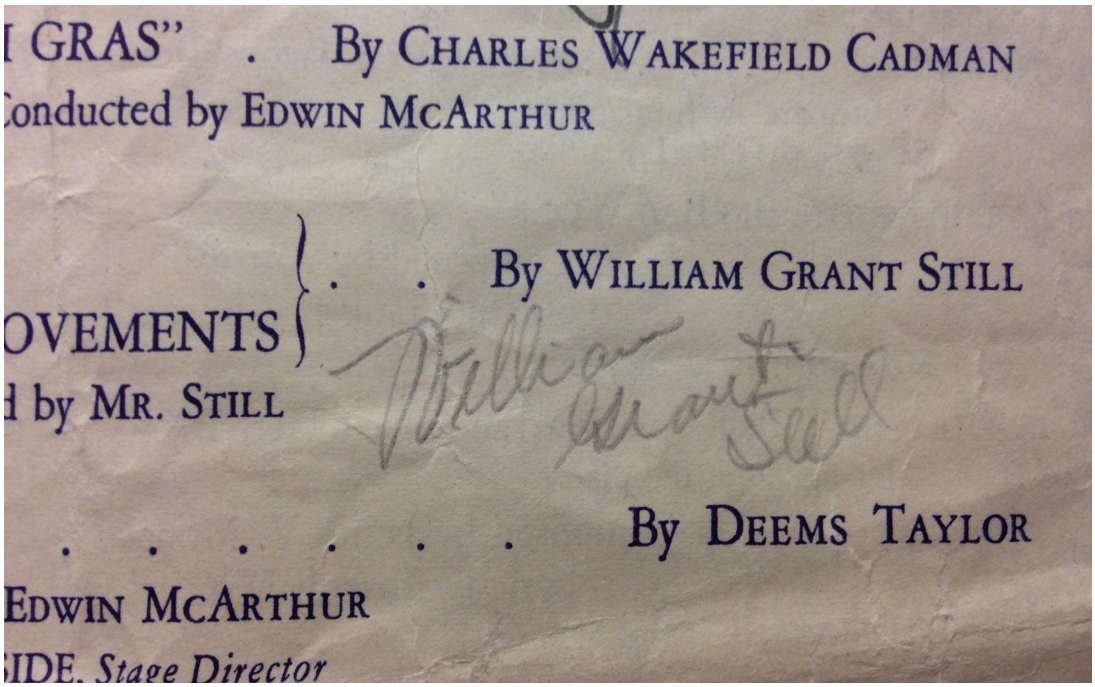


Figure 10.7. "Signed ASCAP Program." (Photograph by author, courtesy of the SFPL History Center.)

[1799] Marjory Fisher, "ASCAP Gives Rare Programs," *San Francisco News*, September 25, 1940, 11.
[1800] The SFPL does not have a note of signature authentication for the signatures, and one is not available currently. For a cursory comparison of the program signatures to other representative documents, they do match.

Alexander Fried, wrote a hesitant but supportive review of the afternoon classical concert. Fried believed the Society "did American music a great service yesterday afternoon" by "presenting the San Francisco Symphony in a contemporary native program" although "few of the compositions approached full mastery." He continues, "What is important now is to give our composers a hearing so that they can be stimulated to work and to progress." [1801] Echoing Fried's previous laments of poor acoustics on the fairgrounds, a *Time* magazine reviewer commented on the distraction of ambient sound during the concert: "The amplification was tinny, airplanes zoomed, firecrackers popped, a military band zing-boomed past but everyone thought the concert was swell."[1802]

The concert performance by their home symphony amused and delighted the audience, but there was building excitement for the evening concert with fair turnstile records shattered. The free evening concert would showcase the sixty-member San Francisco Symphony partnered with the biggest stars of the popular music world. The concert included performances by: Jerome Kern "Old Man River"; Judy Garland "Somewhere Over the Rainbow," and W.C. Handy "St. Louis Blues." Garland's performance at the concert was photographed (Figure 10.8):

[1801] Alexander Fried, "Reviewer Lauds Work of Composers at Fair: Concert Found Stimulating in Spite of Bad Acoustics." *San Francisco Examiner*. September 25, 1940.
[1802] "Gene Buck Goes to Town," *Time,* October 7, 1940, 66–67.

Figure 10.8. Judy Garland at the GGIE. (Photograph courtesy of the California Historical Society).

James and Weller recount the reason behind the two separate venues. Although fair management would have liked to have both performances in the Federal Plaza, Buck had to intervene on behalf of one of his performing composers. James and Weller explain, "His [Buck's] reason for insisting upon an indoor performance came out later. George M. Cohan, veteran artist with literally thousands of performances behind him, got stage-fright at the thought of appearing before so many thousands outdoors!"[1803] Substantiated accounts regarding the choice of the

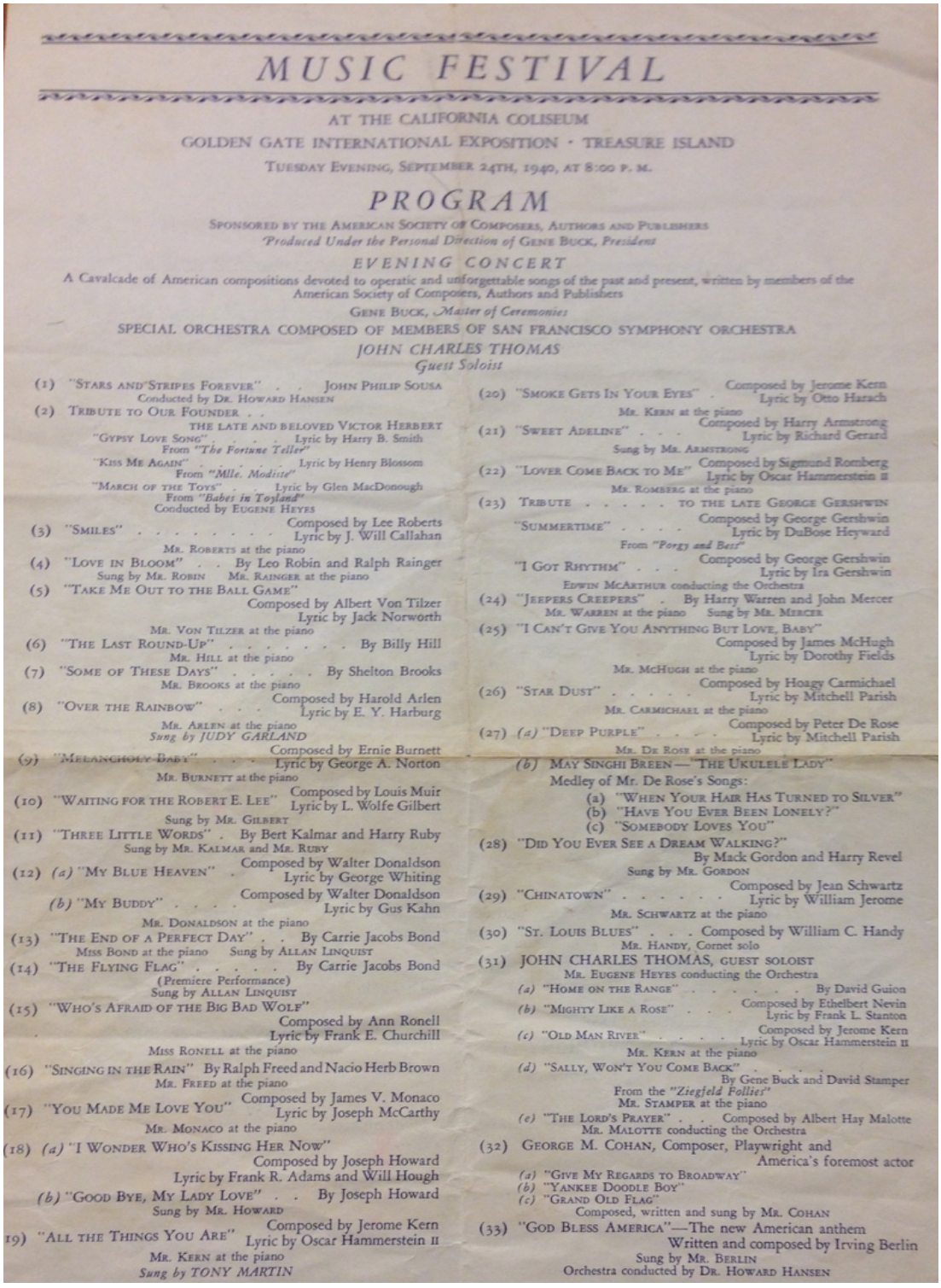
[1803] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 201.

Coliseum are not available at the time of publication, thus the truth behind the choice is still undetermined.

The evening concert exceeded organizers' expectations with reportedly 15,000 people crowded in the California Coliseum (9,200 seat capacity). The Fire Marshall halted the throngs of people streaming into the already packed indoor hall, and at one time, ordering the overflow audience members to vacate immediately. With the performance already thirty-five minutes delayed because of seating, the fire marshal capitulated and allowed the overflow to remain in the Coliseum while directing the unseated patrons to Festival Hall—a space not usually open to the public but reserved for special events with a seating capacity of 2,000.[1804] Performers and even president and emcee Gene Buck were caught in the melee to get into the stadium; prompting Buck to yell out, "If I can't get in there wouldn't be a show![1805] Various reports state 35,000 were turned away at the doors and directed to listen to the concert over the fairgrounds' loudspeakers in and around Festival Hall. The overflow audience could at least hear, if not see, the event.

The evening performance was "dedicated to operatic and unforgettable songs of past and present" (Figure 10.9):

[1804] *Official Guide Book: Golden Gate International Exposition on San Francisco Bay* (1939), 52.
[1805] "Big Crowd Storms Fair ASCAP Concert: Police Open Path for Stars: Throng Hears Many, Musical World Celebrities," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 25, 1940.



MUSIC FESTIVAL

AT THE CALIFORNIA COLISEUM

GOLDEN GATE INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION · TREASURE ISLAND

TUESDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 24TH, 1940, AT 8:00 P. M.

PROGRAM

SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF COMPOSERS, AUTHORS AND PUBLISHERS

Produced Under the Personal Direction of GENE BUCK, *President*

EVENING CONCERT

A Cavalcade of American compositions devoted to operatic and unforgettable songs of the past and present, written by members of the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers

GENE BUCK, *Master of Ceremonies*

SPECIAL ORCHESTRA COMPOSED OF MEMBERS OF SAN FRANCISCO SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

JOHN CHARLES THOMAS
Guest Soloist

(1) "STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER" . . JOHN PHILIP SOUSA
Conducted by DR. HOWARD HANSEN

(2) TRIBUTE TO OUR FOUNDER . .
THE LATE AND BELOVED VICTOR HERBERT
"GYPSY LOVE SONG" . . . . Lyric by Harry B. Smith
From *"The Fortune Teller"*
"KISS ME AGAIN" . . . . Lyric by Henry Blossom
From *"Mlle. Modiste"*
"MARCH OF THE TOYS" . . . Lyric by Glen MacDonough
From *"Babes in Toyland"*
Conducted by EUGENE HEYES

(3) "SMILES" . . . . . Composed by Lee Roberts
Lyric by J. Will Callahan
MR. ROBERTS at the piano

(4) "LOVE IN BLOOM" . . By Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger
Sung by MR. ROBIN MR. RAINGER at the piano

(5) "TAKE ME OUT TO THE BALL GAME"
Composed by Albert Von Tilzer
Lyric by Jack Norworth
MR. VON TILZER at the piano

(6) "THE LAST ROUND-UP" . . . . . By Billy Hill
MR. HILL at the piano

(7) "SOME OF THESE DAYS" . . . . . By Shelton Brooks
MR. BROOKS at the piano

(8) "OVER THE RAINBOW" . . . Composed by Harold Arlen
Lyric by E. Y. Harburg
MR. ARLEN at the piano
Sung by JUDY GARLAND

(9) "MELANCHOLY BABY" . . . Composed by Ernie Burnett
Lyric by George A. Norton
MR. BURNETT at the piano

(10) "WAITING FOR THE ROBERT E. LEE" Composed by Louis Muir
Lyric by L. Wolfe Gilbert
Sung by MR. GILBERT

(11) "THREE LITTLE WORDS" . By Bert Kalmar and Harry Ruby
Sung by MR. KALMAR and MR. RUBY

(12) *(a)* "MY BLUE HEAVEN" . Composed by Walter Donaldson
Lyric by George Whiting
(b) "MY BUDDY" . . . . Composed by Walter Donaldson
Lyric by Gus Kahn
MR. DONALDSON at the piano

(13) "THE END OF A PERFECT DAY" . . By Carrie Jacobs Bond
MISS BOND at the piano Sung by ALLAN LINQUIST

(14) "THE FLYING FLAG" . . . . . By Carrie Jacobs Bond
(Premiere Performance)
Sung by ALLAN LINQUIST

(15) "WHO'S AFRAID OF THE BIG BAD WOLF"
Composed by Ann Ronell
Lyric by Frank E. Churchill
MISS RONELL at the piano

(16) "SINGING IN THE RAIN" By Ralph Freed and Nacio Herb Brown
MR. FREED at the piano

(17) "YOU MADE ME LOVE YOU" Composed by James V. Monaco
Lyric by Joseph McCarthy
MR. MONACO at the piano

(18) *(a)* "I WONDER WHO'S KISSING HER NOW"
Composed by Joseph Howard
Lyric by Frank R. Adams and Will Hough
(b) "GOOD BYE, MY LADY LOVE" . . By Joseph Howard
Sung by MR. HOWARD

19) "ALL THE THINGS YOU ARE" Composed by Jerome Kern
Lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II
MR. KERN at the piano
Sung by TONY MARTIN

(20) "SMOKE GETS IN YOUR EYES" . Composed by Jerome Kern
Lyric by Otto Harach
MR. KERN at the piano

(21) "SWEET ADELINE" . . . Composed by Harry Armstrong
Lyric by Richard Gerard
Sung by MR. ARMSTRONG

(22) "LOVER COME BACK TO ME" Composed by Sigmund Romberg
Lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II
MR. ROMBERG at the piano

(23) TRIBUTE . . . . . TO THE LATE GEORGE GERSHWIN
"SUMMERTIME" . . . . Composed by George Gershwin
Lyric by DuBose Heyward
From *"Porgy and Bess"*
"I GOT RHYTHM" . . . Composed by George Gershwin
Lytic by Ira Gershwin
EDWIN MCARTHUR conducting the Orchestra

(24) "JEEPERS CREEPERS" . By Harry Warren and John Mercer
MR. WARREN at the piano Sung by MR. MERCER

(25) "I CAN'T GIVE YOU ANYTHING BUT LOVE, BABY"
Composed by James McHugh
Lyric by Dorothy Fields
MR. MCHUGH at the piano

(26) "STAR DUST" . . . . . Composed by Hoagy Carmichael
Lyric by Mitchell Parish
MR. CARMICHAEL at the piano

(27) *(a)* "DEEP PURPLE" . . . . Composed by Peter De Rose
Lyric by Mitchell Parish
MR. DE ROSE at the piano

(b) MAY SINGHI BREEN — "THE UKULELE LADY"
Medley of Mr. De Rose's Songs:
(a) "WHEN YOUR HAIR HAS TURNED TO SILVER"
(b) "HAVE YOU EVER BEEN LONELY?"
(c) "SOMEBODY LOVES YOU"

(28) "DID YOU EVER SEE A DREAM WALKING?"
By Mack Gordon and Harry Revel
Sung by MR. GORDON

(29) "CHINATOWN" . . . . . Composed by Jean Schwartz
Lyric by William Jerome
MR. SCHWARTZ at the piano

(30) "ST. LOUIS BLUES" . . . Composed by William C. Handy
MR. HANDY, Cornet solo

(31) JOHN CHARLES THOMAS, GUEST SOLOIST
MR. EUGENE HEYES conducting the Orchestra
(a) "HOME ON THE RANGE" . . . . . By David Guion
(b) "MIGHTY LIKE A ROSE" . . . Composed by Ethelbert Nevin
Lyric by Frank L. Stanton
(c) "OLD MAN RIVER" . . . . . Composed by Jerome Kern
Lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II
MR. KERN at the piano
(d) "SALLY, WON'T YOU COME BACK" . . . . .
By Gene Buck and David Stamper
From the *"Ziegfeld Follies"*
MR. STAMPER at the piano
(e) "THE LORD'S PRAYER" . . Composed by Albert Hay Malotte
MR. MALOTTE conducting the Orchestra

(32) GEORGE M. COHAN, Composer, Playwright and
America's foremost actor
(a) "GIVE MY REGARDS TO BROADWAY"
(b) "YANKEE DOODLE BOY"
(c) "GRAND OLD FLAG"
Composed, written and sung by MR. COHAN

(33) "GOD BLESS AMERICA"—The new American anthem
Written and composed by Irving Berlin
Sung by MR. BERLIN
Orchestra conducted by DR. HOWARD HANSEN

Figure 10.9. "ASCAP Evening Program," backside of program. (Courtesy of the SFPL History Center.)

Table 10.2: “Transcription of ASCAP Evening Program (Transcribed from Figure 10.9 by author)

(1) "STARS AND STRIPES FOREVER" John Philip Sousa

Conducted by Dr. Howard Hansen

(2) TRIBUTE TO OUR FOUNDER, the late and beloved VICTOR HERBERT

"GYPSY LOVE SONG" from "The Fortune Teller" .... Lyric by Harry B. Smith

"KISS ME AGAIN" from "Mille. Modiste" Lyric by Henry Blossom

"MARCH OF THE TOYS" from "Babes in Toyland".... Lyric by Glen MacDonough

Conducted by Eugene Hayes

(3) "SMILES" Composed by Lee Roberts, Lyric by Will Callahan

Mr. Roberts at the piano

(4) "LOVE IN BLOOM" By Leo Robin and Ralph Rainger

Sung by MR. ROBIN MR. Rainger at the piano

(5) "TAKE ME OUT TO THE BALL GAME" Composed by Albert Von Tilzer, Lyric by Jack Norworth

Mr. Von Tilzer at the piano

(6) "THE LAST ROUND-UP" By Billy Hill

Mr. Hill at the piano

(7) "SOME OF THESE DAYS" By Shelton Brooks

Mr. Brooks at the piano

(8) "OVER THE RAINBOW"…. Composed by Harold Arlen, Lyric by E.Y. Harburg

Mr. Arlen at the piano, Sung by Judy Garland

(9) "MELANCHOLY BABY" Composed by Ernie Burnett, Lyric by G. A. Norton

Mr. Burnett at the piano

(10) "WAITING FOR THE ROBERT E. LEE" Composed by Louis Muir, Lyric by L. Wolfe Gilbert

Sung by M. Gilbert

(11) "THREE LITTLE WORDS" By Bert Kalmar and Harry Ruby

Sung by Mr. Kalmar and Mr. Ruby

(12) (a) "MY BLUE HEAVEN" Composed by Walter Donaldson, Lyric by G. Whiting

(b) "MY BUDDY" Composed by Walter Donaldson, Lyric by Gus Kahn

Mr. Donaldson at the piano

(13) "THE END OF A PERFECT DAY" By Carrie Jacobs Bond

Miss Bond at the piano Sung by Allan Linquist [sic.]

(14) "THE FLYING FLAG" By Carrie Jacobs Bond

(Premiere Performance) Sung by Allan Linquist [sic.]

(15) "WHO'S AFRAID OF THE BIG BAD WOLF"

Composed by Ann Ronell, Lyric by Frank E. Churchill

Miss Ronell at the piano

(16) "SINGING IN THE RAIN" By Ralph Freed and Nacio Herb Brown

Mr. Freed at the piano

(17) "YOU MADE ME LOVE YOU" Composed by James V. Monaco, Lyric by Joseph McCarthy

Mr. Monaco at the piano

(18) (a) "I WONDER WHO'S KISSING HER NOW" Composed by Joseph Howard, Lyric by Frank R.Adams and Will Hough

(b) "GOOD BYE, MY LADY LOVE" By Joseph Howard

Sung by Mr. Howard

(19) "ALL THE THINGS YOU ARE" Composed by Jerome Kern, Lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II

Mr. Kern at the piano Sung by Tony Martin

(20) "SMOKE GETS IN YOUR EYES" Composed by Jerome Kern, Lyric by Otto Harach

Mr. Kern at the piano

(21) "SWEET ADELINE" Composed by Harry Armstrong, Lyric by Richard Gerard

Sung by Mr. Armstrong

(22) "LOVER COME BACK TO ME" Composed by Sigmund Romberg, Lyric by Oscar Hammerstein II

Mr. Romberg at the piano

(23) TRIBUTE To the Late George Gershwin

"SUMMERTIME" Composed by George Gershwin, Lyric by DuBose Heyward

From "Porgy and Bess"

"I GOT RHYTHM" Composed by George Gershwin, Lyric by Ira Gershwin

Edwin McArthur conducting the Orchestra

(24) "JEEPERS CREEPERS" By Harry Warren and John Mercer

Mr. Warren at the piano Sung by Mr. Mercer

(25) "I CAN'T GIVE YOU ANYTHING BUT LOVE, BABY" Composed by James McHugh, Lyric by Dorothy Fields

Mr. McHugh at the piano

(26) "STAR DUST" Composed by Hoagy Carmichael, Lyric by Mitchell Parish

Mr. Carmichael at the piano

(27) (a) "DEEP PURPLE" Composed by Peter De Rose, Lyric by Mitchell Parish

Mr. De Rose at the piano

(b) MAY SINGHI BREEN "THE UKULELE LADY"

MEDLEY OF MR. DE ROSE'S SONGS-

(a) "WHEN YOUR HAIR HAS TURNED TO SILVER"

(b) "HAVE YOU EVER BEEN LONELY?"

(c) "SOMEBODY LOVES YOU"

(28) "DID YOU EVER SEE A DREAM WALKING?" By Mack Gordon and Harry Revel

Sung by Mr. Gordon

(29) "CHINATOWN" Composed by Jean Schwartz, Lyric by William Jerome

Mr. Schwartz at the piano

(30) "ST. LOUIS BLUES" Composed by William C. Handy, Mr. Handy, Cornet Solo

(31) JOHN CHARLES THOMAS, Guest Soloist, Mr. Eugene Heyes conducting the Orchestra

(a) "HOME ON THE RANGE" By David Guion

(b) "MIGHTY LIKE A ROSE" Composed by Elhelbert Nevin, Lyric by F. L. Stanton

(c) "OLD MAN RIVER" . . . Composed by Jerome Kern, Lyric by O. Hammerstein

Mr. Kern at the piano

(d) "SALLY, WON'T YOU COME BACK" By Gene Buck and David Stamper

From the "Ziegfeld Follies"

Mr. Stamper at the piano

(e) "THE LORD'S PRAYER" Composed by Albert Hay Malotte

Mr. Malotte conducting the Orchestra

(32) GEORGE M. COHAN, Composer, Playwright and America's foremost actor

(a) "GIVE MY REGARDS TO BROADWAY"

(b) "YANKEE DOODLE BOY"

(c) "GRAND OLD FLAG"

Composed, written and sung by Mr. Cohan

(33) "GOD BLESS AMERICA" The new American anthem

Written and composed by Irving Berlin

Sung by Mr, Berlin Orchestra conducted by Dr. Howard Hansen

Comparing the program with the final recording reveals some improvisation on the spot. For example, after Hoagy Carmichael performed his hit, "Stardust," he

was cajoled on stage by Buck and the audience to sing and play "Little Old Lady." The stage's microphones picked up Carmichael's response to Buck's request:

> **Gene Buck:** Hoagie a few years ago wrote a lovely little song called "Little Old Lady." And uh…Hoagy is going to sit down at the piana [sic.] and strum it and coo it all at the same time.
>
> **Hoagy Carmichael:** This is strictly unrehearsed I don't know if I remember the lyrics or not. I'll try to.[1806]

The song starts hesitantly, punctuated with a bit of laughter by the audience and stage antics by Carmichael. This brief transaction by Buck and Carmichael onstage not only exemplifies the improvisatory talent of the composer, but also the familiarity Buck had with his fellow ASCAP members.

Titans of Tin Pan Alley

The star power of the concerts was astounding more than fifty of the most famous American composers and performers of the era were present and thirty performed their own works. A photo from the Coliseum performance (Figure 10.10) captures America's top composers. According to James and Weller, Buck ordered the group to take a photo, exclaiming: "All of you dear people get together here on the stage for a picture. We have never been together in such number before and we may never meet like this again!"[1807] James and Weller depart from the historiography of the fair and share a recollection from the ASCAP performances. They write, "It is all but

[1806] Transcription by author from ASCAP Evening Program.
[1807] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 200.

impossible to recapture the feeling and spirit of that evening and set it down in cold type."[1808]

Figure 10.10. "American Society of Composers, Authors & Publishers, Coliseum, Treasure Island," photograph, 1940. (Courtesy of the ASCAP Foundation Collection, Music Division: Library of Congress.)

In his autobiography, W. C. Handy recounts his performance at ASCAP Day as a "program that never before nor can ever again be duplicated this side of kingdom come."[1809] Handy is pictured in Figure 10.11 with fellow ASCAP members Irving Berlin, Shelton Brooks, and Harold Arlen:

[1808] Ibid.
[1809] W.C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography*, Arna Bontemps, ed., (New York: Da Capo Press, 1941), 293.

Figure 10.11. "Song Geniuses at Treasure Island Music Festival," *The San Francisco News*, September 25, 1940.

Handy's emphasis on the concert series' importance is echoed in many fairgoers recollections. The closing report of the GGIE sponsorship, a special section was dedicated to the ASCAP festival: "Anyone who was so fortunate as to have gained entrance to the Coliseum saw and participated in a performance that will never be forgotten and the like of which, perhaps will never be seen again."[1810] The report highlights that "one of the epic events of the Exposition was given without cost to the Exposition Company," thus highlighting the importance of free entertainment to the fair organizers and the possibility of excellent music performances provided by

[1810] H.C. Bottorff, "Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition," 80.

corporate or societal sponsorship.[1811] James and Weller's account proclaimed ASCAP Day as "the outstanding event on the entire 1940 program of song and pageantry."[1812]

"The Flying Flag": Expressions of Programmatic Patriotism

The program took a nationalistic stance, especially in the final programmed songs. War was waging in Europe and although it was happening a great distance from San Francisco, audiences were kept abreast of the developments in the newspaper front page headlines and radio programs. Gene Buck commissioned "The Flying Flag" by Carrie Jacobs-Bond for ASCAP Day. Jacobs-Bond stated that her piece received a standing-ovation that she feared was "more to patriotism than to the song."[1813] Alan Lindquest (1891–1984) premiered the song at the concert.[1814] Jacobs-Bond turned over the profits of "The Flying Flag" to the American Red Cross.[1815]

War was raging in both Europe and Asia, and even though the United States had not officially entered the fighting, the American public was deeply patriotic. This patriotism is evident in many thematic programs at the GGIE as well as in commercial marketing; in addition to the entertainment industry, consumer goods were also trending towards patriotic themes. For example, a *Life* article detailed a

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[1811] Ibid., 81.
[1812] James and Weller, *Treasure Island*, 201.
[1813] Max Morath, *I Love You Truly: A Biographical Novel Based on the Life of Carrie Jacobs-Bond*, (Bloomington, Indiana: iUniverse, 2008), 178.
[1814] In the official program, Lindquest's name is misspelled as Allan Linquest.
[1815] "Carrie Jacobs Bond." In *The Billboard: The World's Foremost Amusement Weekly*, vol 59, no. 2. January 11, 1947: 48. The radio show aired for the closure of the GGIE on September 29, 1940 included Bond's music. A part of her song, "End of A Perfect Day," was performed on piano for the radio listeners. Generic Radio Workshop Script Library, "The Story of Treasure Island," Miscellaneous Single Episodes, National Broadcasting Company, September 29, 1940, accessed July 22, 2016, http://www.genericradio.com/show.php?id=2VBDJ546Y.

"boom in patriotism" that gave the "U.S. Flag Business Its Biggest Year Since 1917."[1816] Not since the last world war had Americans been so supportive of patriotic ventures, evident in the American flag manufactures' receipt returns."[1817] The final two composers on the program were George M. Cohan, then seventy-two years old, and fifty-two years-old Irving Berlin. Programming "Over There" and "Yankee Doodle Dandy," would have resonated with a 1940s San Franciscan audience, especially those who lived through WWI, as deeply patriotic and appropriate for the current political climate.

The final and most poignant performance of the all-day music festival was Berlin's "God Bless America," written during World War I; the song became a second anthem during World War II.[1818] W.C. Handy reminisced, "None will deny that Berlin is talented, but it requires a real genius to "time" a song—to resurrect it when the nation is in need of it."[1819] Herb Caen[1820] wrote a review of the ASCAP performance and highlighted the experience of Berlin's song: "Without prompting, with an indescribable feeling of quiet power and emotion, the 15,000 slowly rose to their feet."[1821] As the Jewish-American composer began to sing "God Bless

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[1816] Henry Luce, ed.,"Boom," in *Life*, vol 9, no.10, (New York: Time, Inc.): 35.
[1817] Ibid.
[1818] Sheryl Kaskowitz's *God Bless America: The Surprising History of an Iconic Song* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) examines the different interpretations and political implications (anti-Semitism in 1930s US, the show of support for European Jews during the Nazi invasions, the God Bless America Fund and the royalties that go to the Boy and Girl Scouts of America) this seemingly simple "thank you note to America" by Berlin has spurred.
[1819] W.C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography*, 293.
[1820] (1916–1997) Longtime and well-known *San Francisco Chronicle* journalist.
[1821] Herb Caen, "It's News To Me: San Franciscana," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 25, 1940, University of Virginia Library Special Collections.

America,"[1822] the audience stood and joined him in song—a fitting end to an American-music festival born out of protest during a time of war.

Conclusion

The ASCAP music festival and the publicity surrounding it was a method to establish agency and a position of power to add pressure for contract negotiations. The society believed that by aligning itself with the American public, audiences would be outraged and demand ASCAP music. Due to the success in San Francisco, ASCAP staged a repeat festival at the New York World's Fair a month later with several changes to the program.[1823]

The New York World's Fair ASCAP Festival performances mirrored the GGIE festival in several ways. First, expositions programmed the ASCAP festival in the final week of the fairs (GGIE closed September 29th and the ASCAP performance was held on September 25, 1940; the New York fair closed on October 27th and the performance was held on October 24, 1940). Second, they were both referred to as the "Cavalcade of American Music" but commonly referred to as "ASCAP Festival," or in the case of the New York performance, "A Handful of Stars."[1824]

[1822] At the time of this performance, Irving had already "established a trust fund for all royalties from "God Bless America" to go to the Boy and Girl Scouts and "the youth of America." "God Bless Irving!," The San Francisco News, September 21, 1940. *Radio Enchains Music! the Press Unchains It!: The Power of the Press Brings Out Audience of 66,805 to Hear Music Festival Barred From the Air by the Radio Chains*, broadside booklet, *Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia*.
[1823] October 24, 1940.
[1824] "Sings At Fair," *Daily News*, October 23, 1940, 57.

Both versions had a two-part series—one "popular" concert and the other "symphonic," with the former relegated to the primetime evening performance time slot. The New York version began with the symphonic performance at 2:15 p.m. while the evening (8:15 p.m.) concert focused on "guest artists" performing "their own compositions" accompanied by a "60-piece swing band"[1825] directed by Johnny Green (1908–1989).[1826] *Variety* reported that Green and his seventeen-member group plus the additional forty-three musicians cost ASCAP $4,000.[1827] While the GGIE festival was accompanied by the San Francisco Symphony and took place in two different venues, the New York version included the one-hundred-piece Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra and both performances took place in one venue (Music Hall).[1828]

Gene Buck presided over both presentations and several composers performed their own works at both fairs: W.C. Handy, Sigmund Romberg, William Grant Still, and Jerome Kern. The *New York Times* listed the talent to include: Margaret Speaks, Jules Bledsoe, Gene Autry, Jerome Kern, Sigmund Romberg, W.C. Handy, Irving Berlin, George Cohan, Richard Rodgers, Henry Hadley, Deems Taylor, Morton Gould, William Grant Still, and Howard Hanson.[1829] Overall, there were changes to the lineup and the New York version had programming differences from the San Francisco concert series. It is worth noting that while the San Francisco version never

[1825] "Today's Program At World's Fair," *Daily News*, October 24, 1940, M3. Other reports have the time of the performances listed as 2:30 and 8:30 p.m.
[1826] Ben Gross, "Listening In," *Daily News*, October 26, 1940, 25.
[1827] "ASCAP's $4,000 Band For Day At Expo," *Variety*, October 23, 1940, 39.
[1828] "Program of Today's World's Fair Events," *Daily News*, October 24, 1940, B-19.
[1829] "ASCAP To Give Concerts: Programs Will Be Held Today At World's Fair Music Hall," *New York Times*, October 23, 1940, 26.

aired due to the blockade, the New York ASCAP performance was included in the radio log as a 2:30 p.m. performance accompanied by the Rochester Philharmonic (see Figure 10.12):

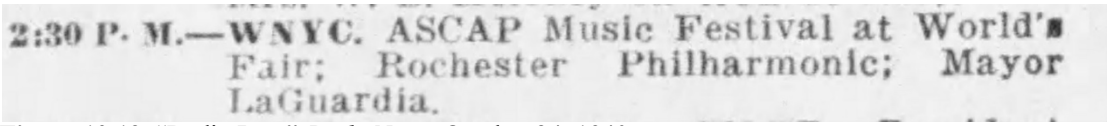
2:30 P. M.—WNYC. ASCAP Music Festival at World's Fair; Rochester Philharmonic; Mayor LaGuardia.

Figure 10.12. "Radio Log," *Daily News*, October 24, 1940, n.p.

WNYC also replayed the ASCAP Music Festival the following day (October 25th) at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m.[1830] Although multiple sources claim the New York version never aired, the radio log did include the Festival. Conclusive evidence of the program's broadcast cannot be determined at this time. Regardless, the San Francisco program was recorded while the New York version was not, thus allowing the public and historians a chance to listen to the festival's performance. In addition, attendance numbers skyrocketed for the ASCAP Days at both fairs and was the largest weekday attendance for the New York fair.[1831]

Although the bi-coastal platforms garnered ASCAP major press coverage, the society's success was short lived. The ASCAP boycott began on January 1, 1941 and lasted until October of 1941. Incredulous, ASCAP supporters could not believe the American public did not demand ASCAP music after the NAB boycott. In a letter to the editor of *Variety*, a manager of an Albany, New York station (WGRC) voiced his frustration of the monopolization efforts of ASCAP, thus representing the viewpoint of a small radio station:

[1830] "Radio," *Daily News*, October 25, 1940, 56.
[1831] "Radio: BMI Gave A Party, Few Came, Fewer Stayed, Is Irving Caesar Taunt," *Variety*.

> We like their [ASCAP] music, but not their prices. So, BMI offers acceptable music at reasonable prices. So do others. And come January 1 BMI, AMP, SESAC and a few others will give us all the music we want. Our folks will like it. Belonging to ASCAP isn't any guarantee that every new piece of music is a hit.[1832]

The manager acknowledged the level of ASCAP music, but voiced concerns about the fees. He assured the editor that his station would "save plenty in not having an ASCAP contract" and was "satisfied with BMI and what it is putting out so far." By mentioning other performing rights organizations that came into existence after ASCAP (The Society of European Stage Authors and Composers (SESAC), founded in 1931),[1833] the manager acknowledged the other opportunities for music products besides BMI.

ASCAP president Deems Taylor could not believe that the "public would put up with the songs of 'second-rate' BMI composers" and referred to BMI as "Bad Music Indefinitely."[1834] In 1941, the US Justice Department reopened its 1937 investigation and antitrust suit against ASCAP but this suit also included BMI, CBS, and NBC. The result was a settlement with a consent decree signed by ASCAP and BMI. ASCAP agreed not to discriminate against customers and set rates at a fair price. The negotiation with NBC was 2.75 percent of net sales and for local affiliates, a significant reduction in the original demand.[1835]

Issues stemming from the ASCAP conflict, boycott, and reinstatement on the airwaves cost Gene Buck his presidency. In April 1942, Deems Taylor was elected

[1832] Steve Cisler, "Small Station Comments," *Variety*, October 30, 1940.
[1833] SESAC, "Our History," https://www.sesac.com/#/our-history, accessed February 1, 2019.
[1834] Pegolotti, *Deems Taylor: A Biography*, 266.
[1835] Summer of 1941.

ASCAP president[1836] and ushered in a reorganization of ASCAP's royalty disbursements from the hierarchical payout to BMI's "frequency of performance" system."[1837] The result of the NAB vs. ASCAP conflict changed music history and business with issues and protocol that are used today: composers have to choose to be a member of ASCAP or BMI and regardless of membership affiliations, they are paid per performance. The 1940 ASCAP protest concert is a moment in time where issues of music licensing, royalties, and mass culture played out in all the fanfare and pomp at the San Francisco World's Fair during an era steeped in an economic depression and at the brink of World War II. It should be included in the historical discourse of popular music.

[1836] James A. Pegolotti, *Deems Taylor: A Biography*, 267.
[1837] Ibid., 270.

CHAPTER 11
CONCLUSION

> *Then came the night the lights went down forever at the 1940 Fair on Treasure Island, and we knew there was nothing left to do but wait for our war to come along and get us—for what was left of our youth died then and there, out in the black bay.*[1838]—Herb Caen

World's fairs are outward projections of a society's goals of progress and modernity, and music was very much a by-product of the political and cultural issues of American identity. Fairs allow insight into political matters, issues of class, race, and gender, colonialist philosophies, and opportunities (or the lack of them) for marginalized populations to express agency within American society. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt firmly believed that the public display of commerce, industry, and financial stability, as exhibited at both the New York and San Francisco world's fairs, would aid the United States' public image during a period of volatile political instability. Within the past ten years, historians have gradually directed studies towards the six Depression-era American fairs because of their importance in nation-building, economic recovery, venues for innovation, federal and civic policy propaganda and, in the case of the GGIE, possible solutions for peace.

Expositions became a catalyst for the standardization of music and entertainment at American massed events. Popular musical figures were in demand at expositions and wielded a great amount of power in creating uniquely "American" music as well as shaping the sonic representation of a nation. The standardization of programming was a direct result of the power of the patron: audiences were also the

[1838] Gary Kamiya, "The '39 World's Fair: An Island Of Joyous Excess," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 2013, accessed August 15, 2018, https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/The-39-world-s-fair-an-island-of-joyous-excess-4739306.php.

most effective method of promotion. Programming choices by Theodore Thomas, John Philip Sousa, Patrick Gilmore, women's committees, and other civic organizers controlled and nurtured the music heard by millions of domestic and foreign fairgoers.

The forty-nine years that separate the first (CMIE) and the last exposition (GGIE) in San Francisco highlight the cultural and political development of the city and underline California's important role in nation building. The music programmed, written for, and performed at the fairs serves as a focused pivot point through which scholars can gain insight into nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries societal issues such as class, culture, and race as well as the development of a unique Californian identity within the broader context of American geopolitics. The GGIE was the first American international exposition to incorporate and celebrate the Pan-Pacific region by its official theme. The exceptionality of Californians' perspective can be seen in the inclusion of ethnic minorities in the frontier chronicle during the pre-fair events as well as showcases on the fairgrounds.

This study is the first to investigate the music of the GGIE and how the wide breadth of musical arts programming was used as an integral tool by various sponsors (government, civic, local, and corporate) in the promotion and education of its political agenda. The era's issues of geopolitics and gender dichotomies unfolded within the fair's grounds. Entertainers and impresarios created performances accompanied by music where mass audiences were able to see the exotic and new. Technological advancements in entertainment sound design and radio, including a

radio station on the fairgrounds, allowed audiences and remote listeners to experience new methods of interacting with the music presented at the GGIE.

The expanded role of women resulted in lectures, concert series, and special events that showcased local and international talent. Female leaders in the fields of arts, science, and literature attended and participated in lectures and concerts sponsored by the Women's Board: Nadia Boulanger's lectures and visit were the highlight of the musical programs. Patronesses of the arts, such as Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge and Rosalie Stern actively participated in the GGIE's musical activities. The former not only visited the fair (and dined with Benny Goodman) but also sponsored the Coolidge Quartet's free concert series as well as preciously provided financial aid to several of the western classical ensembles (i.e. Roth Quartet) who performed at the fair.

Unlike the previous San Francisco fairs of 1894 and 1915, the GGIE was a Depression-era fair that depended on the direct support of the federal government. To keep financially solvent, the GGIE engaged musical entertainment that would not demand large sums of funding; this programing choice is evident in the wide variety of civic, regional, and institutional ensembles that performed at the GGIE. Special event days and music festivals underwritten by Exposition management and corporate, academic, and civic sponsors were used as marketing ploys to attract audiences and promote institutional missions. Music was a method of marketing and corporate-sponsored ensembles and musical events were programmed to not only entertain audience, but to also propogate organizers' missions and politics.

The GGIE event organizers' overall programming mission was to offer an inclusive fair going experience that emphasized national unity and the promotion of peace among America's trade partners. The effect of turmoil in Europe and Asia in 1939 made travel difficult for representatives from countries initially planning to attend the exposition. Several exhibition pavilions, performers, and ensembles were unable to return for the 1940 fair due to political and military conflicts in Europe and Asia. As the wars in Asia and Europe were escalating, the musical programming at the GGIE became politicized. The peace-theme fair's organizers aligned themselves with international allies and provided platforms for occupied territories to voice dissent (i.e. China, Czechoslovakia and France).

People attended the fair in large numbers and by the third to last day of the 1940 fair, the organizers met their goal of six million visitors.[1839] Although both the 1939 and 1940 fairs were not financial successes, the California Commission reported that tourists spent $328,762,470 during the two years of the fair.[1840] The same report states that 2,530,643 "out-of-State visitors from forty-eight states and from possessions and foreign countries" came to the Golden State. In 1939 there was a $38,344,413 gain from tourist travel from the previous year. The Commission's executive secretary, L.L. Penfield (1904–1979)[1841] completes the report with the following statement:

[1839] Herb Caen, "It's News To Me–No. 6,000,000,000," *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 26, 1940.
[1840] *Official Report of The California Commission For The Golden Gate International Exposition* (1941), 40.
[1841] Very little personal information is known about Penfield, but documentation, including his U.S. Army draft card reveals his full name, Livingston Lamar Penfield (he used L.L. exclusively) lived on Bay Street in San Francisco with his place of employment as Treasure Island. After serving on the

> California as a whole was greatly benefited by the Golden Gate International Exposition in all fields of business, social and cultural activities. Industry and Commerce were among the leading beneficiaries. Friendly relations with all foreign countries and particularly those of Latin America and the Pacific Ocean were greatly enhanced and an inestimable amount of good will [sic] was accomplished.[1842]

Visitors came to California for the fair and were encouraged to visit not only the fairgrounds, but also the surrounding western states (see Chapter 4). Over seventeen million people visited the GGIE for the two years it was open.[1843] The GGIE would not only serve the San Franciscan community by providing jobs creating an event to draw tourists, but it would also draw attention to the state and neighboring regions.

The last day of the 1940 fair, September 29, 1940, set the attendance record at over 200,000 people. The nighttime closing ceremony included farewell addresses given by exposition officials and civic leaders. The final act of the proceedings would be a symbolic flip of a switch that plunged the fairgrounds into darkness. President Dill delivered these final remarks:

> Yesterday's bright version of Treasure Island today becomes an enduring memory. To have added another chapter to San Francisco's prismatic history is something in which we can all take pride. 'A thing of beauty is a joy

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California Commission for the GGIE, he was appointed to the California State Highway Commission. In November 1942, the army commissioned Penfield at the rank of captain. Penfield survived the war and died in Fresno, CA in 1979. Penfield Family Genealogy (July 2015), accessed June 14, 2019, http://m.penfield.fm/genealogy/wc22/wc22_127.html.
"State highway Board Aide Becomes Captain," *The Fresno Bee*, November 8, 1942.

[1842] *Official Report of The California Commission For The Golden Gate International Exposition*, 40.

[1843] Online Archive of California, "Guide to the Golden Gate International Exposition Records, 1936-1939," California Historical Society, accessed August 15, 2015, https://oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/tf2d5n98c4/entire_text/.

> forever: Its loveliness increases; it will never Pass into nothingness: The feast is over and the lamps expire!'[1844]

Dill's optomistic speech reinforces the communal aspect of world's fairs and the pride the city had for the event was a common theme throughout the farewell speeches.

A special radio show for the closure of the GGIE was sponsored by the California Commission and Exposition Management and aired by all three major radio networks (NBC, CBS, MBS) as well as independent stations. "The Story of Treasure Island," aired on closing day and was performed on the Federal Plaza and recorded through the radio facilities of the California Commission."[1845] The program included personalities who participated at the fair, for example, the music was written by Jack Joy and one of the narrators was Art Linkletter.[1846]

The script survives in its entirety and reveals that music was very much a part of the narrative program. Fanfares punctuated segments between the narrator and announcer as well as Foley sounds (i.e. airplane noise, crowds clapping, locomotive noise, etc.) and marches. As the narrator retells the story of the GGIE's conception, construction, and conclusion, snippets of experiences of the fair are gradually shared

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[1844] H.C. Bottorff, "Closing Report San Francisco Bay Exposition Sponsor For The Golden Gate International Exposition," 85.

[1845] The script can be found at the California Historical Society Archives: "Closing Day Ceremonies Transcript," CAHS, Folder: "Golden Gate Exposition, Closing Day Ceremonies: Sept. 1940," as well as online: Generic Radio Workshop Script Library, "The Story of Treasure Island," Miscellaneous Single Episodes, National Broadcasting Company, September 29, 1940, accessed July 22, 2016, http://www.genericradio.com/show.php?id=2VBDJ546Y.

[1846] The final segment of the broadcast was spoken by the narrator, who gave credits to the listeners: "Ladies and gentlemen, "The Story of Treasure Island" was written by Glenn A. Wheaton and produced by Robert C. Coleson, with music directed by Jack Joy. Narrators were John B. Hughes, Arthur Linkletter, Mel Venter and Don Thompson. The voice of the President of the United States was imitated by Fred McKaye. Suzannah Foster, from the new film, "There's Magic in Music," appeared through the courtesy of Paramount Pictures." Ibid.

through prerecorded samples. For example, included in the program is an excerpt from President Leland Cutler's opening day address as well as a clip of the *Cavalcade* of the Golden West's 1862 "Westward Ho!" speech. Mentioned in Chapter 8, this script also includes a rare example of a piece of popular music written for the fair performed at an official GGIE event. According to the September 29, 1940 closing day multi-radio station broadcast transcript, "a male chorus sung 'The Bells of Treasure Isle"' before the narrator's introduction of President Roosevelt's 1939 opening day address.[1847]

Ephemeral is the core descriptor of world's fairs—their very essence is temporary: buildings are demolished, plants uprooted and sold, musical and sideshow acts move onto the next event. Physical pieces remain from these events (for example) specially designated buildings, murals, other art pieces, and sheet music. Several Treasure Island permanent structures and streets survive today from the GGIE. The event itself transitions from a shared experience to a forgotten story. A *San Francisco Examiner* journalist appealed to potential fair visitors during the last two days of the 1940 fair by writing a column titled, "The Last Days: Go to Treasure Island, Fill The Mind With Rich Memories." The reporter appealed to the utopian quality of the fair, writing: "When the world recovers from its present tantrums, it may give its energies to beauty…. When that time comes, the people will draw on such memories as were born on Treasure Island to remold their universe nearer to the heart's desire—and Treasure Islands will be everywhere. So file away its memories

[1847] Generic Radio Workshop Script Library, "The Story of Treasure Island."

forever!"[1848] The appeal of remembering the beauty of the fair amidst the "tantrums" of the era showcases the innocence of those people whose lives would shortly be affected by conflict. America would be embroiled in a world war and the GGIE would eventually be generally forgotten.

Collective memory of the GGIE has faded. Some world expositions have become more famous than others, for instance, Chicago (1893), St. Louis (1904), and San Francisco (1915). When asked about the San Francisco fair, the majority of people recall the 1915 Panama-Pacific International Exposition, surprised to discover that the city had hosted a more recent fair in 1939. Even local Bay Area residents have forgotten about the fair on the Bay. Over 270,000 cars cross the Bay Bridge, linking the East Bay with San Francisco, and most commuters do not know the history behind the island that links the two spans of the bridge, nor why Yerba Buena Island is now commonly referred to as Treasure Island.

There are several theories that explain this gap in the collective consciousness of not only current Bay Area citizens but also broader fair histories. The first is that the impending world war pivoted the nation's attention from peace-promoting events (the GGIE) towards war. This wartime vantage point is evident in the final report of the WPA, published in 1942:

> After the Golden Gate International Exposition closes its gates, Treasure Island for centuries to come will stand as a monument to American ingenuity and enterprise—built by American workmen, with American money, and in the American Way. The WPA is proud to have had a part in this project because, through such worthwhile activities, the Federal Government, in

[1848] "The Last Days: Go To Treasure Island, Fill The Mind With Rich Memories," *San Francisco Examiner*, September 28, 1940, Editorial Page–10.

> addition to preserving the skills and morale of thousands of our citizens and their families, has aided in the building of a permanent port—in times of peace, a haven for the giant transport planes that link the Occident with the Orient, and in times of war, one of the Nation's first lines of defense."[1849]

The report projected the viewpoints of a country at war and not at peace (the reason for the clipper terminal was tourism, not a "first line of defense"). The focus of the summary was on the "American Way" and donned the rhetoric of wartime propaganda. The second theory is that the concurrent (and larger) New York World's Fair received more attention because of its size and innovative theme of "The World of Tomorrow" and the impact of the wartime events in Europe on the East Coast fair.

The final hypothesis is the Navy's use of the island following the fair's closure and the resulting loss of an accessible archive of documents, the dismantling of most of the buildings, and the scattering of art works throughout the region. The Navy leased the island in April 1941, several months before the attack on Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941). The swift and total military takeover of Yerba Buena Island following the attack of Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) resulted in an immediate blockade of civilian access. Once the United States declared war, naval efforts in the Pacific were urgently needed and Treasure Island was officially requisitioned by the navy on April 17, 1942. The area, once a fairytale-land, was utilized for the "protection of navigation and commerce" as well as for the preparation and advancement of "men to naval duty."[1850]

[1849] Works Projects Administration, *History Of Music In San Francisco: An Anthology Of Music Criticism*, 43.
[1850] "Treasure Isle Goes To Navy," *The San Francisco News*, April 17, 1942. The Virtual Museum of the City of San Francisco, accessed June 1, 2019, http://www.sfmuseum.net/hist9/tiseizure.html.

The island, built as a symbolic gesture of peace and prosperity for America and the Pacific Basin region, became a space for wartime preparation.[1851] Although the memory of the GGIE has faded, the issues, themes, and politics presented at the 1939/1940 fair resonate today. The closure of the GGIE symbolized the end of an era. Longtime *San Francsico Chronicle* columnist, Herb Caen[1852] appropriately summarized the feelings of his fellow citizens of San Francisco:

> Then came the night the lights went down forever at the 1940 Fair on Treasure Island, and we knew there was nothing left to do but wait for our war to come along and get us—for what was left of our youth died then and there, out in the black bay.[1853]

The world was at war and the short-lived utopian fantasy of the GGIE's peacetime spectacle faded from memory.

[1851] Ibid.
[1852] (1916–1997).
[1853]Gary Kamiya, "The '39 World's Fair: An Island Of Joyous Excess," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 16, 2013, accessed August 15, 2018, https://www.sfchronicle.com/bayarea/article/The-39-world-s-fair-an-island-of-joyous-excess-4739306.php.

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