

## Chapter 13

**1935-1936**

### **SAN DIEGO INVITES THE WORLD TO BALBOA PARK A SECOND TIME**

*Once I built a railroad, I made it run, made it race against time.  
Once I built a railroad; now it's done. Brother, can you spare a dime?  
Once I built a tower, up to the sun, brick, and rivet, and lime;  
Once I built a tower, now it's done. Brother, can you spare a dime?*

Of the five expositions held in the United States in the 1930s, the one in San Diego was the most distinct in appearance. Unlike expositions in Chicago, Dallas, San Francisco, and New York City, the San Diego Exposition used the Spanish-Colonial Revival Style buildings remaining from the 1915-1916 Panama-California (International) Exposition. Buildings added by architect Richard Requa introduced the linear and streamlined adaptations of other fairs. While the antiseptic newness and extraordinary lighting of 1930s buildings provided a vision of change, in San Diego the fairytale Spanish-Colonial city, created for the 1915-1916 fair, struck the spellbinding note.(1)

Bertram Goodhue, master architect of the 1915-1916 San Diego Exposition had urged that the temporary buildings on Balboa Park's main avenue, El Prado, be torn down. Caught by the allurements of the theatrical palaces, San Diego citizens scorned this advice. With the assistance of money from the federal government, they patched up the plaster palaces in 1922 and 1933. The yield of this persistence was the presence of spacious exhibit buildings in Balboa Park that were available for a substantial use.(2)

In August 1933, Frank Drugan, a former representative for the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain, came to San Diego looking for a new start. He visited the renovated El Prado, recognized the potential of the buildings, and persuaded local businessmen to use them as the nucleus for a second exposition. As promoter, Drugan acted the role Colonel "Charlie" Collier had performed for the first exposition. Unlike Collier, Drugan knew how to let other people take the credit for what he had done.(3)

Chicago's 1933-1934 Century of Progress Exposition was in its final year. Many of its exhibits could be transported easily to San Diego. In the

midst of the Great Depression, the Exposition's displays of consumer goods and mechanical inventions nourished the hope of a Golden Tomorrow in a people who were down but not out. Also, the Chicago Exposition's ability to finance itself through the sale of admission tickets and exhibit space showed San Diego the task of holding an exposition was not the hurdle doubters had made it out to be.(4)

Oscar Cotton, chairman of a committee to raise subscriptions, proclaimed the San Diego Exposition as a panacea.

It is within our power to transform San Diego from one of the darkest to one of the whitest spots on the business map of the United States. The holding of this Exposition is the first and foremost link in the biggest chain that ever pulled a community out of the mire.(5)

Frank G. Belcher, assistant cashier and vice president of the First National Trust and Savings Bank of San Diego, became the second exposition's president, the office G. Aubrey Davidson had held in 1915-1916. Davidson came back as chairman of the Board of Directors.(6)

Principal members of the management team were Zack Farmer, Managing Director; J. David Larsen, Executive Manager; Frank Drugan, Executive Secretary; H. O. Davis, Director of Works; H. H. Barter, Supervisor of Construction; Waldo Tupper, Director of Exhibits; Richard Requa, consulting architect; and Juan Larrinaga, Hollywood artist responsible for decoration.(7) Zack Farmer, former manager of the 1932 Olympic games in Los Angeles, had been hired at the suggestion of Frank J. Belcher, general manager of the Spreckels Companies and father of Frank G. Belcher.(8)

Local businesspeople were irate that out of 211 executive employees, more than one hundred came from outside the city.(9)

In September 1934, two months after the Exposition had incorporated, a goal of \$700,000 had been reached. This amount included \$650,000 in public subscriptions and \$50,000 to be allocated by the City of San Diego for park improvements.(10) Plans were now realities. By the end of December, alterations had been made on older buildings along El Prado and a start made on the House of Pacific Relations.

Construction of new palaces began in January 1935. During the penultimate phase, in March and April, as many as 2,700 workers in three eight-hour shifts rushed the project to completion. Approximately 65 percent of the workers were relief workers whose wages were paid by the federal government. The balance were employees of private construction firms.(11) They prepared foundations for the Palace of Electricity and Varied Industries, the Ford, and other buildings before the final plans for the buildings had been prepared.(12) When it became evident that the relief workers could not complete the project in the three months time available, a time that became more frantic as last-minute orders for buildings came in, Requa was compelled to hire private contractors.(13,)

While director of works H. H. Barter and general foreman O. B. Cole constructed the majority of the Exposition buildings, contractor M. H. Golden erected the Federal Building; contractor J. A. Hunt erected the Palace of Water and Transportation; and contractor B. O. Larsen erected the Ford Building. The Exposition's architectural team designed all the structures specifically for the 1935 Fair with the exceptions of the Ford Building that was designed by Walter Dorwin Teague and the model homes that were designed by architects hired by the Federal Housing Administration.(14)

The Exposition Company spent over \$1,233,000 on construction, exclusive of State and Federal funds. This money came from approximately \$650,000 in subscriptions, \$300,000 from the sale of space to exhibitors and concessionaires, and \$300,000 from the advance sale of tickets.(15)

Occupants of the Spanish-Colonial buildings on El Prado were told to get ready for an exposition, and they fell into line.(16)

The Spanish Village and the House of Pacific Relations were originally conceived as a unit, but were separated later as the functions of each were defined.(17) In September,7 managing director J. D. Larsen suggested setting up a typical exposition "Villages of the World," northeast of El Prado to house foreign exhibits. Each village would reflect the architecture of the host country. Larrinaga made drawings of Oriental, Russian, German, Italian, French and Mexican sections. He did not include a Spanish section as buildings along El Prado already conveyed a Spanish atmosphere.(18)

In October, Frank Drugan took over as "director of foreign participation." (19) He changed the name of the foreign section to House of Pacific Relations, located it at the entrance to the Palisades, and changed its design to "California hacienda architecture." (20) Despite the Pacific Ocean emphasis of the Exposition, the "pacific" in House of Pacific Relations meant peaceful. Construction of fifteen cottages began in November. Davidson said the houses were to be reproductions of Spanish and Mexican haciendas.(21) The small, tan, red-tiled cottages that emerged were not copies of anything, though their style was that of peasant houses in Andalusia. Their simple shapes and low massing blended well with their landscaped surroundings.

Consular officials of twenty-one nations used the diminutive houses for meeting places rather than for commercial or government purposes. Then, as now, the life of the colony revolved around its plaza where festivals of participating countries were celebrated.(22)

In December, Requa once more took up plans for a large-scale Villages of the World.(23) This time the villages were to be an adjunct of a fun zone. They would contain a Spanish group of six buildings, an Aztec group of four, a Palestine group of five, and other buildings as clients arose.(24) Spanish Village alone was built in April 1935.(25) This integrated complex consisted of art, curio, flower, music and wine shops, a children's theater, a Chinese bazaar, a cocktail lounge, and restaurants. One and two-story buildings joined at the sides were painted white and topped by red-tile roofs in a variety of angles. Olive trees, potted flowers, fountains, seats and stalls adorned patios and the large central plaza. (26) The *San Diego Union* reported the north portal was inspired by the Puerto del Castillo de Siquenza in Castile.(27) A check of photographs of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Castillo de Siquenza in the province of Guadalajara in Spain shows that the comparison is as meaningless as comparing the north portal of Spanish Village to an ice floe off the coast of Antarctica.

Requa wrote for publication in 1937 that he considered the House of Pacific Relations and Spanish Village "to exemplify the simple and unpretentious type of building which was, perhaps, more completely expressive of the masses and their civilization in Spanish-Colonial times than the monumental architecture along El Prado." (28) The explanation did not represent his real opinion for, in a letter to Exposition officials at the

close of the 1935 Exposition season, he declared Spanish Village to be a stage set, unlike anything he had seen and studied in Spain.(29) As an architect whose specialty was the design of Mediterranean vernacular style homes, Requa did not want to be judged by the overly-pictorial pastiches in Balboa Park, done by Juan Larrinaga or by unknown architects who worked with him.

Most of the 1935 buildings were not in Requa's trademark vernacular style. He wrote that they were extensions of Goodhue's work for the first exposition. Since Goodhue had concentrated on seventeenth-century Spanish-Colonial architecture, Requa would relate pre-Columbian Indian buildings and temples in the Southwest and Mexico to the modern era. (30) A model existed in the earth colors, rounded contours, projecting vigas, and flat roof of the 1915 New Mexico Building. Requa, or his assistant Louis Bodmer, adapted features from this Pueblo-style building to the Hollywood Hall of Fame (today Palisades Building) and the Palisades Cafe (today no more). Since these buildings were a few steps from the New Mexico Building, it seemed appropriate to group them together in an identical style.

Requa did not leave the New Mexico Building unscathed for, to adapt it to the purposes of a Palace of Education, he added an exhibit room in the back, closed and roofed an open-air patio, and affixed an awkward gable to the skylight above the enclosed patio. If light were needed, a transverse clerestory window of the type used in seventeenth-century churches in New Mexico would have been sufficient.(31)

Looking at the remodeled Palace of Education sometime after the 1935-1936 California Pacific International Exposition, architecture historian Carl Sheppard ruefully concluded, "the New Mexico Building has lost its early distinction." (32)

To bring buildings in the Palisades into conformity, however different their styles, Requa planted ferns and cycads at their base which contradicted the desert origins and earth-form outlines of the Pueblo-style Palace of Education, Hollywood Hall of Fame, and Palisades Cafe.

Despite attempts to harmonize buildings in the Palisades, the progression from pre-Columbian to modern architecture was awkward. It must be remembered that plans called for many Maya and Aztec structures that were not built. The final impression was not one of quality.(33) Large

structures, such as the California State, Varied Industries and Electricity. and Water and Transportation Buildings, had wide blank walls decorated at the top and corners with thin geometric relief, vaguely suggestive of Maya and Mixtec origins. Requa claimed the horizontal massing corresponded with the massing of Maya and Aztec temples, but this was a guess by one who did not understand that Maya buildings were set on pedestals and Aztec temples at the tops of pyramids.(34)

Unlike abstract Maya and Mixtec relief, Toltec and Aztec sculpture, in the round and as relief, depicted realistic subjects in -- to modern eyes -- frightening poses, see, for example, the carved rows of jaguars and coyotes on the base of the Temple of Atlantes at Tula (35) and the powerful sculpture of Coatlicue, now in the National Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City.(36.) Requa and Larrinaga did not use traces of Toltec or Aztec art and architecture on the exhibit palaces they created in Balboa Park.

In the daytime, hanging gardens and frescoes, and in the evening, colored lights relieved the vast, unbroken surfaces of the warehouses in the Palisades. The windowless and bulky buildings would have been overbearing without the festive accents, among which the most conspicuous were frescoes and reliefs illustrating exhibits inside the buildings. It is because of the dynamic and picturesque frescoes and reliefs and the color schemes coming from the lantana, geraniums and ice plants in front of the Transportation, the California State, and Electricity Buildings, that these buildings merited the designation of Art Deco, an art widespread in the 1920s and 1930s that integrated painting, sculpture, architecture and landscaping. Without frescoes, reliefs, decorative moldings, and flowering vines climbing or clustering across the plain faces of the structures or trailing from cornices, the buildings would have been faceless blobs.(37)

Requa regarded the Federal Building, a heavy, sodden pile, with the fondness a father might have toward a wayward child. Deriving his information from books, (38) Larrinaga converted the strong, stonework frets, lattice-like designs and rain-god masks on the Palace of the Governor at Uxmal, Mexico and on the east wing of the Nunnery at Chichen Itza (39) into flimsy, fiberboard imitations. He ran these as a frieze along first and second level cornices and as an entablature topping a center entrance shaped like a Maya corbel arch. Flying hooks, or snouts of Chac, the rain god, at the corners of the entablature resembled Puuc-style masks of Chac, found at Uxmal, Chichen-Itza and other Late Classic sites (600 to 900 A.D.) in

northern Yucatan.(40) Translucent panels beneath the arch illustrated a chief accepting the submission of a prisoner, a common Maya motif in murals, wall relief and pottery, the most notable example being the wall painting of victors with prisoners at Bonampak. (41) The depiction omitted the grisly details one would find in a Maya rendition of the scene. (42) A more authentic reconstruction of the North Building of the Nunnery at Uxmal had been put up for the 1933 Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, the design having been prepared by archaeologist Frans Blom from the Middle American Research Department of Tulane University.(43)

Architecture historian George Kubler claimed the eastern stairway, corbelled archways, and friezes of the Palace of the Governor at Uxmal have overlapping and contrapuntal rhythms suggestive of the complexities of the Maya time division..(44) Neither Requa nor Larrinaga were aware of such symbolic significance nor of the esthetic value of an intricate rhythm of planes and decorations.

Most people thought the circular Ford Building, at the south axis of the Plaza de America, was the Exposition's architectural wonder. Often described as a giant washing machine, Walter Dorwin Teague designed the 90-ft tower on the front of the building to look like a gearwheel laid on its side.(45) Teague was a designer of cameras, flat irons, radios, home furnishings (for Edsel Ford), and, in one case, an automobile body, the short-lived Marmon 16 in 1931.(46) A fountain inside the open patio behind the rotunda of the Ford Building's circular exhibit hall was designed to look like the Ford V-8 emblem.

The Ford Music Bowl, situated in a canyon adjoining the Ford Building, was designed by Vern O. Knudsen to seat 3,000 persons in an open-air amphitheater. Despite its name, the Bowl was built with Exposition funds to supply a stage for concerts sponsored by the Ford Motor Company. Requa boasted that the Bowl was "sufficiently removed from the noise and confusion of the Exposition crowds to prevent disturbance,"(47) a boast that proved to be premature because of the overhead airplane noise that currently plagues Bowl audiences. While they were constructing the Bowl, workmen uncovered the petrified bones of a whale more than a million years old.(48)

The phallic-like 108-ft. Standard Oil Tower of the Sun, on the other end of the Plaza de America from the Ford Building, soared proudly upward. (49) Larrinaga invented a motif for the circular base of the building similar

to key patterns on the walls of the Palace of the Dead in Mitla, Oaxaca. (50) He used geometric Art Deco designs on the two elongated circular front sections and on the two square back sections of the tower. While these designs recalled the intricate horizontal relief on the Palace of the Dead in Mitla, (51) they were more lively and vertical. Running from top to bottom, the name Standard Oil appeared on a glass panel between each of the four perpendicular sections.

By providing a common front space, the Plaza de America helped bring the stylistically different buildings into a coherent ensemble.(52) Six high columns of water in changing colors spouted from fountains donated by the Firestone Rubber Company at the south end of the Plaza. Tall staffs holding banners and broad sidewalks bordered the Plaza and fountains and a great carpet of flowers, planted under the direction of W. Allen Perry, of the Exposition's landscape division, beautified an oblong space north of the fountains.

Requa's most pleasing contributions to Balboa Park were the Gardens of the Casa del Rey Moro, styled after the garden of the same name in Ronda, Andalusia; the Alcazar Garden, styled after the garden in Seville; and the patio of the House of Hospitality, styled after the patio of the Regional Museum in Guadalajara, Mexico. (53) While the originals are larger and more dramatic, their copies fit neatly in the park.

Begun at the instigation of the San Diego Floral Association in 1931 as a tribute to horticulturist Kate Sessions, an agave and succulent garden north of the Palace of Natural History was dedicated on March 23, 1935.(54) At the urging of "Aunt Kate," Chauncey I. Jerabek planted a cactus garden, west of the Palace of Education, that was partially completed in time for the second Exposition. Donations came from nurseries and gardens in Texas, Arizona and California.(55) Jerabek and Kate Sessions designed both gardens.

While she enjoyed the two gardens that had been planted in her honor, Kate Sessions' horticultural wishes for Balboa Park were unquenchable. She held out for a heather garden and for a path bordered by a trellis covered with flowering vines. (56)

Milton Sessions, nephew of Kate Sessions, planted rubber and pepper trees and ferns in the patio of the Ford Building and plants native to the

countries represented on segments of a 2,800-ft "Roads of the Pacific" along sides of a canyon behind the building.(57) There were 14 roads or segments of roads that, according to Matthew F. Bokovoy, included the Old Santa Fe Trail, the old Spanish Road in Mexico, El Camino Highway, and the Inca Highway.(58) Bokovoy ignored the Oregon Trail, the Yuma Road, the Caribou Highway in Canada, the Richardson Highway in Alaska, the Gold Road in Panama, the Benguet Road in the Philippines, the Ballarat Road in China, the Tokaido Road in Japan, and the Great North Road in New Zealand. Using a Procrustean argument, Bokovoy saw in the choice of these roads a continuation of the Spanish Heritage myth that he considered an enduring expression of the ethos of Southern California. Since Procrustes was a "stretcher" it could be maintained that the appliqué Maya ornament on some of the buildings in the Palisades was expressive of a Meso-American Indian heritage that in the year 1935 had overflowed across the border.(59)

Fred H. Wylie supervised the construction of a rock garden in the patio of the House of Pacific Relations, using about 75 tons of rock to form cliffs, ledges and benches around a pool containing stone bridges, water lilies and marsh grasses.(60)

Wylie gave the California Gardens, south of the Organ Amphitheater, an Oriental look by using rocks from San Diego County to set off native plants and pools of water. Horticultural organizations in California donated plants and helped lay out their sections of the gardens (61) Architect Requa claimed the results lacked interest.(62) For the second season, Mrs. Neff K. Bakkers created tableaux called "Desert Moods" that depicted dawn, high noon, sunset and night in the California desert. How she could create the moods of the desert night and day through the use of soil, cactus and rock is a mystery, but the idea was so novel her tableaux attracted more attention than the subtropical fruit trees, roses and dahlias in other parts of the garden.(63)

Despite Requa's caustic assessment of a garden that was not an "architecture garden," his views were not shared by everyone. The many formal and informal, Spanish, desert and California gardens on the grounds comforted visitors exhausted from looking at repetitious exhibits inside buildings.

While not strictly a horticultural feature, a wooden bridge, constructed by work crews, spanned Palm Canyon, enabling visitors entering from the

west gate to look at the tops of palm trees planted for the 1915-1916 Panama-California (International) Exposition and into the recesses of the canyon while taking shortcuts to the Organ Amphitheater and the Palisades.

The Plaza del Pacifico on the Avenida de Palacios (today and in 1915-1916 the Plaza de Panama on El Prado) functioned differently in 1935 from 1915. Dances, drills, public receptions, and sports events crowded the spacious, central plaza during the first exposition. Arcades and steps of the Sacramento Valley Building served as reviewing and band stand. The City issued permits to demolish this building in 1925, to make way for the Fine Arts Gallery, in 1935 called the Palace of Fine Arts, and today called the San Diego Museum of Art. The replacement building lacked the contrasts of solids and cavities, festive ornament, and inviting loggia of the first.

Requa put a Moorish style Arch of the Future in the middle of the Plaza del Pacifico with the arch spanning the Avenida de Palacios and the sides facing north and south. An upper deck housed flood lights and transmission facilities for a public address system operated by the Associated Oil Company. To further break up the plaza, Requa placed large low pools on the north and south sides of the arch. These pools reflected images of surrounding buildings. One pool contained an ornamental barge from which troubadours serenaded visitors.(64) H. O. Davis had insisted arch and pools be put up to conceal fixtures and to enhance lighting. Requa considered them to be obstructions that did not belong in a Spanish-style plaza.(65)

Exhibit palaces were true to their titles . . . Palace of Better Housing, Palace of Fine Arts, Palace of Food and Beverages, Palace of Education, Palace of Electricity and Varied Industries, Palace of Natural History, Palace of Photography, Palace of Science, Palace of Water and Transportation, Hollywood Hall of Fame and House of Charm, the "charm" being feminine cosmetics.(66) Three buildings represented the federal government, three specialized in commercial products, three were carry-overs of museums, and over six displayed industrial products. California put up the only state building. Unlike 1915, when many California counties constructed their own buildings, this time the various departments of the State, headquartered in Sacramento, mounted the exhibits.

A women's committee composed of former members of the Balboa Park Auditorium Association acted as hostesses in the House of Hospitality

(the 1915 Foreign Arts Building) on the southeast side of the Plaza del Pacifico. Having negotiated an understanding that they would continue to operate the building after the Exposition, the women formed the House of Hospitality Association and contributed \$3,500 for the building's rehabilitation and \$8,845 for furniture and equipment. SERA, a State Employment Relief Association, contributed the balance of \$75,000.(67) This sum was in addition to an estimated \$28,620 of federal relief funds that had been used to stabilize the facades and to cut off a rear portion in 1933-1934.(68)

Female college students in the Palace of Food and Beverages (the 1915 Varied Industries and Food Products Building) sold Scottish scones made by Fisher Flouring Company at five cents a piece. They slit the scones down the side and filled them with raspberry jam and butter.(69) The Coca Cola Company, in the same building, mixed carbonated water with syrup and put the mixture in bottles with caps at a rate of 30 bottles per minute. New Sea Island Sugar Company sold lemonade at 10 cents a glass and showed films of its cane fields and refineries in the Hawaiian Islands. The exhibit included a puppet show telling the story of sugar and of the dolls featured on the company's sugar bags.(70) Dressed in a black gown, with her hair covered with a lace mantilla, Thelma Ruff testified to the merits of Santa Fe cigars, (71) in an exhibit mounted by A. Sensenbrenner Sons of Los Angeles. She left the demonstration to a wax figure that smoked a Santa Fe cigar.(72)

Inside the Palace of Better Housing (the 1915 Commerce and Industries Building), the California Redwood Association showed interior and exterior uses of redwood in a two-room structure (73) and Palmer Steel Building Company put up a 20 by 60 ft. fabricated steel building.(74) As part of its exhibit of glass and glass containers, Owens-Illinois Pacific Company set up a stage on which a magician entertained crowds.(75) Seventh Day Adventists installed an exhibit called "Jerusalem, the Holy City," in rear of the Palace.(76) Behind the Palace, the Federal Department of Housing, in an exhibit dubbed "Modernization Magic," displayed block after block of tiny, decrepit, old-fashioned homes. These turned over every ten minutes, and, in their place, appeared the same homes after they had been "modernized" into clean, tidy modern structures, complete in minute detail.(77)

Matthew F. Bokovoy described the FHA exhibit in detail in his book *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1850-1940*, naming the architects who designed the model homes for "Modeltown," including Richard Neutra, who prepared a model of a low-cost (\$4,500) open floor plan building that, according to Bokovoy, showed the influence "of Hopi, Navajo and Pueblo building traditions." (78) (All of them?) A version of Neutra's building, built in 1935 for William Beard, still exists (2006) in Altadena, California. It was made of steel with aluminum finish on the exterior and with full-height, sliding glass and steel partitions that communicated with the outdoors and opened up a panorama of the Sierra Madre mountains.(79) (James Ford and Katherine Morrow Ford, *Classic Modern Homes of the Thirties* (Dover Publications, 1989).)

The purpose of the FHA exhibit was to provide plans for buildings and to assist in their construction through government-guaranteed loans at low-interest rates. While some of the architects who designed the homes may have had Socialist leanings, this was not true of FHA or of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "New Deal" administration. By making it practical and economical to build comfortable homes, Roosevelt's New Dealers hoped to stimulate business and increase jobs. Bokovoy claimed the layout of a small community in "Modeltown:" illustrated concepts of town planning that were espoused at the time by planning visionaries.(80) This may have been so, but it is difficult to see how much planning in the way of homes, factories, roads, railroad lines and stations, water and sewage systems, parks, schools and the like could be mounted on a three and one-half acre exhibit set around and between towering eucalyptus trees. Stating the obvious, Bokovoy pointed out that by encouraging banks to finance, real estate agents to build, and middle-income individuals to buy single-family homes, the FHA exhibit was not likely to result in adroitly planned suburban communities (81), or, according to Kenneth T. Jackson, in the rejuvenation of deteriorating inner cities.(82,)

Orville Goldner designed frescoes on the outside and inside of the \$90,000 California State Building. These illustrated the history and scenery of the state while exhibits highlighted the state's agricultural and industrial resources. The State of California and the cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles sent in miniature replicas of their respective territories. Park rangers showed a diorama of a raging forest fire that attracted more attention than the static displays.(83) The State intended to leave its exhibits in the building after the Exposition was over.(84)

San Diego Consolidated Gas & Electric Company, Southern California Edison Company, the Los Angeles Bureau of Light and Power, and California General Electric Distributors sponsored most of the exhibits in the Palace of Electricity, on the opposite side of the Plaza de America from the California State Building. A House of Magic in this building showed popcorn being popped by radio waves, music being transmitted by light, and a kitchen in which a talking stove, hot water heater and other appliances discussed which appliance had done the most to prevent a divorce in the family.(85)

Dioramas and murals inside the Standard Oil Tower showed scenes from national parks with greater fidelity to depth, detail and motion than was evidenced by similar scenes on frescoes above the entrance to the building.(86) It might seem a puzzlement why Standard Oil would show scenes of natural beauty rather than pitching for its products until one realizes that the viewing public would be able to actually see these scenes by buying the Company's petroleum products. This may sound unusually subtle, but such was and is Corporate America's way of advertising.

The Palace of Water and Transportation, next to the rose garden, had a lively facade at the entrance to the water side of the building. A stylized Indian face looked outward as cascades of water tumbled down on right and left sides. At night, projectors painted the water.(87) This was the most animated facade put up for the 1935-1936 Exposition and its best example of the playful Art Deco style. A gigantic relief map inside the building showed the Mono Basin project, the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California aqueduct, the All-American Canal, and a network of canals, aqueducts and reservoirs from Boulder Dam to Los Angeles.(88) It took some time for planners to coalesce around the theme of progress, which is surprising since it is the common theme of all expositions. As the first exposition celebrated the completion of the Panama Canal, the second would celebrate the completion of the Metropolitan Water District Aqueduct and other state and federal projects.(89) Overriding other displays in importance were those showing the taming of the Colorado and Columbia Rivers. Subsidiary to these, models of the Metropolitan Water District Aqueduct, the Grand Coulee, Boulder and Parker Dams, the All-American Canal, the San Francisco and Golden Gate Bridges, and the improved harbors of Los Angeles, Long Beach and San Diego proclaimed the millennium had arrived. The City of San Diego finally connected to the Metropolitan Water

District Aqueduct in 1947 after the U.S. Navy agreed to help with the financing, (90) an agreement brought on by the explosive growth of San Diego during World War II.

Exhibitors showed models of the same projects in the Palace of Water and Transportation, the Palace of Electricity and Varied Industries, the Palace of Education, the Federal, and the California State Buildings. Even after it had been repeated in building after building in the Palisades, a concessionaire set up a model of Boulder Dam in the amusement section of the Exposition.(91)

Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Labor, Justice, Navy, Marine Corps, Patent Office, Printing Office, Library of Congress, Smithsonian Institution, Tennessee Valley Authority, Veterans' Administration, and National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics set up displays in the Federal Building. Visitors had fingerprints taken and looked at a \$1,000,000 U.S. Treasury Bill, a counter that showed the estimated population of the United States at the moment one was looking at it, a model of the first electric light patented by Thomas Edison in 1879, and a seventeen-pound machine gun that shot a stream of lead through whirling propeller blades without touching them.(92)

In the Hollywood Hall of Fame Building, north of the California State Building, studio sets, stage lights, and mementoes including Mary Pickford's stage curls and Charlie Chaplin's exaggerated shoes got visitors in a receptive mood for the showing of films spliced together from scenes of already-made movies.(93)

The Palace of Education north of the Hollywood Hall of Fame, illustrated aspects of education in California, including abstract, agricultural, artistic, blind, crafts, gifted, health, home, Indian, nautical, physical, scientific and visual.(94)

Cynthia Ricketts posed as a dancing figure for a fountain sculpture by Dr. Frederick Schweigardt in the lobby of the Palace of Education. Kneeling women at the base personified Community, Church, Home and School, each being one of the "Four Cornerstones of American Democracy." (95) After being told funds had run out, Schweigardt donated his labor. There is no logical reason why matrons of democracy should occupy themselves supporting a diminutive nymph in a gleeful high step.

Belle Baranceanu painted a 40-ft. mural illustrating the "Progress of Man" on a wall behind the fountain. Unlike Schweigardt she was paid, most likely with U.S. Public Works Administration funds. Critic Jim Britton described the painting as "a Sear's catalog of components," including a sphinx, pyramids, all manner of transportation, a quill pen, two printing presses, a microscope, telescope, factories, skyscrapers, tractor, and a blond, blue-eye youth with arms extended to embrace the symbols of progress. The artist said that because she was forced to rush the project to completion, she did not fill in the figures properly.(96)

Alpha, a 2,000 lb., chrome-plated, steel giant, received visitors in the Palace of Science (the 1915 California Building). He answered questions, blinked his eyes, sat down, stood up, smoked cigarettes, and fired a pistol on command. When Alpha was asked if he loved his wife, he replied un gallantly, "I've a heart of steel. I don't love nobody and nobody loves me." Alpha was not the marvel he appeared since Henry May controlled his movements and speech through electronically-transmitted vocal vibrations.(97)

Bokovoy claimed the commercial and educational exhibits generally were designed to illustrate a "Culture of Abundance." There is a certain irony in this as the times were certainly not "abundant" in jobs or in money to buy goods. Also, some economists tell us the Depression was brought about because an excess of high-price manufactured goods and of farm produce exceeded the ability of low-paid workers to buy them, thus causing a chain of events that led to the Stock Market Crash of 1929, the phenomenon of "want in the midst of plenty," and the creation of bread lines and soup kitchens. Still it is true that bankers and manufacturers, who put up exhibits, were trying to assure a suffering public (and themselves) that soon most people would be able to afford the appliances and artifacts on display. Expositions cater to dreams and there was no reason for San Diego's to be different. Robert Rydell, who was several degrees more caustic than Bokovoy, translated "Culture of Abundance" as "Culture of Consumerism." (98) And what is consumerism but the desire of manipulators and profiteers to encourage people to buy things they do not want and may not need? What historian Robert S. McElvaine called "the greatest tragedy of the Depression era" is that in its search for a pragmatic means to combat the massive unemployment of the times, the Roosevelt administration adopted a method identical to that of industrial capitalists like Henry Ford. Mass consumption made possible by an increase in "the purchasing power of the nation" would

stimulate business and put America back to work. In other words, the philosophy of “Spend, Spend, Spend,” as advocated by economist John Maynard Keynes, held the day, only, in this case, it was the workers and not the government who would “Spend, Spend, Spend.” (99)

The gap between glistening appearance and dark reality noted by Bokovoy was evident in the industrial exhibits by Ford, Firestone, and Shell and in the Better Housing exhibits, including, ironically, those of the Federal Housing Administration, but not in exhibits of the Department of Labor in the Federal Building. Nonetheless the dominant optimistic tone in all exhibits was achieved by ignoring the miserable conditions of employed and unemployed working people in San Diego and Southern California. According to federal and state unemployment relief services 15,000 persons were registered as unemployed in the City of San Diego in 1935, or about 10 percent of the City’s population of 147,995 based on 1930 Census figures.(100) With approximately one-third of the country in desperate straits, too many people who had escaped ruin during the Depression subscribed to the Puritan notion that “God helps those who help themselves:’ and that the poor have only themselves to blame because of their laziness and lack of ambition. Industrialist Henry Ford, whose concern for cost-cutting was greater than his concern for the welfare of his workers, said: “The Depression is good for the country. The only problem is that it might not last long enough in which case people might not learn enough from it.” What they were to learn was to think and do what the owners and managers of industry told them to think and do. In Henry Ford’s book people get ahead through the exercise of personal initiative and ingenuity, not through social cooperation and sharing and, above all, not through government intervention.(101)

In 1935 workers belonging to the International Longshoremen’s Union in the port cities of California, including San Diego, female and minority workers at tuna canneries on the San Diego waterfront, and migrant workers from the “Dust Bowl” states in Imperial Valley began to demand increases in wages and better working conditions. Such demands were neither to the liking of San Diego’s comfortable establishment nor to its middle-class adherents. The latter were either swayed by the super-patriotic stance of opponents of attempts to alleviate the plight of “ill-housed, ill-clad and ill-nourished” people or were afraid to express sympathy for their plight for fear of being

branded communist sympathizers. If this seems like a replay of the San Diego City power elite's retaliation against the Industrial Workers of America campaign for free-speech and the right to recruit members in 1912, so it was.

Gold Gulch occupied a canyon between the model homes behind the Palace of Better Housing and Pepper Grove, near today's horse stables for the San Diego Police Department. Here unpainted shacks, an iron-barred bank, a Chinese restaurant and laundry, a dance and music hall, a sign before a brown shack reading "Gold Gulch Planter - Tin Coffins Made to Order," and a dummy suspended in midair from a hangtown tree recreated the atmosphere of a mining town in the gold rush days of '49. Barkers lured "drugstore cowboys" to a "shootin' gallery," where, if they were lucky, they could put out the lights everywhere in the Gulch by hitting the bull's eye.(102)

A colony of about twenty nudists read books, played handball, ate vegetables, and participated in a 20-minute Ceremony to the Sun God five times nightly in Zoro Gardens, at the northern tip of Gold Gulch. The "Zoro" in Zoro Gardens was the name of Zoro Nature Park in Roselawn, Indiana, from which the original members of the troupe were recruited. The Indiana nudists took the name from Zoroaster, a Persian prophet. Patrons of Gold Gulch were quick at finding knot holes in the wood fence between the two attractions.(103) It costs 25 cents to see the nudists without benefit of the knotholes that may have been deliberately set for publicity purposes. Compared to "Gold Gulch Gertie," who was arrested for impersonating Lady Godiva, (104) and to dancers along the Midway, the nudists were models of decorum. Indeed, Yvonne Stacey, the colony's first queen, and Dr. Frederick S. Merrill (also known as F. Merrill Smith), the colony's first narrator, insisted that the show not be located on the Midway as they didn't want their presentation of nudism to be confused with strip-tease. Chief of Police George Sears saw that the women wore brassieres and G-strings, though publicity photographs seem to belie this assertion as to the brassieres. Men, who were past their prime, had long beards and wore loincloths.(105). The show was first staged during the final four months of the Chicago Century of Progress Exposition in 1934 and proved to be such a remunerative attraction that San Diego Fair officials were eager to get it.

While San Diego Exposition authorities asserted the nudists were "authentic," W. B. Courtney, a reporter for *Colliers Magazine*, wrote: "The

idea was to get genuine Nudists from their lairs in Germany and Indiana; but they would have nothing to do with commercialized exhibitionism. So these Exposition nudists are hirelings from the stage; but the result is the same.” Regarding attempts by promoters of the nudists (or of nudism?) to declare the nudists members of a semi-religious cult that advocated good health, clean living, and right thinking, Courtney added: “Well, even though your worshipful faculties may be deficient, it will be worth your while to enter this amphitheater, deep in a sylvan glen, to see what Nudists do with their time besides play. I know a spot—the top of the frontier express company blockhouse in Gold Gulch—from which you can peep into the Nudist Colony.” (106) According to Fred Fox, who wrote an article for a nude magazine, Courtney was off the mark as the first group to arrive in San Diego had ties with the nudist colony at Roselawn, Indiana. Later imports came from theatrical and burlesque venues.(107)

Exposition releases claimed the Nudist Colony and the Midget Farm on the Midway were competitors for visitor attendance. Though this may have been true, a late 1935 Report on the Continuance or Discontinuance of Exposition Concessionaires gave the monthly percentage of receipts from Zoro Gardens as \$3,693.20 and from the Midget Farm as \$1,917.87. (108) During its two-year run the Nudist Colony had three queens: Zorine, Ruth Cobitt and Tanya Cobitt. Zorine (in real life Yvonne Stacey who was by all accounts a legitimate nudist) left in September 1935 in disgust after postcards of her and of other nudists had been put on sale without their consent and after the showgirl imports, pretending to be nudists, began cheapening the the show. According to a San Diego Historical Society Timeline, Yvonne and her troupe were arrested in New York State in August 1936. She offered to perform before a judge so he could decide if her act was indecent. (109) *The San Diego Herald*, September 19, 1935, named Nate Eagle and Stanley Graham as the managers of Zoro Gardens.(110)

About 150 Indians from thirty tribes occupied Indian Village, a survival from the 1915 Exposition at the northeast end of the grounds. They made arrows, baskets and rugs, portrayed the "Sun Dance" and "Snake Dance," and took part in pretended stagecoach holdups and attacks on covered wagons. (111) Willow Bird, described as "the son of a Pueblo-Apache chief," painted kachina images on the ramparts of Indian Village.(112) Unlike the 1915 Indian exhibit, where education was a primary goal, the 1935 exhibit inclined toward commercial exploitation. Many acts were borrowed from Wild West Shows, but were not as exciting.

Indians were told to thump heavily on their drums to drown out barkers on the Midway.

The Fair's most popular attractions were the Ford Building and the Midway. These appealed to the desire of males to be master of machinery (or to pretend that they were) and the desire of men, women and children to be entertained.(113) It took visitors two and one-half hours to move round the Ford exhibits if they followed the lectures one after the other.(114)

A midget city and a farm with midget cows, pigs and grain, along the west side of the Midway led other Midway concessions in the number of visitors. More than 100 "little people" worked and played.(115) Robert Ripley's "Believe It-Or-Not" offered a four-legged girl, a girl without arms and legs, and a man immune to fire.(116) A judge fined the manager of the Ripley exhibit \$150 in December for showing deformed people in violation of a California penal code.(117) In "Sensations", undulating lights created illusions of beautiful women ascending and descending on jets of water while other women swam around them.(118) A concessionaire showed gangster John Dillinger's bulletproofed and armed automobile, in "Crime Never Pays," a misnomer for the concession paid very well.(119) Moving from human to animal, Rossika, an Arabian mare, fired a salute, pulled down a flag, and walked a tightrope in "Days of Saladin." (120)

An abundance of baby animals at the San Diego Zoo, on the Avenida de Espana to the west of the Midway, captured public attention. Baby antelope, buffalo, deer, goats, sheep, Bengal tigers, Siberian bears, and a solitary young ocelot showed by their survival that they and their parents were receiving the best of care.(121)

Exposition visitors rented roller chairs operated by college students by the hour or by the day. These covered all parts of the Fair and Zoo and went inside some of the buildings.(122)

*The Official Guide to the 1935 California-Pacific International Exposition* gave the acreage occupied by the Exposition as 300. A more likely figure is 600 acres, as given by the *San Diego Union* in its March 29, 1936 Exposition Edition. This larger figure is comparable to the 640 acres occupied by the 1915-1916 Panama-California (International) Exposition. Roughly about 90 acres occupied by the San Diego Zoo in 1935-1936 were

used for agricultural displays in 1915-1916, which accounts for the lesser figure in 1935-1936.

The U.S. Marine Band and Color Guard marched across Cabrillo Bridge and into the Plaza del Pacifico to mark the opening of the Exposition, on the morning of May 29, 1935. Unlike the Marines, children paid twenty-five cents and adults fifty cents each to get in. Before the day was over, 45,000 people paid to pass through the gates.

In the afternoon, Governor Frank Merriam opened the doors to the California State Building and Secretary of Commerce Daniel Roper opened the doors to the Federal Building. Formal dedication commenced at eight in the evening. President Franklin D. Roosevelt telephoned his greetings from Washington, D.C. Loudspeakers on the grounds broadcast his words. A chorus of 500 voices at the Organ Amphitheater sang the "Star Spangled Banner," then, as airplanes of the U.S. Army's First Wing soared overhead, two orphan girls pressed buttons turning on the lights. Columbia Broadcasting broadcast the ceremonies coast-to-coast from a studio in the Palace of Better Housing.

Except for the Palace of Water and Transportation, the U.S. Housing Exhibit, Falstaff Tavern, Camp George Derby, and the Civilian Conservation Corps Camp, which opened later, exhibits were ready.(123)

At the Organ Amphitheater, June 2, Dr. Earl Rosenberg conducted a choir of 150 voices singing a cappella "Missa Papae Marcelli," the celebrated mass composed by Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina for the enthronement of Pope Marcellus, circa 1561. As the original score called for six voices, Rosenberg's enlargement was startling. Even so, no more fitting piece could have been chosen to honor Catholic Day. On the other hand, no more unfitting act could have been committed than to link this ethereal music with a military field mass. Over fourteen clergymen, wearing robes and vestments, joined approximately 1,400 uniformed members of 210 Holy Name Societies and 50 other societies in a processional and recessional. As the celebrant of the Mass elevated the Host, lay members lowered their colors and banners while one of them sounded a fanfare. Over 50,000 people, most of whom were Catholics, attended the services. In the afternoon, a choir from the Hollywood First Methodist-Episcopal Church sang religious songs at the Amphitheater by J. S. Bach, Gounod and Sibelius.(124)

A lucky college student rolled Hollywood sex Goddess Mae West in a roller chair down El Prado, June 9. As she entered Gold Gulch someone hit the bull's eye and all lights went out (125). Mae applauded the "little woman," wearing a clinging black dress and a large-brimmed hat, who swiveled her body into an hourglass shape and said, "Why don't you come up sometime and see me?" at Midget Village.(126) Upon being told the fleet would be in the following day, Mae remarked, "I'm sorry I didn't know the fleet was coming in tomorrow as I certainly would have come down then. I'm very patriotic that way." (127)

The fleet Mae missed arrived June 11, fifty-eight thousand officers and enlisted men in the largest concentration of ships to anchor and dock in San Diego up to that time.(128) Most of the men behaved; however, one red-bearded sailor took several rides in rolling chairs and ate several hot dogs and bags of popcorn without paying, turned a fire hose on the nudists, and induced two sailors to swim across the reflecting pool in the Plaza del Pacifico.(129)

Ex-President Herbert Hoover arrived June 18. Mayor Percy J. Benbough, Chamber of Commerce and Exposition officials, and U.S. Naval officers did not allow him to spend a quiet day at the Exposition as he had hoped. Hoover tried to evade the committees by paying a surprise visit to the grounds in the morning before attending a luncheon at the U. S. Grant Hotel. He listened to flowery speeches and replied in kind. Meanwhile, the distaff side took his wife to the House of Hospitality. The Exposition arranged receptions in the afternoon so that people could see the former President, but he could not see the Exposition.(130)

A contingent of 80 planes attached to the First Wing of the U.S. Army General Headquarters dropped dummy bombs on an "enemy" supply camp at the Exposition at noon June 19. Fifty-five planes returned in the evening to complete the destruction. The following day, the pilots arrived at the Exposition "to take possession of captured territory." (131)

Arriving from the Presidio in San Francisco, the 30th Infantry, consisting of 165 officers and men, set up a model camp, June 29, south of the Indian Village. The soldiers named the camp "Camp George Derby," after a U.S. Army lieutenant and humorist who wrote *Phoenixiana* (1855) and *Squibob Papers* (1865), describing his misadventures in San Diego's

"Old Town." Soldiers drilled, paraded, and held flag raising and retreat ceremonies daily in the Plaza del Pacifico.(132)

Julius Wangenheim, chairman of the Exposition finance committee, hinted something was amiss, July 8, when he called for greater economy and fewer promotions. The resignations of Zack Farmer, J. David Larsen and Waldo Tupper, July 17, and their replacements by Philip L. Gildred, Hal Hotchkiss and Douglas Young gave substance to Wangenheim's misgivings.(133) Since the people leaving were from outside San Diego, it was not a coincidence that their replacements were residents of the city.(134)

Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson spoke at the Organ Amphitheater, July 18. She turned down Queen Zorine's invitation to visit the nudist colony. Zorine reputedly responded: "I did not ask her to take off her clothes. I only invited her to tea." (135) Aimee told an audience of 20,000, "the world does not need to go ahead. It needs to go back—back to the faith and religion of our fathers," an interesting point at an exposition devoted to progress at a time when eight million people in the country were unemployed.(136)

The Exposition designated July 21 "Schumann-Heink Day," to show the affection that San Diegans had for their most famous citizen and symbolic "Mother." At 74 years of age, she sang the *Star-Spangled Banner* in a weak voice that lacked the depth and volume with which she once thrilled audiences. Then Dr. Rosenberg conducted the Exposition chorus and soloists in a performance of Mendelssohn's Elijah. Before the performance Schumann-Heink introduced Miss Elsa Mayer, the young contralto whom she had coached for the role of an angel.(137)

On July 27, Le Roy Haines, a 46-year old stunt man, told his wife, "We need the money," then jumped from a 90-ft. tower into a pool of flaming water at Gold Gulch. His chest was crushed and he died at Mercy Hospital an hour after his leap.(138)

During Children's Day, on August 5, Jack Dempsey, world's heavyweight boxing champion from 1919 to 1926, refereed a bout between midget boxers.(139)

To stimulate attendance, the Exposition hired the Fanchon and Marco firm to put on two variety shows at the Organ Amphitheater beginning August 15. Rin-Tin-Tin, Jr., son of the famous dog movie star, did tricks at the opening show; lyric tenor Tommy Jones sang; the Normal Thomas Negro Quintet sang and danced, aerialists walked tightropes, and a chorus of young women danced and kicked in unison. About 20,000 people showed their delight by whistling, yelling and clapping.(140)

About 8,000 Japanese-Americans celebrated the birth of Guatama Buddha at the Organ Amphitheater on the evening of August 17. They put up a 15-ft. temple and placed in the middle an 18-inch solid gold image of the Buddha. Monks wearing richly embroidered robes chanted, adults and children sang, musicians played, and young women danced as thousands of lotus blossoms fluttered down over their heads.(141) The following morning at the Amphitheater, Shinto priests, wearing red robes and tight-fitting black hats, venerated the spirits of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln.

In the afternoon, musicians played Japanese flutes, guitars, and drums as 600 young women in flowing kimonos, 50 children in colorful robes, and almost as many Japanese-American boy and girl scouts marched to the Plaza del Pacifico. Crowds in the Plaza looked on as experts fenced, danced with swords, and wrestled. Exposition officials gave a reception at the conclusion of the exercises at the Organ Amphitheater, where Nisei danced and sang.(142)

On National Negro Day, August 24, more than 20,000 African-Americans visited the Exposition. Negro Tenor George Garner and a chorus of 300 voices sang "Hand Me Down That Silver Trumpet" and "Ain't Going to Study War No More" at the Organ Amphitheater. San Diego's official organist Royal A. Brown played the organ and Joseph de Luca conducted the Exposition band. Fifteen thousand people listened to the concert.(143)

Dr. Francis Townsend addressed more than 30,000 at two programs in the Ford Bowl, August 25. He claimed the government could wipe out poverty if it gave everyone over 60 years of age a monthly income of \$200. The audience was so rapt it disregarded raindrops falling on their heads.(144) Just 10 days prior to Townsend's appearance, on August 15, President Roosevelt had signed the Social Security Act. One would think that the provision of an income for people over the age of 65 would mollify Townsend's objections. This was not the case as the Social Security Act "did

not promise immediate payment in 1935, because the benefits Social Security provided were small compared to the \$200 per month that Townsend's wanted, and because people had to work under the Social Security program to earn a payment." (145)

Exposition directors began holding special "Nickel Days" to attract customers. In response to their invitation, motion picture actor Joe E. Brown led children into the Midway, on Nickel Day, August 26. Brown declined to judge a bicycle contest at the Organ Amphitheater at which the "Duke of Wellington," a chimpanzee, rode a bicycle, but did not compete for a prize.(146)

Directors set aside September 4 to honor Charles Wakefield Cadman, a composer and a Grossmont resident. Cadman is remembered today for his piano music and the songs "The Land of Sky Blue Water" and "Love Like the Dawn Comes Stealing." Soprano Tsianini Blackstone at Indian Village, Royal A. Brown at the Organ Amphitheater, the Exposition Chorus and an instrumental quartet in the House of Hospitality, and the San Diego Symphony in the Ford Bowl all devoted their programs to Cadman's music. Someone must have forgotten to inform the 63rd Coast Artillery Band -- for the band played its usual fare of oompah-pah music.(147)

The First Wing of the U.S. Army General Headquarters sent 416 planes to attack the Exposition for a three-day period beginning September 5. They were supported by 90 combat vessels in the harbor and resisted by batteries of anti-aircraft guns on the grounds, manned by the Coast Artillery.(148) Against such overwhelming odds, the Exposition was devastated, or would have been if the attack were real.

On Constitution Day, September 17, ex-President Herbert Hoover came back to give the principal speech at the Organ Amphitheater.(149) Hoover said Americans could lose their liberties if too much power was concentrated in the federal government at the expense of local governments. He did not mention the Democratic Party by name, but most people knew of whom he was speaking.(150,)

On September 18, Brigadier General Henry H. Arnold from the U.S. Army Air Corps spent two hours watching people jump into space from a 155-ft. steel tower at the Midway. They were supported by an open

parachute with a cable attached. Arnold concluded the mechanism would be useful in training aviators.(151)

The Exposition chose the "Our Gang Comedy" youngsters from Hollywood to be guests at Nickel Day, September 21. Three of them misbehaved in appropriate style on the stage at the Organ Amphitheater, but Buckwheat had stage fright, and, in tears, rushed to the protecting arms of his mother.(152)

Directors honored Kate Sessions, the nursery woman who changed the face of Balboa Park and of San Diego, on Kate Sessions Day, September 24.(153) In honor of the occasion, citizens from Pacific Beach presented a painting of Kate by Mary Belle Williams to the City of San Diego.(154) Kate responded to the many speeches in her praise by saying it was the plants, not she, that had created the city's beauty.(155)

Aimee Semple McPherson returned to the Organ Amphitheater for three days and evenings of sermons beginning September 27. She wore a flowing white crepe dress and a cape lined with red. In her opening salutation, she declared God had not given us this great nation to use for selfish ends and that true patriotism should have a religion of love and order as its basis.(156) In closing her three-day contest with the Devil, she said the Blue Eagle failed because of "a lack of religious power," She referred to a symbol representing the National Industrial Recovery Administration Act, an act governing labor relations passed by Congress on June 16, 1933. The act failed in a formal sense because a small kosher company (Schlecter Poultry) brought suit before the U.S. Supreme Court in, May 1935, to revoke its code-making and price-fixing provisions.(157) Overcome by Aimee's charismatic personality, people in the audience rushed to the front of the podium to touch her garment.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor came to the Exposition, October 2. They lunched in separate rooms in the House of Hospitality, the President in the Sala de Oro with men and his wife in the Mexican loggia with women. Exposition president Belcher accompanied Roosevelt on an automobile ride through the grounds. Before leaving the grounds, the Roosevelt entourage passed along a tree-lined avenue at the entrance to the House of Pacific Relations where more than 800 costumed nationals of 32 foreign nations greeted the President. Frank Drugan used the occasion to explain the goodwill intentions of the House to the President,

prompting him to remark that he hoped the attraction would become permanent.(158) Local leaders took this impromptu observation as a promise of government support.

In an address before 60,000 inside and 15,000 outside San Diego Stadium, a short distance from the Exposition, the President said "the products of American artistic and mechanical genius" shown at the Exposition (products he did not see) spoke "eloquently of what the nation can achieve on a broad scale." He attributed the success of the Exposition to "individual effort," which the policies of the New Deal were created to promote. Because of the progressive deeds of his administration, the country was coming out of the Depression. The President concluded by proclaiming American neutrality in the event of war in Europe, a prospect that seemed likely because of the repudiation of the arms-limitation provision of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany and the imminent invasion of Ethiopia by Italy. To show the rest of the world the proper way to settle disputes, the President said the United States would be a "good neighbor" to all the nations of the world.

If some of this neutralist rhetoric was similar to President Wilson's before the United States entered World War I, it was no accident as Franklin D. Roosevelt was Wilson's Assistant Secretary of the Navy. An editorial in the *San Diego Union* grouched that the President did not answer questions rising out of the unemployment problem and the collapse of the National Industrial Recovery Act.(159) As the national unemployment rate in 1935 was 20.1 percent as opposed to 24.9 in the peak Depression year of 1933, there was justification for the *Union's* concern. The National Industrial Recovery Act called for the voluntary association of NIRA administrators, trade leaders, and industrialists to set minimum hours of employment, minimum wages, and collective bargaining agreements. In return for concessions the NIRA allowed industrialists to raise prices and cutback production. On May 27, 1935 the U.S. Supreme Court, declared the National Industrial Recovery Act unconstitutional on the grounds that the Act wrongfully delegated power to the National Industrial Recovery Administration and that the U.S. Congress had the power to regulate commerce between but not within individual states. California farmers and farm products processors were against the NIRA because it required them to treat migratory workers fairly.(160) Whatever gains that labor leaders thought by had achieved through passage of the NIRA were more illusory

then real as industrialists controlled production levels and could fire workers when they were too pestiferous or no longer needed.

Roosevelt was not upset when the Supreme Court's rejected the National Industrial Recovery Act in May 1935, though many of his supporters in the US Congress were. Historian Robert S. McElvaine quoted Roosevelt as saying to Frances Perkins, his Secretary of Labor, "You know the whole thing is a mess. It has been an awful headache. . . . I think, perhaps, the NRA has done all it can do." (161) Contrariwise, Roosevelt was incensed when the Supreme Court overturned the Agricultural Adjustment Act and invalidated a New York State established minimum wage law, both in January 1936. He responded to this challenge. by attempting to "pack" the court with justices favorable to New Deal legislation, an attempt many historians regard as the biggest mistake of his four-term (1933-1945) presidency. Ironically, while Congress was still discussing Roosevelt's scheme to add six new justices to the Supreme Court, the Court, in March 1937, upheld the constitutionality of the Social Security Act and the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act. These two Acts, together with the Emergency Conservation Work Act of March 31, 1933, that established the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Tennessee Valley Authority Act of May 18, 1933, the Farm Credit and Banking act of June 16, 1933, the Securities and Exchange Act of June 6, 1934, the Works Progress Administration, created by Presidential order in May 1935, and the Fair Labor Standards Act, effective October 24, 1938.were the outstanding successes of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal.

Twenty five-thousand children and adults from San Diego relief families entered the grounds free on October 28. Entertainers employed by the Works Projects Administration put on a variety show for them at the Organ Amphitheater.(162)

G. Aubrey Davidson and Representative George Burnham expressed their appreciation of John D. Spreckels at the Organ Amphitheater on October 30, the day set aside to remember him; Spreckels had died June 7, 1926. Davidson, Burnham and Spreckels had signed the articles of incorporation for the 1915 Panama-California Exposition.(163) Before the speeches, organist 6Royal A. Brown played selections by Dr. Humphrey J. Stewart, whom Spreckels hired to be the city organist. Stewart, who passed away in 1933, played the organ in Balboa Park almost daily for seventeen years, from 1915 to 1932.(164)

Sam Hamill, junior partner of Requa, Jackson and Hamill, designed a California-Monterey style home, called "Casa de Tempo," which was put up near the entrance of Spanish Village. This was a luxury home as distinct from the economical homes that the FHA had placed on display. The home had twelve rooms, five baths, and "the newest devices known to the housekeeping world." (165) Roberto Mueller from Navolato, Mexico, an employee of Jorge Almada Salida, son-in-law of Plutarco Calles, president of Mexico from 1924 to 1928, won the home in a drawing at the close of the first season. Mueller transferred ownership to his employer who moved it to 1212 Upas Street. Ex-president Calles lived in the home for five years. When it was built, the home had cost \$35,000 with another \$15,000 for furnishings.(166)

The Old Globe Theater, to the north of the Palace of Science (the 1915 California Building) developed a devoted following. The theater was a copy of a theater built for the Chicago Century of Progress, which supposedly was a copy of the sixteenth-century Globe Theater in London. Sides were roofed, but the central section was open to the sky. A canopy kept out sun and rain. Actors, directed by Thomas Wood Stevens, presented five roughly one-hour versions of Shakespeare's plays daily. To see the shows, adults paid twenty-five cents in the afternoon and forty cents in the evening.(167) A seven-year-old boy at one of the performances announced to the world his astounding discovery, "You know, I prefer Shakespeare to Shirley Temple!" (168)

Between plays country and sword dancers sallied forth from the theater to perform folk dances before Queen Bess (Elizabeth Sowersby) to the music of pipers.(169) Major O. J. Keatinge, as Falstaff, made the rounds of Falstaff Tavern, next to the theater, where he chatted with patrons who were eating mutton chops or kidney pies served by women in Elizabethan costumes.(170)

Music coming from 156 loudspeakers inundated the grounds. Selections varied depending on location. Catchy tunes pervaded the Midway while sentimental melodies blanketed the Plaza del Pacifico. Since everyone on the grounds could hear the loudspeakers, Associated Oil Company, the sponsoring organization, claimed a gate attendance of 100 percent.(171) The Exposition had its own band, under Joseph de Luca, and its own chorus, under Dr. Earl Rosenberg. Wandering minstrels, under Jose Arias, dressed in

Spanish costumes, sang and danced on the Avenida de Palacios, in plazas, and on balconies. The same group had performed nineteen years before at the San Diego 1916 Panama-California International Exposition. Choral groups, chamber music orchestras, and soloists concertized daily in the auditorium of the House of Hospitality. High School and College glee clubs and bands demonstrated their skills at the Organ Amphitheater and the Ford Bowl. The 30th Infantry and the 63rd and 251st Artillery Bands and visiting military and club bands alternated in playing jaunty music in the Plaza del Pacifico.(172)

Walter Flandorf played the Laurence Hammond electronic organ at the Ford Bowl twice in the afternoon. Flandorf had been hired by the Ford Motor Company. The organ he played had a two-manual keyboard, a power cabinet that could amplify the music to 2,000 watts, and a bank of 192 speakers over the stage.(173)

Royal A. Brown, the official Balboa Park organist, gave evening organ recitals on the Spreckels organ which with its four manuals, 86 stops, and 52 ranks had enough power to be heard a mile distant without benefit of electronic amplification.(174)

The Ford Motor Company paid for 132 concerts given by the symphony orchestras of San Diego, Los Angeles, Portland, Seattle and San Francisco, and for 14 choral recitals, including six concerts in July by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. (175) Columbia Broadcasting carried these concerts three times weekly over national hookups and seven times weekly over Pacific Coast hookups. The Ford Company also hired a South American orchestra, led by Jose Manzanares, to play rumba and dance rhythms twice daily in the patio of the Ford Building.

Colored lights cast on jets of water in the Firestone Singing Fountains near the entrance to the Ford Building changed hues in time to the intensity of music coming from hidden loudspeakers, providing a light show in the evenings that was better than fireworks.(176)

By choice, the California-Pacific International Exposition did not present the famous opera singers of the day, such as Grace Moore, Gladys Swarthout, Rosa Ponselle, Lily Pons, Richard Crooks, Lawrence Tibbett, and Lauritz Melchior. Their absence represented a shift in exposition philosophy away from the cultural emphasis of 1915 and toward

entertainment. Also, compared to the Chicago and Dallas Expositions, the San Diego Exposition operated on a low budget and could not afford the high fees that opera singers charged. It was remarkable that Henry Ford and his son Edsel would finance symphony concerts, but to expect them to pay for opera singers was outside the realm of probability.

Corporal Joe Galli of the 30th Infantry brought the first season to a close at midnight on Armistice Day, November 11, by playing "Taps" from the roof of the Palace of Fine Arts in the Plaza del Pacifico.(177) As soon as the last poignant notes from the bugle had died, a technician turned off seven fingers of lights on top the Organ Amphitheater one by one. The 76,033 people who were present did not engage in a "wanton destruction of buildings and exhibits." When the 1934 Chicago Century of Progress Exposition closed, revelers rioted, looted and destroyed. Was it because San Diego Exposition directors feared a repeat of the Chicago disorder that soldiers of the 30th Infantry, posted in the Plaza del Pacifico, wore steel helmets and carried fixed bayonets? (178)

Approximately 4,784,811 people attended the Fair in 1935, which was not the attendance of 10,000,000 officials had predicted in May. The Exposition had a surplus of \$315,833 in the black and another \$75,000 in reserve for restoration of the park. If the Exposition had ended in 1935, as had been planned, subscribers would have received a 60 percent refund. But the Directors decided to continue it in 1936, after receiving promises of support from Chambers of Commerce, transportation companies, merchants' associations, and hotel men.(179)

In the interim between first and second seasons, directors decided changes were in order. As Gold Gulch and the Midway—the most popular attractions at the Exposition—were considered too risqué for families, they were abandoned.(180) A little-known reason for the changes was the perception that the outlawing of gambling in border towns by President Lazaro Cardenas of Mexico did away with the lure of “bawdy working-class amusements” in Tijuana; therefore the San Diego Exposition need no longer compete.(181)

Directors did not renew Richard Requa's contract. Instead they chose his assistant Louis Bodmer to be supervising architect. Bodmer embellished the grounds with moderne motifs that clashed with its Spanish-Revival character. The most glaring of these was his design of an antiseptic and

orderly one-half mile Amusement Zone to replace the honky-tonk Midway of 1935. Streamlined buildings surrounded a rectangular plaza planted with grass and flowers, with a Fountain of Youth at the end of a longitudinal axis. Miles of fluorescent neon tubing tied buildings together. A "Days of '49 Stockade," with dining hall and dance floor, across the northern end of the plaza, replaced the notorious Gold Gulch. The infamous Gold Gulch Gertie was, however, nowhere to be seen.(182)

In place of Midget Village, the vaudeville firm Fanchon and Marco managed a Mickey Mouse Circus. Midgets had full-size elephants as playmates and dinner guests. In "Danse Follies," another Fanchon and Marco enterprise, chorus girls sang and danced. Finally, in "Hollywood Secrets," a third Fanchon and Marco concession, talkies were made and the secrets of synchronizing sound tracks with movements revealed. John Hix operated "Strange as It Seems," a tamer version of Ripley's gruesome "Believe It Or Not." (183) Other concessions included a Temple of Mystery, where a magician did sleight of hand tricks, and Merry-go-rounds, slides, and a loop-the-loop plane. An athletic field put up on Avenida de Espana, west of the Zone, could hold upwards of 5,000 spectators.(184)

Enchanted Land for children, another feature for 1936, stood on the site of the former Casa de Tempo. Animated clowns at the entrance beckoned youngsters inside where a miniature train and ferris wheel awaited them. The train ran into a Magic Mountain concealing spouting volcanoes, a candy land, and grottoes. Jack and the Beanstalk, Jack Spratt and his wife, Little Red Riding Hood, and various Mother Goose characters appeared and disappeared inside the Mountain.(185)

Because the 1935 Indian Village did not generate the excitement of the original 1915-1916 Village, Exposition directors returned the compound to the Boy Scouts. They also released the Pepper Grove to public use.(186)

The City Council directed that 75 percent of the comfort stations be free; (187) that Exposition employees be residents of the City; that gambling games be forbidden; that a \$75,000 fund be set aside for park improvements; that the cost of police and fire protection be borne by the Exposition, and that parking be run by the Exposition and not by a private company or individual.(188)

In December, gardeners removed the Blackwood acacias along Avenida de Palacios because they hid buildings and other plants.(189) During the 1915-16 Exposition, the acacias had formed a rhythmic sequence along El Prado. As with the bignonia and bougainvillea that had climbed over arcades and walls, the high cost of maintenance mandated their removal.(190)

Pioneer merchant George W. Marston, pastor of the First Methodist Church Dr. Walter Sherman, and president of the County Federation of Women's Clubs Mrs. Karl Thompson protested the nudist show in January.(191) Mrs. Walter Gatrell was not distressed by the nudity, but she objected to the barkers shouting "Beautiful women in the nude," as the women were "neither beautiful nor nude." (192) The Exposition had already given up Gold Gulch and the Midway to placate bluestockings, but it drew the line where nudists were concerned. They were, after all, the Exposition's most lucrative outdoor attraction.(193) Consisting of showgirls, the nudist show in 1936 lacked some of the sincerity of the 1935 show. Despite their coquetry, the showgirls seldom exceeded the limits the morality censors has set, though it is possible, as Welton Jones, a retired San Diego Union-Tribune reporter, has suggested, that lookouts may have been posted "in case the cops were headed that way."(194)

The second season began February 12 in a torrent of rain. About 24,000 curious people sought shelter inside buildings and under arcades.(195,) Directors hastily transferred ceremonies from the Plaza del Pacifico to the House of Hospitality. Josephus Daniels, United States' ambassador to Mexico, and Francisco Castillo Najera, Mexico's ambassador to the United States, conveyed greetings from their governments. Then, President Roosevelt, at the White House, pressed a telegraph key that turned on the lights.(196)

Observing that February 12 was the anniversary of President Abraham Lincoln's birthday, ambassador Daniels remarked: "Lincoln declared that 'labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor.' If he were living today and repeated that statement, he would be denounced as a Socialist, Communist, Bolshevik. But we need to hear and heed that statement in this day of sweatshops, child labor and slums that are a denial of the just division of the rewards of industry." (197)

If the backers of the California-Pacific International Exposition were trying to lull workers into complacency with the stratifications of American society, as writer Robert Rydell has contended, (198) fire-breather Daniels did not agree.

The Ford Company and other exhibitors had left to take part in the Texas Centennial held in Dallas. Others had taken their places. Names of some buildings had been changed. The Ford Building became the Palace of Transportation, the Palace of Electricity and Varied Industries became the Palace of General Exhibits, the Hollywood Hall of Fame became the Palace of Entertainment, the House of Charm became the Palace of International Arts, and the Palace of Photography became the Palace of Medical Science.(199)

Dr. Rolland Butler gave lectures on the *Bible* inside a chapel in the General Exhibits Building.(200) Gems mentioned in the *Bible*, a wax replica of the Last Supper, a model of the Milan Cathedral made of 100,000 tiny pieces of wood, and a sword worn by General U. S. Grant in the Civil War replaced the marvels of electrical ingenuity that appliance and utility companies had mounted in the building in 1935.

The Latter Day Saints put a shelter for church members in a moderne style (201) building next to a Christian Science reading room, that suggested a Spanish Renaissance building.(202) Being glaringly out of place, the Latter Day Saints building was torn down after the Exposition. The Christian Science Building survives as the United Nations Building. Today, as in 1935-1936, it clashes with the nearby vernacular Spanish-style cottages of the House of Pacific Relations.

Reporters wrote copiously about the benefits of an X-Ray machine in the Palace of Medical Science, (203) but overlooked the commercial possibilities of a television show on Avenida de Espana.(204)

Alice Klauber, who had designed the Persimmon Room for the 1915 Exposition, designed the Flamingo Room in the House of Hospitality. The room took its name from two wall hangings of flamingo birds standing in ochre sunshine against a background of blue.(205)

The Ford Motor Company continued to sponsor the picturesque "Roads of the Pacific," beginning May 29, and concerts in the Ford Bowl by

the San Diego and Los Angeles Symphonies, beginning July 10.(206) It sent pieces from the Dearborn Museum to replace pieces it had sent to Dallas.(207)

The Santa Fe and the Southern Pacific Railroad Companies replaced the Ford Company as the main exhibitors in the renamed Palace of Transportation. Visitors found the *C. P. Huntington* engine, which in 1863 pulled the first Central Pacific train into California, to be of historical interest.(208) A 450-ft long mural by Juan Larrinaga on the inner wall of the main hall illustrated the history of transportation from prehistoric to modern times.(209)

Chief of Police George Sears pulled the plug on flash wheels, slot machines and Darto games in the Amusement Zone five days after they opened. "As far as this administration is concerned," he told reporters, "there is the same law against gambling north of Broadway as there is south of it." (210) The *San Diego Herald*, an advocate of an "open" city, sneered, "If people preferred the churches to the Exposition, there would not be so many vacant pews every Sunday, nor such large crowds at the Exposition when the weather is fair." (211,)

To commemorate Leap Year, directors held a Bachelor Ball in the Palace of Entertainment on February 29. A committee of women chose 20-year old Clifford Judd, a marine attached to the *USS Lexington*, bachelor king. For the rest of the evening he had to dance with any woman who tagged him.(212)

Philip Gildred resigned as managing director, March 17. Wayne M. Dailard, who had been his second-in-command, took over.(213)

Directors had to deal with a decline in attendance; (214) gambling, (215) bumping, grinding and stripping by female dancers; and complaints by the Zoo of a loss of revenue caused by people having to pay two admissions to get in.(216) To bolster attendance, directors continued Nickel Days for children, and offered parades, circuses, fireworks, rodeos, vaudeville, talent nights, and ballets.(217) They ordered Fanchon and Marco to control their dancers, and they allowed the Zoo to open a second entrance on Upas Street.

The U.S. Army's 30th Infantry, consisting of 164 men, including officers and a band, came back from San Francisco. The regiment held its first retreat ceremony of the season in the Plaza del Pacifico, April 17.(218)

Celebrities and tourists flocked to the Texas Centennial in large numbers, but detoured around San Diego. In apparent agreement with the absentee visitors, H. K. Raymenton declared the second season had the excitement of "warmed-over toast" or "a relit cigar." (219)

Managing director Dailard tried to put zip back into the Exposition by signing up fan and bubble dancer Sally Rand, the sensation of Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition for a two-week engagement beginning Saturday, April 11.(220) She danced two shows daily in the Palace of Entertainment, two in the evening in the Plaza del Pacifico, and shows as requested in the Cafe of the World, on the northeast side of the Plaza del Pacifico. Like "Sister" Aimee, Sally refused to visit the nudists. She claimed her dance was an art form that suggested flight and idealized the human body.(221) Sally may have taken a peak at the nudists when no one was looking, for she opened a nude show of her own at the 1936 Frontier Exposition in Fort Worth and the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition in San Francisco.(222) Reporters would not say what Sally was wearing, but, since Police Chief Sears allowed her to dance, she was wearing more than the white makeup she pasted over her body.(223)

Reporter Lisle Shoemaker, who interviewed Sally backstage and who danced with her in the Cafe of the World, discovered that she had stubby hair and that the beautiful blond hair on her head during the shows was a wig.(224)

The *New York Times* of April 16, 1936 carried the following item:

San Diego, Calif. April 15. Sally Rand, fan and bubble dancer, suffered bruises under her left eye and upon her left thigh from pebbles flung at her as she danced at the exposition last night. Bleeding at the cheek from the injury under her eye, she reappeared upon the stage after a brief retirement, with fans replacing her bubbles and completed her act. The management announced it would have guards in future crowds about the dancer's stage.(225)

Five months afterwards a *San Diego Sun* reporter referred to an occasion when a prankster startled Sally by breaking her bubble.(226)

It is common for local newspapers to conceal embarrassing facts about expositions. Richard Reinhardt, for example, has described how the "parochial loyalty" of San Francisco newspapers kept them from informing the public that the 1939-1940 Golden Gate International Exposition was "a financial flop." (227)

When she was not dancing, Sally gave interviews, attended church services, and looked at the sights of San Diego. T. Claude Ryan, of the Ryan Aeronautical Company, took her on a flight over San Diego in his S-T plane.(228) She baked a cake as part of a home show in the Palace of Better Housing, blew a balloon in a contest at the Zone, (229) and lectured women's groups and teachers on the art of the dance.(230)

Dailard booked popular entertainers for runs ranging from three days to two weeks. They included an all-girl band called the Ingenues; (231) a ballroom dancer dressed in flowing chiffon; (232) Ben Bernie, who smoked a cigar and joked while leading his "Lads" as they played music; (233) a vaudeville act called Modern Varieties; (234) slapstick comedians Olsen and Johnson, who were backed by 25 beautiful women; (235) nudist Rosita Royce, who trained white doves to perch on her body; (236) the Royal Samoans, who played the steel guitar and ukulele; (237) the Janet Sisters, who did a highkick dance; (238) Continental Revue, a parody of Ziegfield Follies; (239) and the Old Pueblo Tipica (Mariachi) Orchestra from Tucson, featuring songbird Chiquita Montez.(240)

While dancers and orchestras were performing for adults in the Palace of Entertainment, the Plaza del Pacifico, and the Cafe of the World, sports enthusiasts and children flocked to the athletic field. Here Dailard had scheduled appearances by the Al G. Barnes Circus, (241) Frontier Days and International Rodeo, (242) Victor McLaglen and His Horse Troop, (243) Ken Maynard's Wild West Circus, (244) Lakeside Rodeo, (245) and the Coronado National Horse Show.(246)

With such a profusion of performers, reporters had neither space nor time to list their schedules. They commented only on those entertainers who had established reputations. These were Victor McLaglen, Rosita Royce, Olsen and Johnson, and Ben Bernie.

Ely Culbertson, the bridge expert, was the most well-known of the lecturers who gave talks at the Organ Amphitheater, House of Hospitality, and Palace of Entertainment. During a talk in the Palace of Entertainment, April 20, he said, with becoming modesty, that "bridge is not the center of the universe." He followed this apostasy by advising wives not to henpeck their husbands because they were too busy working all day to have the time to study bridge that their wives had.(247)

The Globe Theater Players left May 3 for the Texas Centennial.(248) A troupe from Chicago called Fortune Players took their place. Thomas Wood Stevens managed Shakespearean players at San Diego and Dallas, and at still another Elizabethan theater at the Great Lakes Exposition in Cleveland, Ohio. It took time for the actors to get accustomed to the weight of Elizabethan costumes and to the novelty of acting on an apron stage. Caliban reported seeing children holding their parents in fright, Henry VIII saw a gentleman looking at him through a mariner's telescope, and Hotspur observed a woman reciting his lines ahead of him. (249) This last must have been the greatest indignity of all!

On May 19, the Civilian Conservation Corps dedicated a ten ft. high plaster sculpture, painted in bronze, of a heroic youth at their camp near the Palace of Water.(250) Sculptor John Palo-Kangas had used the sculpture as the model for a concrete replica that President Roosevelt had unveiled in Griffith Park, Los Angeles, in the fall of 1935.(251)

A young women standing before the sculpture was asked if she would like to have its symbolism explained to her, "No-o-o," she replied, "but I'd like to meet the boy who posed for the statue!" (252)

The Civilian Conservation Corps sent the sculpture to Camp Soamis, near Camarillo, after the Fair. It has long since disintegrated into the plaster from which it was made.(253)

Sixty young men stationed at the Civilian Conservation Corps camp showed how to fight forest fires, build roads, make trails, and plant trees. Another group of twenty-four young men in the Palace of Natural History explained how the Corps built roads, firebreaks and dams, put up telephone lines, saved natural resources, and curbed farm infestations. If this were not enough, the men showed the woodwork and carvings they made in their off-

duty time.(254) (The Civilian Conservation Corps came into existence by Presidential order on March 31, 1933 and was disbanded after the U.S. Congress voted to cut off funding by June 30, 1942)

Nino Marcelli conducted the San Diego Symphony in evening performances at the Ford Bowl from July 10 to August 10.(255) Having shown what his musicians could do, Marcelli then yielded the Bowl to Alfred Hertz who conducted the San Francisco Symphony in concerts from August 13 to August 23.(256) Marcelli had arrived in San Diego in 1920 to become conductor of the San Diego High School orchestra. He organized the Civic Symphony Orchestra of San Diego, the precursor of the San Diego Symphony, in 1927. Hertz was a conductor of German opera who broke with tradition by conducting *Parsifal* outside Bayreuth at the Metropolitan Opera in 1903.

The U.S. Army's 11th Cavalry triumphed at the athletic field during the Coronado Horse Show, July 19. Riders and horses leaped over triple-bar hurdles spread to 10 feet. Pairs of horses galloped across the field as riders crouched on bars resting on their backs.. By their adroit use of reins, riders got their horses to curvet, prance, and sidestep in time to a rhythmic accompaniment supplied by the cavalry band.(257)

Following a vesper service at the Organ Amphitheater, July 26, five hundred Mormons reenacted a march of over 2,000 miles from Council Bluffs, Iowa to San Diego, California, during the Mexican-American War. The Mormons left Council Bluffs, July 18, 1846, and became United States soldiers when they reached Fort Leavenworth, Kansas on August 1. Three-hundred and fifty men and two wives of captains and two of sergeants, arrived in San Diego on January 29, 1847. While on the way, the men hewed a passage with axes through a chasm of hard rock in the Anza-Borrego Desert so their wagons could get through. American Major John Fremont and Mexican Commander Andres Pico had signed the Treaty of Cahuenga on January 13, ending the war just 14 days before the Mormons arrived.(258)

President Cardenas of Mexico sent the Tipica Police Orchestra of Mexico City for a series of concerts in July.(259) At their last concert, on July 26, seven-thousand people crammed the Ford Bowl. The concert consisted of folk songs and dances. Violinist Higinio Ruvalcaca played a

"Czardas," by Menti. Its intricate and dazzling dance rhythms drew a standing and prolonged ovation.(260)

In contrast to the turbulent relations between the United States and Mexico during President Woodrow Wilson's administration, relations between the two countries improved after President Herbert Hoover announced and President Franklin D. Roosevelt developed the "Good Neighbor Policy" which promised the non-armed intervention of the United States in the internal affairs of Latin American countries. At first Mexicans viewed Josephus Daniels, who served as United States ambassador to Mexico from 1933 to 1941 with hostility because as Secretary of the Navy in President Wilson's administration they considered him responsible for the abortive 1914 United States' invasion of Veracruz, As a diplomat Daniels soothed discords. He was so successful in promoting amicable relations that even after Cardenas expropriated foreign oil companies in 1938 relations between the United States and Mexico were not disrupted. While there was considerable anti-Mexican sentiment in the Southwest as it applied to Mexican migratory workers, Mexican-American citizens, and to vice lords in the border cities (who were mostly Americans!) government officials and business men were optimistic that, with the administration of Cardenas, whom they regarded as incorruptible, a new page had been turned. (261)

Seventy-five ice skaters skated twice nightly at the Organ Amphitheater, from August 13 to August 25. (262) They jumped over barrels, engaged in mock bull fights, and danced in ballets, fox trots, and waltzes.(263) On being asked where the ice came from, a *San Diego Union* reporter answered, "Whatever it is the skaters skate on, it is kept glass-smooth, out in the open, in a Southern California midsummer." (264)

To mark the August 28 start of National Aviation Week, 326 Navy pursuit and observation planes and bombers, making up 18 squadrons, flew over the Exposition grounds in formations of stepped V's.(265)

The second season closed on California Admission Day, September 9, 1936.(266) A parade, made up of men from the U.S. Army's 30th Infantry, 2,500 U.S. Marines, and 1,000 sailors from the U.S. Naval Training Station, mobile military equipment, military bands, floats from civic groups, and equestrians from the Balboa Park Riding Club, started at the foot of Broadway at ten in the morning and reached the reviewing stand in the Plaza del Pacifico at noon.(267)

In the afternoon, the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West presented a pageant, "California Under Four Flags," at the Organ Amphitheater.(268) After the pageant, a rifle team from the 30th Infantry executed a precision drill without spoken commands. Rather than watch the drill, thousands of people took their last rides on ferris wheels, merry-go-rounds, miniature automobiles, tiny trains, and the loop-the-loop plane at the Amusement Zone. At night people mobbed concession booths, trying to buy pottery, jewelry, linens, and souvenirs at bargain prices.(269)

At 11:00 p.m., President Belcher sealed a book containing the names of Exposition employees in a wall behind the fountain at the Organ Amphitheater as the employees held hands and sang "Auld Lang Syne." (270) At 11:30 p.m., a great book at the Amphitheater, symbolizing the story of the Exposition, started to close as Father Time looked on.

Shortly before midnight, President Belcher in the Plaza del Pacifico told an estimated 30,000 people, or almost one-half of the day's attendance of 62,000, that the California-Pacific International Exposition was over.(271) The U.S. Army 30th Infantry took the United States flag down from the flagpole in the Plaza in a farewell retreat ceremony. Then, as Corporal Joe Galli sounded taps from the roof of the Palace of Fine Arts, a technician put out the aurora borealis lights on top the Organ. At the stroke of midnight, the book at the Amphitheater snapped closed.(272,)

Even before the Exposition had closed, Albert Mayerhofer, Deputy President of the Native Sons of the Golden West, tried to enlist support for expositions in Balboa Park in 1942 and 1950.(273) Most people, however, were too busy remembering the past to give much thought to resurrections.

In reviewing the 1936 Exposition season, an editor of the *San Diego Sun* declared the second season's "one outstanding achievement" was the high level of playing shown by the San Diego Symphony. During the first season, the Symphony played in "a pathetically deserted" Ford Bowl, but, during the second, the Bowl was filled with people at "practically every performance." (274)

The night lighting during the second season literally outshone other aspects of the Exposition. Lighting in 1935 was stunning, but technicians went all out to make it better. Water gushing from all sides formed an arch

in the center of a Rainbow Fountain, located on the site of the 1935 Firestone Singing Fountain. Red, yellow and blue lights reflecting off the water gave it the appearance of a rainbow.(275) Dimmer lights at the base of buildings cast waves of moving color on cycads, ferns, palms, azaleas and hibiscus. Technicians chose different plants and colors for each building.(276) The effect was most noticeable in the Palisades where the General Exhibits Building and the California State Building complemented one another across the broad Plaza de America.(277)

In contrast to fluctuating pastel hues reflected from the surfaces of the General Exhibits and California State Buildings, the Palace of Transportation, at the south end of the Plaza, stood alone in luminescent grandeur. A half mile of light tubing behind blue fins on the facade cast a polar blue light on flutes as they rose to join a wide, un-fluted rim. Two thousand bulbs behind the rim crowned the tower with an intense and eerie orange corona. (278)

Otto K. Olesen used lighting devices employed in Hollywood films to conjure up scenes of ethereal magic. For Palm Canyon and the Alcazar Garden he set up over 10,000 firefly lights in shrubs and on the tops of trees to create an illusion of sprites darting in and out of the gloom. The setting evoked the enchanted world of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.(279)

Official attendance figures for both seasons have been lost or were not kept. Most people attended during weekends, holidays and in July and August, though special promotions and free events also drew large numbers. The *San Diego Union* reported daily paid attendance for 1935, with occasional omissions, but did not report attendance for 1936. According to a turnstile count reported by the *San Diego Union* the five most frequently attended days in 1935 were November 11 (Closing and Armistice Day) at 83,238, September 1 (Sunday before Labor Day) at 74,019, September 2 (Labor Day) at 60,081, May 29 (Opening Day) at 59,365, and May 30 (Memorial Day) at 56,321.

Because of careless record keeping, paid attendance figures for 1936 are suspect. Based on inexact and sporadic figures published in the *San Diego Union* and the *San Diego Sun* about 62,000 people passed through the turnstiles on closing day, September 9, 36,000 people visited the Exposition on July 4, 35,000 on May 30 (the Exposition Birthday Party Day), 25,000 on

July 22 (a special event day), and 24,000 on February 12 (Opening Day). Except for the closing day, the 1936 figures do not necessarily indicate days of greatest attendance,

Final accounting for the 1936 season showed an attendance of approximately 2,004,000 and a treasury of \$44,000.(280) Subscribers received a 5 percent return on their investment. As most expositions lose money, the 1935-36 Exposition should be considered a nominal success.(281) Instead of putting grounds in order, the Exposition Corporation transferred \$20,362 to the City and turned over portable property valued at more than \$5,000.(282) This payment was smaller than the \$75,000 the Exposition had promised the City in December 1935.(283) The San Diego City Council was not upset over the meager return as the Federal Works Projects Administration was expected to furnish \$125,000 in labor and \$5,000 in cash for park restoration.(284)

Results of the 1935-1936 Exposition were not as dramatic as those of 1915-1916. The U.S. Navy and U.S. Marine Corps came to San Diego as an aftermath of the first exposition, (285) but the movement of Consolidated Aircraft from Buffalo to San Diego in October 1935 had no connection with the second.(286)

President Belcher was fond of saying the Exposition increased building permits, new buildings, bank debits, car loadings, population, automobile sales, retail store sales, and employment in San Diego.(287) A reader of the *Sun Diego Sun* responded that these claims reminded him of a preacher who not being able to say anything good about a ne'er-do-well at his funeral described instead the wonderful events that had occurred during his life.(288)

Differences of style between Bertram Goodhue's storybook buildings, put up in the 1910s, and Richard Requa's stripped, sterile buildings, put up in the 1930s, are marked.(289) One would not go to Balboa Park in the moonlight to see the plucked-poultry facades of the Gymnasium (former Palace of Electricity) or Automotive Museum (former California State Building); but one would go to see the kaleidoscope of colors behind low-growing plants and the Art Deco paintings in front of these buildings, the vibrant Firestone Singing Fountains, the vigorous Standard Oil Tower, and the whimsical facade of the Palace of Water, now no more..(290)

Playing the role of the small boy who said, “But he has no clothes!”, in Hans Christian Anderson’s story, *The Emperor’s New Clothes*, critic James Britton, II, called Richard Requa’s layout of the buildings and plaza in the Palisades “an architectural disaster.” (291) No one else has been so bold and so frank.

About 3,520,000 more people attended the Fair in 1935-1936 than attended the Fair in 1915-1916. The larger number was due to an increase in United States population, improvements in automobile and other transportation systems, and the urge of people to find relief from economic distress in the promises of a rosy future promoted by the 1930s Expositions or in the release from inhibitions and good behavior offered by the Carnival-like Midway..

In its 360 days of operation, the Exposition attracted roughly 7,220,000 visitors as compared to approximately 13,200,000 who visited the Dallas Exposition in 1936-1937 (292) and 46,769,277 who visited the Chicago Exposition in 1933-1934. (293) President Belcher estimated that 60 percent of the visitors came from San Diego County, 14 percent from California, and 26 percent from outside California.(294) Visitors brought an average of \$100,000 a day to San Diego, or a grand total of \$36,000,000.(295) Businesspeople estimated the value of park improvements at \$6,000,000.(296)

During its construction the Exposition employed as many as 2,700 people and during its operation as many as 5,800. It gave San Diego widespread publicity. It offered visitors culture, enjoyment, hope, and escapist fantasies. As bleak as the times were and as ominous as war clouds darkening Europe might be, visitors could bask in the thrills of the moment and in the giddy promises of a tomorrow that might never be. For those who were young at the time, the Exposition was "the time of their lives."

Is there a “modern Spanish heritage”? People living in Southern California, New Mexico, Arizona and Texas desire to be connected to their region’s past in a manner that is not entirely an imaginative re-creation, a story to please children and to stimulate daydreamers. Promoters and advertisers still try to create a glamorous Spanish past to sell products and to attract tourists, but historians today try to evaluate the past. It is not a question of a Spanish heritage, but a question of multiple heritages that are Indian, Spanish, Mexican, African, Chinese, Japanese, White Anglo Saxon

Protestant, and Mediterranean and Near East Catholic, Jew and Muslim. It may not be as easy task and there is ample room for praise and criticism, but it is a pursuit of truth, beauty and also ugliness worth taking. As an individual cannot live without being the product of a lifetime of experience so the same is true of cultures and civilizations.

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